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THE DIARIES OF STREYNSHAM MASTER

INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

THE DIARIES OF STREYNSHAM MASTER

1675—1680

AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY PAPERS
RELATING THERETO

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VOL. I.
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PREFACE

WHILE editing the manuscript of Thomas Bowrey for the Hakluyt Society some few years ago, the value of the work of Streynsham Master and the light he throws on Anglo-Indian life in the seventeenth century was forcibly brought home to me. It was, therefore, with great pleasure that I undertook to prepare for the press the accounts he left behind him of his journeys of inspection for the East India Company in 1675-1680. The desirability of publishing the autograph remains of Streynsham Master and of thus putting on record some of the work of the greatest figure of the last quarter of the seventeenth century between Oxenden and Pitt is also shown by comments upon him in a book published while these lines are being written. *Bombay in the Making*, by Phiroze B. M. Malabari, is a work of no mean research, and yet, from three notices of Master therein, it is evident that the writer has incorrect ideas of the man and his work. He is described, in the first, as 'a factor named Master,' when quoting a passage from a characteristic letter from him in 1672 (p. 76): in the second, as one of the persons sent by Oxenden to settle affairs in Bombay on its transfer from the Crown to the East India Company, 'which they did in Sept., 1668' (p. 85): in the third as one of the men, of 'more or less doubtful character,' who joined the New (English) Company in 1698 (p. 214).[1]

In this work I have endeavoured to accomplish the following ends: to explain all geographical and historical allusions in the accounts of the journeys: to give a short biography or biographical note on all Englishmen mentioned in the manu-

[1] These statements are based on a misapprehension of notices in Yule's *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii., pp. 305-318 (especially p. 313), 225, and 249 respectively.

scripts: to elucidate manners and customs of the times, native and Anglo-Indian terms, management of factories, and the system of trade as developed by Master: to identify, as far as possible, articles of commerce (especially piece-goods) no longer known under the names given to them in the seventeenth century.

Diaries are necessarily disjointed productions, providing too much confused reading for general use, and therefore in the introduction to these volumes I have tried to give a clear view of the contents of the Diary and the 'Memorialls' (which are really also diaries) by summarizing them. It would have been possible to make such summaries exclusively on one of two conflicting principles: by taking the notes of events, actions, and proceedings, consecutively as they are recorded, and so producing a picture of the life of Master's time as it actually occurred, or by picking out the various subjects that occupied his attention and giving a clear and succinct account of each. But I have thought it better to follow both principles in part, in order to bring before the reader of to-day as vividly as possible what manner of life it was that Englishmen led in India, and how they managed their affairs in those days, without clogging the narrative with disjointed details of the long stories and heavy legal causes with which Master was necessarily concerned. I have, therefore, let the diaries tell their tale in their own way as far as possible, and have given separate summaries of such lengthy affairs as those that arose out of the death of Raghu the *poddār*, the claims of the De Soito family, and so on.

In his Diary (1675-1677) Master quotes, at various points, detached paragraphs of his Commission of December, 1675, from the Court of Committees, and also many paragraphs from their letters to Fort St. George and Hugli of the same date. I have thought it better, for the reader's convenience, to give the Commission and the scattered paragraphs *en bloc* and to omit them from the Diary, noting, however, the pages where such paragraphs are to be found. To explain and verify Master's allusions to current matters, contemporary manuscripts have been freely used, and, where necessary, quoted. Such ex-

traneous matter is printed in small type with italicised headings.

With regard to the copying of the manuscripts as reproduced in these volumes, a remark is necessary. A transcript of the Diary was made for me at the India Office by Miss E. B. Sainsbury, and there is therefore no question as to its accuracy. Transcripts of the two 'Memorialls' were made at Madras, from the oldest existing copies, through the courtesy of the Head of the Government Secretariat Library. This work was entrusted to natives, and though a long list of doubtful passages was returned to Madras and kindly checked for me there, I cannot have the same confidence in the accuracy of the text of the 'Memorialls' as I have in that of the Diary. The manuscript of the latter has been copied exactly as it stands, retaining the original spelling and the use of capital letters. The contractions have, however, been written out in full, and the letters u, i, j, ff (for capital F), adapted to the present accepted usage. Modern punctuation has also been employed, where desirable, for the sense.

In the necessarily arduous work of editing manuscripts covering matter of geographical, historical and scientific interest, I have had much generous assistance from many scholars. In every case I have acknowledged my indebtedness for their help in the notes to the text, but I wish to record here also my appreciation of their labours. In the first place, I beg to express my gratitude to Mr. John Henry Master, a descendant of the author of the manuscripts, who entrusted to me a collection of papers containing Master's private memoranda. These have been freely used, both in the footnotes and in the introduction, and they serve to throw much additional light on his actions and motives during his visits of inspection. Mr. Master has also kindly furnished me with a copy of an existing portrait of his ancestor, which is reproduced in Vol. I. To Mr. William Foster, Mr. Robert Sewell and Sir James Murray, I am specially indebted. Mr. Foster's intimate acquaintance with the Records at the India Office has rendered his help exceptionally valuable, and he has spared neither time nor trouble in answering my many queries and in reading proofs.

Mr. Sewell has generously supplied me with many geographical notes to the first 'Memoriall'; he has also assisted me in verifying the place-names in the same manuscript, and has solved all the serious difficulties in the nomenclature of the native merchants at Masulipatam and Madapollam in 1679. Sir James Murray has placed his vast philological knowledge at my disposal, especially in reference to words not yet reached in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Other helpers to whom I desire to express my thanks are Mr. William Irvine, the late Mr. Donald Ferguson, Mr. William Crooke, Colonel H. D. Love, Professor H. J. Blumhardt, Dr. L. D. Barnett, Sir Charles Lyall, Professor T. W. Arnold, Mr. Ralph Thomas, Mr. W. G. Perrin, Librarian at the Admiralty; Lieutenant-Colonel D. Prain and Dr. O. Stapf, of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew; Dr. B. Daydon Jackson, of the Linnæan Society; and Miss A. J. Mayes, who has conducted valuable research for me at the Public Record Office and at the British Museum with that accuracy on which I can always rely. I also desire to place on record my appreciation of the assistance given me once again by Miss L. M. Anstey, and of the benefit that her ever-increasing knowledge of the records and manuscripts relating to the East has been to me in my researches. Her invaluable aid has this time been rendered with a perseverance that is beyond all praise.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE NASH,
WORCESTER,
September 27, 1910.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The Diary.

THE Diary of Streynsham Master, covering the period December, 1675, to January, 1677, is preserved among the Records at the India Office. It is catalogued as *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xiv. The volume is of folio size, bound in blue boards, and labelled, 'Streynsham Master's Diary, London, 24th Decr., 1675, Fort St. George, 27th January, 1676 (1677, and C C 34).' The figures, etc., in brackets are added in pencil. The book comprises 374 foolscap pages. The numbers run from 1 to 376, but, by an error, the figures 315 and 316 have been omitted. On the title-page is inscribed: 'A DIARY KEPT BY STREYNSHAM MASTER | IN HIS INSPECTION OF THE FACTORYES OF METCHLEPATAM AND THE | BAY OF BENGALE, AND REGULATING THE SAME | BEGUN IN LONDON, DECEMBER 24, 1675 | CLOSED IN FORT ST. GEORGE, JANUARY 27, 1676-7.' | Then follows a rough Index of Contents and 'A List of Writeings Entered at the end of the Diary.'

The Diary itself, which occupies 314 pages, is written in an excellent seventeenth-century hand, is legible throughout, and is signed by Master. The 'List of Writeings' or Appendices of collected papers fill 60 pages, and are in the same handwriting as the Diary. At the end, on p. 376, is the note, 'Transcribed by Richard Browne.' The signature of the copyist proves that the volume, as it now exists, was written after the Agent's return to Madras in 1677, for Richard Browne, who was then a writer at Fort St. George, did not accompany Master during his journeys of inspection. In Vol. I. of the present work, the Diary has been printed verbatim, but marginal

notes, when repeated in the text, have been omitted. I have, however, thought it unnecessary to give the rough Index of Contents, and I have also omitted three papers from the 'Writeings,' or Appendices. They are: 'The Phyrmaund for the Fort,' 'The Phyrmaund for Metchlepatam called the Golden Phyrmaund,' and 'The Phyrmaund granted by the King of Golcondah,' on pp. 407-413. Copies of these *farmāns* are to be found in vols. i. and iii. of *Charters and Treaties* (*India Office Records*), and as the documents are anterior to Master's arrival, and have no direct connection with his journeys, no object would be served in reproducing them here.

The First 'Memoriall.'

This document, which for the sake of clearness I have called the *First* Memoriall, is entitled: 'A MEMORIALL OF STREYNSHAM MASTER ESQR.[1] AGENT OF THE | COAST AND BAY &CA., HIS JOURNEY FROM FORT ST. | GEORGE MADRASPATAM TO METCHLEPATAM &CA. | PARTS TO VISIT THOSE FACTORYS &CA.' | It covers the period from the 11th March to the 4th May, 1679, and was transcribed by 'John Nicks, Secretary.' The earliest copy extant is in the Madras Government Secretariat Library, where it is bound up with the *Fort St. George Public Consultations*, and occupies pp. 142-150 of vol. iii.

The Second 'Memoriall.'

The word *Second* is not in the original. The full title is: 'A MEMORIALL OF STREYNSHAM MASTER ESQ. AGENT OF THE | COAST OF CHORMANDELL AND BAY OF BENGALE &CA. HIS | VOYAGE TO METCHLEPATAM AND THE BAY TO VISIT | THOSE FACTORYS BELONGING TO THE HONBLE. | EAST INDIA COMPANY.' | This document, the third and last of the Diaries kept under Master's supervision during his visits of inspection, covers the period from the 1st August, 1679, to the 26th January, 1680, and, like the First 'Memoriall,' is bound up with the *Fort St. George Public Consultations*, vol. iii., and was transcribed by 'John

[1] He was not knighted till the 14th December, 1698.

Nicks, Secretary.' I have no personal knowledge of these copies of the two 'Memorialls,' but Colonel H. D. Love, who has examined them at Madras, tells me that they are legibly written, and, for the most part, in excellent preservation. Colonel Love has also drawn my attention to later copies of the 'Memorialls' among the materials left by Colonel Colin Mackenzie, known as the 'Mackenzie Collection." Volume lii., now in the Library of the India Office, contains transcripts of nearly the whole of the First 'Memoriall' and of a large portion of the Second 'Memoriall.'

Published Quotations from the Diary and 'Memorialls.'

Portions of the Diary of 1676 have been printed by Sir Henry Yule (see *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii.), and a few extracts are given by C. R. Wilson in his *Early Annals of Bengal*, vol. i. The greater part of the First 'Memoriall,' of March to May, 1679, is to be found in Mackenzie's *Kistna District Manual*, and in *Notes and Extracts*, 2nd Series. Morris, in his *Godavery District Manual*, and Rea, in his *Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company*, also print small portions of this 'Memoriall.' In *Notes and Extracts*, too, the Second 'Memoriall' is freely, but by no means fully, quoted. The present volumes, therefore, contain the first complete version of the manuscripts to be presented to the public.

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Portrait of Sir Streynsham Master, by Charles D'Agar[1] *Frontispiece*

Map showing Places visited by Master, August to December, 1676, and August to December, 1679 - - - - - - 506

[1] Among the Master Papers to which I have had access, through the courtesy of Mr. John Henry Master, there is (in No. 26) a bill for portraits of Sir Streynsham Master and his wife, by Charles D'Agar, in 1714. The following are the items relating to Sir Streynsham Master's picture: 'Sr. Strencham Masters his Bill for Pictures &c. Delivered by Mr. D'Agar. For Sir Stren: Masters half lenth picture £12. 18. 00. For Sir Strencham Masters half Lenth gold fram £3. 00. 00.' Twelve guineas were 'payed in hand' for the portrait of Sir Streynsham Master and a half and three-quarter length portrait of his wife, and the balance of the whole amount, £38 2s. 6d., was received on the 31st December, 1714, 'being in full for this Bill and all demands by me.'

Charles D'Agar, son of the painter Jacob D'Agar, by Marie Picart, was born in 1669, and died in 1723. He came to England early in his life, and was a successful painter in his day. See Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, and Jal, *Dict. Critique de Biographie et d'Histoire*. I am indebted for the above information to Mr. Ralph Thomas.

CORRIGENDA

Page 2, line 1, *for* 'Appointment in Papers' *read* 'Papers of Appointment in.'

,, 37, line 27, *for* 'seale' *read* 'scale.'

, 117, line 9, *for* 'Edward' *read* 'Edmund.'

,, 264, note 1, *for* 'Navarazpuram' *read* 'Navarāzpuram.'

,, 274, note 2, *for* 'Viravasāram,' 'Bhīmavāram,' *read* 'Vīravāsaram,' 'Bhīmavaram.'

,, 496, note 3, *for* 'Gombroon' *read* 'Ispahan.'

,, 502, line 5, *for* 'Oxinden, Trenchfield,' *read* 'Oxenden, Trench feild.'

THE DIARIES OF STREYNSHAM MASTER

INTRODUCTION

THERE exists in the Library of the India Office a manuscript volume, entitled 'A Diary kept by Streynsham Master,' and in the Madras Government Secretariat Library there are also in existence two manuscripts bound up with the 'Consultation Books' of the seventeenth century, both styled 'A Memoriall of Streynsham Master.' These three manuscripts, which are of great historical value, form the subject of the present volumes. The principal part of the matter contained in them was written by or under the authority of Sir Streynsham Master, the chief representative of the East India Company in the Bay of Bengal from 1676 to 1681. As the manuscripts relate only to Master's work as a servant of the Company in the years 1675-1677 and 1679-80, it is unnecessary to give an account of his family and career here. A full history of both is to be found in Yule's *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii., pp. 222-255. Suffice it now to state that he was born in 1640 and died in 1724 at the age of eighty-four, and to give a brief outline of his doings prior to his appointment as 'Agent and Supervisor' of the East India Company's factories in Madras and Bengal.

When only sixteen, Master sailed for India with his uncle and godfather, George Oxenden, and for the next four years he remained in the care of Christopher Oxenden, Second in Council at Surat, before he actually entered the Company's service in that factory in 1660. There he stayed for eleven years more, and he has summarised the events of this period,

1660-1671, in the 'Account of Services' quoted in the Appointment in Papers of vol. i. While at Surat, he found an opportunity for exercising the great financial ability he undoubtedly possessed, and earned the approbation of the Court of Committees by rectifying the confusion that existed in the accounts at Surat, and by devising a system of book-keeping, which was eventually adopted in the Company's factories throughout the country, and had a commanding influence on the public accounts of the English in India for a long time afterwards.

Master returned to England in the *Antelope* in June, 1672, after narrowly escaping capture by the Dutch, the *Falcon*, which accompanied the *Antelope*, being seized and carried to Bergen. From 1673 till 1675 he enjoyed a crest, well earned by fifteen years of work and adventure. In the September of the latter year he was selected as a 'fit and able person' to bring order out of chaos in the Company's factories on the Coromandel Coast and in the Bay of Bengal. He was also empowered to act as Supervisor and Second of Council at Fort St. George, until the expiration of Sir William Langhorne's term of office, in January, 1677-78, when he was to succeed as Agent. His securities were Sir James Oxenden, his cousin, and Dr. Edward Master, one of his brothers. Before starting he obtained from the Court for the Company's servants on the East Coast of India trading privileges similar to those enjoyed at Bombay.

The unsatisfactory state of the settlements on the 'Coast' and in the 'Bay' had become notorious, and Major William Puckle had already been specially sent out in 1674 to inspect and regulate the subordinate factories. Of the little Puckle had accomplished the Court had not had time to hear, but they seem to have realised that he was too weak for the task, and that what was wanted was a man of strong character and wide experience in Indian commercial affairs. Master had studied his subject and knew what he would have to encounter, and his experience and knowledge induced him to lay before the Court of Committees 'A Paper of Proposalls for the Regulating and new Methodiseing their Factorys and Accounts upon the

Coast and Bay.' These proposals were embodied in his Commission.

The 'Commission and Instructions' form an interesting document. Among other things, Master was directed to proceed at once to Masulipatam and reduce that factory to order, for the Court evidently distrusted Puckle's powers of pacification, and knew that, even if he had been successful there, he would, in the ordinary course of events, have proceeded to Bengal before the arrival of the ships sent out in December, 1675. The chief points which Master was ordered to inquire into at the factories of Masulipatam, Balasor, Hugli, and Kasimbazar were the method of keeping accounts, the disposal of European commodities, the mode of contracting for Indian piece-goods, raw silk, etc., the character and ability of the Company's servants, the Company's privileges and the *farmāns* by which they were obtained. He was also, according to his private papers, specially empowered, at his own suggestion, to inquire into and settle the disputes then rife among the Company's servants, to make a minute examination into the case of the death of Raghu the *poddār*, which had been a burning question since August, 1673, and to use his influence to induce the captains of the Company's ships to take their vessels as far up the Hugli River as the town of Hugli itself.

The Commission also laid down clear rules for the Company's servants both as to rank and salary. The number of the Council at Fort St. George was fixed, and the position and succession of the chief factors in the subordinate settlements were carefully indicated. Master was further enjoined to send home a detailed list of all persons in the Company's pay, with remarks on their 'abilityes and capacityes.' Among miscellaneous matters, the estates of intestates were to receive his attention, and he was given power to administer oaths and to suspend the Company's servants, even members of Councils, should he be satisfied that they had acted irregularly. Special directions were also given as to the housing of the Company's servants and their training in the mode of business followed in the country. Lastly, he was ordered to spare no pains to

increase the Company's trade in India, and to enhance the prestige of the English among the natives. To this end he was urged to administer justice impartially, and to see that duties and customs were 'duely and indifferently levied.' Private trade, beyond that specially allowed, was strictly condemned, as was also the desertion of Englishmen to the King of Golconda's service.

The tone of the document, as a whole, indicates confidence in Master's abilities, tempered with a wholesome fear lest he should take undue advantage of the privileges and powers entrusted to him. He was allowed all the marks of respect accorded to an accredited Agent, and the ship on which he sailed was to 'weare the flagg.'

THE DIARY, 1675-1677.

Master received his Commission from the hands of the Governor of the Company, Sir Nathaniel Hearne, and his 'Commission and Instructions' from the Secretary, on the 24th December, 1675; but, while acknowledging in reply that he was 'highly obliged to the Honourable Court for many signal favours,' he expressed apprehension that his measures of reform might create bitter enemies and that accusations might be made against him behind his back. He begged, therefore, that if 'there should come any Informations against' him, 'the Honourable Court would be pleased to suspend their Judgment' until they should receive his 'defence.'

On Monday, the 27th December, he left London, travelling by coach to Canterbury, whence he made his way to the paternal estate at Langdon, near Deal. There he stayed until the *Loyall Eagle*, the *Falcon*, the *Suratt Merchant*, and the *Johanna* had assembled in the Downs. On the 7th January, 1676, Captain Bonnell of the *Eagle* sent word to Master 'that the winde was faire and inclined to hold so,' whereupon the Agent repaired to Deal on the following day, and found 'an express' from the Company with orders to the captains to sail without the *Mary*, destined for Bantam. That night they weighed anchor together, and on the 8th February the four ships arrived at St. Jago, one of the Cape Verd Islands, where provisions were found to be cheap

and plentiful. The *Eagle* had met with no mishap, but the *Falcon* and *Suratt Merchant* had each lost a man overboard, the latter having also 'in the bad wheather' in the Bay of Biscay 'crackt her foretopmast.'

The unusual period of seven days was spent off the island, in the hope that the *Mary* might overtake her consorts, but she failed to put in an appearance, because, as we learn from other documents, she had been detained in the Downs by contrary winds. Before leaving, a letter was written to the Company by Master and the captains, giving a detailed account of occurrences since their departure from England and the reason of their delay at St. Jago. One copy of the letter was despatched by the *Little Edward, viâ* Madeira, and a duplicate by a Dutch 'Flyboate,' then on her way to Surinam. Besides these two ships, the English also fell in with a large Dutch vessel, which had become separated from a fleet bound for the Cape, and had put into St. Jago to refresh her invalids.

The four ships sailed out of the harbour of St. Jago on the 14th February, 1676. On the 26th they crossed the Equator. On the 24th April they rounded the Cape of Good Hope. On the 6th May they encountered the Company's ship *Massingberd*, homeward bound from Surat. On the 26th May, 'About noone, praysed be God, all four ships came to an anchor at Johanna,' one of the Comoro group of islands. Here a week was spent in laying in stores of food, wood, and water.

The natives were friendly, and the Prince of the island, 'Mhynea Shaw' (? Mu'ainu'ddīn Shāh), begged the captains to draw up a paper to the effect that he had placed the islands under English protection. This action was in consequence of injuries inflicted by the commander of a Danish ship and by Captain South of the *Katherine*. Although Master was not concerned in this affair, it is interesting to record the result. 'Mhynea Shaw' sent an emissary, 'Abdu'llah Shāh, to England seeking redress and protection in future, and from the subsequent inquiry into the charge against South by the Court of Committees in England, it appeared that he had landed at Johanna in 1675, with 200 slaves from Madagascar, had quartered them on the island for a month, had left without paying for their main-

tenance, and had carried off six of the inhabitants of Johanna, whom he sold in Jamaica and the Barbadoes. Besides all this, he had promised to assist the ruler of Johanna to take the Island of Mohilla, had been furnished with men and provisions, and had then been bought off by the Portuguese. To add to his misdeeds, South had forcibly extracted five hundred dollars in money and provisions in return for his pretended assistance against Mohilla.[1] The letter sent to England by the hand of 'Abdu'llah Shāh did not actually mention Captain South, but was chiefly concerned with the enormities of the Danes and of one 'Corpen Crimson Writter' in particular. It is possible, however, judging from the papers still extant, that South was implicated with these people.

Two days after Master had taken his leave of the Court of the East India Company, a letter was drawn up in reply to the complaints of the ruler of Johanna. The Prince was assured that the action of Captain South had received no countenance in England and that he should be made to pay for the redemption of the people he had sold as slaves. The action of the Danes was also reported to the 'Danish Agent' in London. The Court was graciously pleased to accept the gift offered them by the Prince of 'Captain Brown's Garden,' which appears to have been used as a health resort on the island. 'Abdu'llah Shāh, who was provided with a passage in the *New London*, probably returned to Johanna about a couple of months after the English ships had sailed for India.

Before leaving the island, Master bethought himself of a plan for the guidance of other Englishmen who should touch at Johanna. He wrote a chronicle of events that had happened since his departure from St. Jago, including all the news he had gleaned about the Company's shipping generally, and he gave details of the presents given to and received from the ruler of the island, so that future commanders might adhere to the same standard of interchange. Succeeding arrivals were requested to record their experiences in the same way. The information was inscribed in a book and entrusted

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial (America and West Indies)*, vol. xxxiii., No. 105.

to 'Mhynea Shaw with special directions not to shew it to any other nation but the English.' In his 'Memorandum of the good Services done the East India Company' (*Master Papers*, No. 10), Master thus alludes to this record: 'In my voyage to India, June, 1676, we refreshed at the Island of Johanna, where I left a Booke with a letter in it, giving accbunt of our usage and dealings with these people, recommending it to all others to doe the like for the good of our Countrymen.'

Leaving Johanna on the 3rd June, the ships again crossed the Equator on the 12th. On the 13th June the men who 'willfully lay ashoare at Johanna began to fall sick.' Three of them died within ten days of what appears to have been acute malaria, contracted in a way that is familiar to those who are acquainted with tropical islands. On the 3rd July the vessels lay off the port of Batticalao, in Ceylon, whence a Dutch sloop put out to ascertain their destination. The same evening a small Dutch frigate, in pursuit of a French ship, was 'soe Sawcy as to run to windward of us thwart our Stemm,' an affront which met with prompt retaliation from Captain Bonnell, who carried away six of the offender's men in his ship.

On the evening of the 7th July, 1676, after a voyage of six months, the four ships anchored at Fort St. George, when the purser of the *Eagle* was immediately sent ashore with a letter to Sir William Langhorne, the Agent, enclosing the Company's despatches and giving a brief account of the voyage.

Next morning Master himself landed, was met by the Agent and the Council at Fort St. George and received 'with much respect and kindness.' After two days' rest, a Consultation was held, at which Master's Commissions were read, but of the following three weeks spent in Fort St. George the Diary has very little to say. There is a note of the despatch of the *Johanna* for Bengal and of a Consultation on the 21st July, when a contract was made with Kāsi Vīranna, the Company's chief merchant, to provide calicoes, but the manuscript contains no inkling of the attitude of the Council towards the Agent-designate in consequence of the powers with which he was entrusted.

On the 31st July, Master re-embarked in the *Eagle*, with William Callaway as secretary, and the soldiers, which his Commission allowed him, as an escort. Three days later, on the evening of the 3rd August, 1676, the *Eagle* anchored off Masulipatam. Here the Company's new representative was welcomed with much deference by the factors and writers, Richard Mohun, the suspended Chief, being among the first to pay his respects, while Matthew Mainwaring, the acting Chief, was not lacking either in 'respect' or 'civillity.' Then ensued ten days of unremitting activity, during which the Company's instructions with regard to Masulipatam were rigorously carried out.

The investments were Master's first concern. Having inquired how these were conducted in 1675, he at once proceeded to take measures to collect the goods ordered by the Company for 1676. Samples of sallampores (chintzes) were procured, and Robert Fleetwood, with a factor and writer, was despatched to Madapollam to superintend the provision of piece-goods at that place. George Chamberlain and Maurice Wynn were sent towards Hyderabad to purchase all the manufactured cloth obtainable in and around the neighbourhood of the Dutch factory of Nagelwanze. At Masulipatam itself, however, a difficulty was created by the native merchants, who declined to undertake the provision of 'ordinary' long-cloth and sallampores, and 'demanded higher prizes then last years' for the 'fine sorts,' but 'with much adoe, they condescended,' and were induced to accept the same terms as in 1675. On the 12th August, Master wrote to Fort St. George, stating what he had done with regard to the investments, and offering suggestions as to anticipating the Company's requirements in the following year.

The accounts at Masulipatam were in a hopeless state of confusion. Both Jearsey and Mohun, the Chiefs who preceded Mainwaring, seem to have done their best to keep the authorities at Fort St. George and in England in ignorance of the true state of affairs, whilst the perpetual dissensions among the Commissioners (or factors in whom the management of the place was vested) had also helped to augment the disorder.

Master's own inquiries produced most evasive answers. The accounts for 1675 were not forthcoming, the originals having been sent to England and no copies kept. The reason given for keeping no accounts from January to August, 1676, was that the Commissioners had been summoned to Fort St. George to give evidence in the case of Mohun *versus* Mainwaring and 'were but lately returned.' The same reason was adduced for neglecting to press forward the Company's investments.

Master wasted no more time. At a Consultation held on the 10th August, 1676, a method for keeping the books was laid down in detail. It was similar to that which had been evolved for Surat, with 'some alterations made therein to make it sutable to this place.' Each set of books was to be made to conform to the new method, and for the future all books were to be balanced up to the 30th April. 'The Deffects and inconveneinces found in the present method' of keeping the accounts were fully stated, and the changes necessary 'for the Regulating these inconveniences' duly set forth. The whole plan was made clearer by the help of a 'paire of Suratt books, letter M,' which were left with Mr. Mainwaring as a model. Another point that engaged Master's attention during his brief stay at Masulipatam was the advisability of renting towns from the King of Golconda. This matter was considered too important to decide without mature consideration, and was left in abeyance until his return from Bengal.

The general conduct of the Company's servants at Masulipatam had long been held to be quite as much in need of reform as were their accounts. Master ordered the Company's 'Printed directions' on this head 'to be put up in the hall and recommended to be carefully observed.' References to these directions are numerous, but no complete copy of them appears to exist. The Court of Committees had caused them to be drawn up, in 1667, when they wrote as follows to Fort St. George and Hugli: 'Wee understanding of the unchristian like and disorderly practices of some of our people, and being desirous to reform the same to the glory of God, the Creditt of our Christian profession, the good and wellfare of our Servants, as well as our advantage, Have therefore agreed upon Rules and Orders,

which wee herewith send you, which wee require to be strictly and duely observed by all Persons in our severall factories.'[1] These admonitions had hitherto had but little effect, but now, under Master's supervision, the 'Company's Ten Commandments,' as they were called, were no longer to be a dead-letter.

A detailed list of the factors and writers at Masulipatam was also drawn up with the dates of their entrance into the service and their standing in 1676. Their severall 'degrees and imployments' were settled in debate and entered in the list, according to orders contained in the Court's General Letter of December, 1675. Master's next concern was with the estates of those who died in the Company's service. There had been many complaints in England from relatives, who had experienced difficulties in obtaining the effects of their deceased friends, and so he ordered that on the death of any servant of the Company, an inventory should at once be taken of his goods, which should then be effectually secured until sold or otherwise disposed of.

A host of minor matters occupied the last few days of Master's stay at Masulipatam. The *farmāns* concerning the factory were ordered to be translated and sent to England. The Council was ordered to sit every Monday and Thursday, 'or at least once a weeke,' and if no business were transacted 'an entry to be made in the Consultation booke to that effect.' The Council was specially directed to note in writing the coming and going of ships in the Road, and the doings of the other European factories. Copies of all Consultations were to be sent both to Fort St. George and to England with due regularity. In the midst of these labours, on the 12th August, occurred the death of the chaplain, Thomas Whitehead, who was interred the same evening in the 'English Garden.'

The factory house was found to be overcrowded. The enlargements and improvements suggested by Major Puckle in the previous year had not been completed, and the accommodation was quite insufficient for the Company's servants, many of whom were compelled to live in hired houses. Master ordered that building operations should be carried on with 'all convenient speed,' and 'as frugally as may be.' At the same time,

[1] *Letter Book*, vol. iv., p. 113.

he struck a blow that afterwards became famous at the love of display among the junior servants, evinced in 'haveing roundells [umbrellas] carried over their heads.' This sign of importance was henceforth to be exclusively confined to the Council and the Chaplain: a measure that did not conduce to Master's popularity with the subordinates of the factory.

Before his departure for Bengal, Master recorded, and must have been present at, the marriage of John Davis and Mary Barker. The latter, who had sailed for India as the betrothed of Thomas Pace, found, on her arrival, that her *fiancé* had died before she left England. This misfortune, however, was not allowed to blight her future, for she promptly found a substitute in John Davis, once a Christ's Hospital lad. The relief of a widow in distress also occupied part of Master's last day in Masulipatam. Jane Cole, with her three children and a maid, had come out to India to join her husband, Robert Cole, a silk dyer at Kasimbazar. Cole had died before his wife's arrival, and Captain Johnson of the *Suratt Merchant* refused to allow the widow and children to leave his ship without payment for their passage. The difficulty thus created was solved by persuading Captain Johnson to undertake the recovery of Cole's estate, he 'being accountable to her [Mrs. Cole] for the overpluse.' Master probably thought that, by this stroke of policy, he was quit of the widow and her affairs. If so, he found out his mistake on his return from Bengal some months later.

While at Masulipatam, Master made careful notes of the Dutch factory, their chiefs, their 'way of tradeing,' and the increase of their commercial enterprise, with all of which he was impressed. Thus did he spend a truly busy ten days. In his 'Account of the Services done for the East India Company' (*Master Papers*, No. 10), he summarises his work from the time of his landing in India till his departure for Bengal as follows: 'I arrived at Fort St. George the 7th July, 1676, and having communicated to the Agent in Council my Commission and Instructions, proceeded to Metchlepatam; arived there the 3rd August, and departed the 17th Ditto, having settled the Factory and laid them down ample Instructions in all matters, as appears in the Diary sent home to the Company.'

Early in the morning of the 18th August, the *Eagle* and her consorts set sail for the Bay of Bengal. On the 20th Master noted the Dutch factory of Bimlipatam. On the 22nd the boats were off Point Palmiras. On the 23rd the *Eagle* anchored in Balasor Road, where Master found the *Johanna* under Captain Bendall, who had reached that port on the 31st July. Captain Bendall informed him that, owing to the fact that Major Puckle and the Hugli Council had gone to Kasimbazar, leaving only a factor and four writers at Balasor, but little business had been transacted since his arrival, and then there occurred an amusing but characteristic incident of those days. Master, always on the alert to uphold his dignity, remarked that the *Johanna* flew no flag when he dined on board that vessel. 'Captain Bendall excused himselfe by reason he had neither Flagg nor Flagg staff, but then borrowed Captain Bonnell's and spread the Flagg.'

On the morning of the 25th August, Messrs. Bugden and Oxenden waited on Master, and on the following day he went ashore, 'all the ships saluteing mee with Gunns, as they did likewise at my landing at the Fort and Metchlepatam.' At Balasor, where an earthquake had 'much shaken the houses of the Towne,' he 'was received with all due respect.' Here he spent nine days, during which he received a present from Mīrzā Walī, the local Governor, and interchanged visits with the head of the Danish factory. As at Masulipatam, he at once set about reforms, domestic as well as commercial. The presence of 'Punch houses' or taverns within the Company's precincts having led to brawls and disorderly conduct, these were banished beyond the English settlement, and severe penalties were imposed on those who should disobey, 'or give any entertainment of that nature.' After dealing with this practical matter, Master consulted with Mr. Darley, the chaplain, and altered the hour for daily afternoon prayer from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m., an arrangement which must have met with general approbation.

The accounts, which had been sent down from Kasimbazar to be 'perfected' at Balasor by Messrs. Samuel Smith and Christopher Oxenden, were returned to the care of Walter Clavell

and his Council at the former place. The death of Smith, while engaged on the books, was alleged as the reason for this action; but it is more probable that Master desired to be in touch with the people responsible for the entries before attempting to unravel the confusion then existing, as the state of the 'Bay' accounts was even worse than that of those at Masulipatam. As early as the 31st October, 1673, the Court of Committees, in a General Letter to Hugli (*Letter Book*, vol. iv.) wrote: 'The Bookes of Accompts which you have sent us by this yeares shipping for Hughly, Ballasore and Decca are written after a very rude maner; many of the folios one after another having neither month nor year mentioned, divers of the references in the Journall not agreeing with the Leidger; neither are they signed by the Cheife and Second, as they ought to bee. Soe that wee order you . . . for the time to come . . . to be more large expressinge your Contracts and other matters at Large in the Journall parcells, And also to take better Care in writing your Invoices, not mixing one comodity in another.' Two years later, at a Court held in 1675 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxv*ii*., p. 188), there is the remark, 'Desperate Debts. Hughly and Balasore debts cannot be distinguished which of them are good and which bad.'

On the 28th August Master wrote to apprise the Council at Kasimbazar of his arrival, and informed them that he would take 'cognizance of the Companys affaires' in Balasor, and 'put the investment in the best forwardness,' while he was awaiting a change of the moon in order to be clear of the dangers of the bore in the Hugli. Meanwhile, his work at Balasor did not prevent the measures he had taken at Masulipatam from still occupying his attention. He had evidently carefully examined, while at sea, the copies of the Consultations he had held, and in a letter of the 29th August he sent a 'materiall' clause to be added to the proceedings of the 12th.

The death of Samuel Smith, already mentioned, which took place on the 30th, provided an opportunity for enforcing the new regulations with regard to the effects of deceased persons. Smith's 'things (by my appointment)' were immediately

'sealed up' and sold the next day at 'Outcry,' the proceeds paid into the Company's treasury and all papers examined and sealed preparatory for remittance to England.

Arrangements for the Company's investments were begun with the native brokers on the same day. At first Khēm Chand, 'the Cheife of them, was very high and indifferent whether he dealt with the Company or not,' but on the following day he was more amenable, and most of the goods required were contracted for 'proportionable to the two last yeares rates.' Cotton yarn was not procurable, and *rūmāls* and turmeric were found to be cheaper at Hugli and Patna. Master therefore delayed purchasing these goods until he had made further inquiries, but otherwise he entrusted the factors and writers with the carrying out of the investment on lines he himself arranged. Strict injunctions on the subject were given, especially to Mr. Billingsley, who was 'to take care of all expences and disbursements and to keep a particular and punctuall account thereof.' And finally, as only five of the Company's servants would be left in Balasor after his departure, Master considered it advisable, from motives of economy, to suspend the 'publicke Table' until 'the numbers of the Companys servants be increased' and to allow 'the usuall Dyett money' in lieu thereof.

On the 4th September Master went on board the *Arrivall* ketch preparatory to his voyage up the Hugli River. Before starting, he had a noticeable passage of arms with William Michell, the chief mate of the *Suratt Merchant*, who declined to deliver lead as ballast for the *Arrivall* without orders from his captain. However, an emphatic command reduced the mate to obedience, and he agreed to hand over the goods in the absence of his superior officer 'notwithstanding his Captain (*sic*) said order,' whereupon Master 'declined the delivery of a protest against the Captain and owners in the Companys behalfe.'

On the afternoon of the 5th September the *Arrivall* and the *Ganges* set sail, 'all the shipps saluting mee with their gunns.' Master's company was now augmented by Mr. Darley, the chaplain; John Bonnell, purser of the *Eagle;* Christopher

Oxenden, writer; and Robert Littleton, a freeman, brother of Edward Littleton the Company's servant; all these were on board the *Arrivall.* In the *Ganges* were Master's assistants, William Callaway and Nathaniel Whetham, with Mr. Douglas, 'the Chyrrugeon of the *Eagle*,' in attendance on Callaway, 'sick of a fever.' Thomas Reade 'the dyer,' with a trumpeter and 'file of souldiers,' completed the party, exclusive of the pilots and crews. Captains Bonnell, Bendall, and Johnson were to have accompanied Master in order to report on the 'Channell and the River,' but they were 'soe ill disposed in respect of their healths' that they were unable to undertake the voyage.

On the night of the 5th September the two ships sailed over the shoals at the mouth of the Hugli, which are known as 'the Braces.' Next morning they overtook a Dutch 'Flyboate' which, with a sloop attending her, had sailed from Balasor Road a week previously, and Master's ships, skirting the Long Sand, anchored at ebb tide. On the morning of the 7th the *Arrivall* and *Ganges* (variously designated sloops, ketches, and ships) hugged the 'Arracan Shoare,' and came to an anchor at an island, now merged in Saugor Island, but then known as Coxes, Cock's Island, or Isle de Gale. Here, as is still the case, fresh fish was very cheap, so much so that half a rupee purchased more than enough to feed the whole company. In passing by the mouth of Rogues River, Master noted the spots reserved on the left bank of the Hugli for preparing beeswax and evaporating salt, both of which were monopolies of the Mogul ruler. The two sloops next passed in safety by the still dreaded spot where the Rupnarain runs into the Hugli, later known as the 'James and Mary' Shoal, for, as he says, 'wee comeing neare upon a high water gott in' without being 'turned or winded round' by 'a great whirling of the water.' The next night, the *Arrivall's* anchor, 'being foule to a tree,' could not be got up. A further effort was made on the morning of the 10th September, 'but all the force and art could be used by 30 men at a winlass and Capston could not move it.' Therefore 'wee cutt our Cable and left it.'

So far the relation of Master's voyage up the Hugli is clear,

but as to the occurrences of the next day, the 11th September, there are discrepancies in the accounts that have come down to us. We have Streynsham Master's statements, and we have also those of Thomas Bowrey, as to what occurred on that date, and they differ seriously. Master's account is that, on the 11th September, the 'Skipper of the Dutch Flyboate,' which his vessels had overtaken on the 6th, came alongside in a small boat on his way to Hugli. Through him a letter was despatched thither to Edward Reade, informing him that 'the freshes being strong, the floods weak and the winds small and contrary, may make it many dayes ere we gett up with the Ketches, wherefore I desire you to send boates and Budgrows to carry myself and Company up soe soone as you can.' Reade was also desired to send another anchor to replace the one lost on the 10th September. Apparently, by the 'Skipper of the Dutch Flyboate' Master meant Thomas Bowrey. It is possible, however, that Bowrey was not the skipper of the flyboat, but of the sloop in her company, and that this sloop was the 'ship' *Sancta Cruz* mentioned in Bowrey's account.

Bowrey's story is as follows: 'Anno Dommini 1676, in the aforesaid Month, I was comeing down Hugly River in a Ship called the *Sancta Cruz* Whereof under God I was Commander, and driveinge downe at a most Swift and violent rate, beinge timerous of driveinge too farre down, *vizt.* upon the Shoals of the River Tombolee (where the River is most crooked). Now, beinge got into the reach called Jno. Perdo, where I found the Streame of less force then before, I lett drop our best bore anchor, and veered 40 fathoms of Cable out; I gave the Ship one Sheere, and let fall our Sheet anchor, and veered out a considerable length or Scope of each, which brought her up (beinge but in depth 8 fathoms). It happened at that time for the Space of ½ an houre to be Slack water, but then the fresh came down like a boore, and hurried us away into a most impetuous Eddy, where, in a moment, our Ship turned round soe often and quick withall that not one of us cold Stand to doe any thinge. One cable broke, and the other Swum like to a piece of wood. In the midst of this Extremity, when I thought our Ship would oversett with each Sally She tooke, it pleased God

a very fresh gale Sprang Up, filled our Sailes (that hanged loose in the brailes), and runne her out of that Eddy, and by cuttinge away our Other Anchor and Cable, got Soon over to the Other Side, where I runne her into a Small Creeke, and stayed untill the fresh abated, which was 14 days.'[1] These '14 days' appear to have been antecedent to the 27th September, the date Bowrey gives for his encounter with Master. Therefore his adventure in the eddy must have occurred about the 11th September. The discrepancy in the two accounts here is that Master describes Bowrey as going up the river, while Bowrey says he was coming down.

The next discrepancy to be noted is as to the date of a fatal boat accident described by both Master and Bowrey. According to Master: On the afternoon of the 11th September Mr. Douglas, surgeon of the *Eagle*, sent for the chaplain, Mr. Darley, to come aboard the *Ganges* to administer spiritual consolation to William Callaway, whose end was near. Mr. Darley, accompanied by Messrs. Bonnell, Littleton, and Whetham, with George Heron the pilot, 'very willingly went' in the *Arrivall's* boat, which was 'veered a Sterne by a rope from the *Arrivall* to the *Ganges*.' Shortly after 'the last office' was performed, Callaway died, and the party started to return to the *Arrivall*, accompanied by the surgeon and Thomas Reade 'the Dyer.' 'By some unhappy accident, the boat cast thwart the Streame (which Runn very Swift) and filled with water.' The *Ganges*' boat then collided with the *Arrivall's* submerged boat, 'beate the men into the water,' and caused her to break loose and capsize. She 'Swam with her Keel upward and the Lascarrs upon it' some miles down the river. Heron, with the *Ganges*' boat, went in pursuit, and found that his men had fallen in with the 'Dutch Flyboate, where they were refreshed with meate and Drinck and Clothes.' Though both boats were saved, Mr. Darley, the Chaplain, and Nathaniel Whetham, Master's special assistant, lost their lives.

Thomas Bowrey, who was a personal friend of Callaway, gives the date of the accident as the 27th September. His

[1] *Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (Hak. Soc. Pub.), pp. 172-174.

account is as follows: 'Another but more Sad accident happened on that day, being the 27th of September, 1676. The honourable Companys two Ketches, bound up, came to an anchor in the reach that I did, but in a better place to ride out the fresh. Agent Masters was then On board the biggest of them, and Some Younge Gentlemen Factors on board the Other. One, by name Mr. Callaway (a very good Friend of mine), beinge then Sore visited with Sicknesse, and beinge one that Agent Masters had great respect for, he Sent Mr. Herrin, the master of the Ketch, and the Minister to pray by him, and a younge man, if in case they found him in a desperate condicion, to Seale Up his trunks and boxes, which was accordingly done. But they hallinge on board theire own Ketch againe, did overset the boat, and the minister and the young man were drowned. The rest drove away on the bottom of the boat. My Purser, Mr. Clement Jordan, was just then come downe with a Small Olocko; wee sent her away and tooke them Up, being 5 in number, the Master and 4 Seamen.'[1]

There is no reconciling the two dates given for Callaway's death and the boat accident, nor can we reconcile some of the facts recorded by the writers as to Bowrey's being caught in the eddy. The variations in the two versions indeed afford an instance of the discrepancies often observable in the accounts of two credible eye-witnesses of the same occurrence. Callaway had expressed a desire to be buried on land, and as the 'Freshes' were too strong to admit of getting up to Hugli, Master ordered the body to be taken ashore to Thāna and interred there.

On the 12th September, Edward Reade, who had been apprised of Master's arrival, as already explained, came to meet him, accompanied by five factors and writers 'with boates and conveniencyes,' and at midnight Master, with his following, set sail in them for Hugli. On the morning of the 13th September the boats reached Bārānagar, the Dutch 'Hogg factory,' where Master was informed three thousand pigs were annually killed and cured. Here he received a visit from Van Helyn, chief of

[1] *Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (Hak. Soc. Pub.), pp. 175-6.

the Dutch at Balasor, and, later in the day, was saluted with seven guns by one of their boats laden with rice. Two other boats were encountered before Master's party reached the Dutch Garden at Hugli, about three miles below the English factory. The next point of interest was the ground originally intended for a French factory, but then in possession of the Dutch. The Dutch factory itself Master described as 'a large well built house standing by itselfe, much like to a Country Seat in England,' contrasting favourably with its surroundings, which were only 'thatcht Hovells.' Of this factory Bowrey says: 'I must needs confesse the Dutch building here [Hugli] farre doth Exceed ours. . . . The Dutch Factorie is also Scituate upon the banks of the River, on a most delicate and Even piece of ground, which is comely enough to be admired, and theire buildings noe lesse, being a most compact and very decent Structure, carryinge the name of the largest and compleatest Factorie in Asia, and noe more then in my Judgement it deserveth.'[1]

At seven o'clock in the evening of the 13th September, Master 'came to the Honourable Company's Factory, where I was respectfully received.' On the following day he wrote to Walter Clavell and the Council at Kásimbazar to apprise them of his arrival at Hugli, and of his intention to continue his journey to Kasimbazar, 'soe soone as I have received my necessaryes out of the Ketch and prepared myselfe thereto.' These preparations occupied five days, of which Master has very little to record. A complimentary message to Malik Kāsim, Governor of Hugli, and a couple of visits from the Dutch occupied him on the 14th September. Fentsell, Second of the Dutch Factory, arrived in the afternoon to greet Master in the name of the 'Directore,' De Haese. He complained that three Dutch seamen were hiding in one of Mr. John Smith's vessels, and further declared that the English were accustomed to 'intice away their men with money.' Master at once offered to give up the men if they could be identified, and, having been found, they were sent to the 'Directore.' Probably, to show his appreciation of the con-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

cession, the 'Directore' himself visited Master the same evening. Of the doings of the next three days the Diary has nothing to record.

On the 18th September, Master sent his excuses for not returning the visits of the Dutch, and himself 'sett forward to the Companys garden, about two miles out of Towne,' where he stayed till midnight and then again 'sett forward,' having despatched the *Arrivall* and *Ganges* to Balasor. On the 19th the party halted for the night at Amboa. The next day they dined at Nadiā, 'where there is an ancient College of Bramans.' On the afternoon of the 21st September the boats were met by Matthias Vincent and Richard Edwards, who had come from Kasimbazar to greet the Agent. That night they lodged at 'Biggehaut' (Pataihāt), an eerie sort of place in those days, 'when the river is low, where there lyes some hundreds of dead bodies that have binn thrown into the river, and the Doggs, Jackalls and Vultures and other birds of prey come and feed upon them.' On the 22nd September Joseph Hall came from Kasimbazar to join Master, who saw on this day, for the first time, the large flat-bottomed boats, or patellas (*paṭelā*), used to convey the Company's saltpetre from Patna. At Dāūdpur he halted in order to write a characteristic letter. He had ascertained from Vincent that 'gold bore a meane price at Cassambazar,' and he therefore ordered Edmund Bugden to retain the Company's chest of bullion, left in his care, and to dispose of it at Balasor.

Early on the morning of the 23rd September, the boats reached Mohola, where Master was greeted by Messrs. Clavell, Marshall, and Littleton. Major Puckle, who had set out with them, 'being sick, was returned to Cassambazar.' At noon the party was augmented by Jacob Verburg, the Chief of the Dutch Factory 'and three others with him.' Passing by some ground 'alloted to the French,' but not then built on, 'att three a Clocke in the afternoone, God be praised, wee arrived safe at the Honourable Companys Factory at the further end of the Towne of Cassambazar, where I was received with great respect and kindness, and the Dutch stayed to supper with us.' Bāl Chand Rāi, Governor of Murshidābād, was informed of

Master's arrival, and was begged to excuse his 'waiting on him till next weeke.'

Having lost both his special assistants, Callaway and Whetham, Master applied to Major Puckle, who 'spared me Vincent Sayon to assist me in writeing worke.' Sayon and Elihu Yale had accompanied Puckle from Fort St. George as his clerks. The loss of the two assistants at this juncture must have been a serious matter for Master, as the confusion which he had found at Masulipatam was nothing to that which awaited him at Kasimbazar. Here he had not only accounts to unravel, measures of domestic reform to institute, and trade regulations to impose, but several serious differences to examine and settle. Major Puckle, who had already been for some months in 'the Bay,' ostensibly occupied with the settlement of these differences, had apparently effected nothing. Master was confronted, among other things, with the very troublesome and anxious case of Raghu the *poddār*, now three years old; the charge of Joseph Hall against Matthias Vincent and Walter Clavell, with Vincent's countercharges against Hall; and the charges of Hall and John Smith against Clavell, with Clavell's countercharge against Smith. From the 27th September until the 3rd November he was occupied, almost without intermission, in hearing the conflicting evidence. Long debates and inquiries were held, and all possible means taken to convert the existing chaos and bickering into something like peace and order.

At the first Consultation, on the 25th September, Master noted that John Smith, Edward Littleton, and Samuel Hervy had been admitted to seats in the Council, in order to fill vacancies, but without express orders from England, an oversight which theoretically rendered this step invalid. He was possibly unwilling to give an opening for fresh discontent, for he decided to allow the new members to 'continue as they are at this present.' On the same occasion, Master's 'Commission and Instructions,' and also the measures passed in Consultation at Balasor on the 31st August, were read to the Council, and Clavell was ordered to draw up regulations for the conduct of the Company's investment at that place. It was resolved that

the case of the death of Raghu, the *poddār*, or cash-keeper, should be examined on the next day but one. In the evening, Anant Rām, a broker who was the person chiefly implicated in Raghu's death, accompanied by Joseph Hall, sought out Master, and begged his protection. He was exhorted 'to speake the trueth and not to feare any,' but, unfortunately, this was quite beyond his powers. Next day Anant Rām again came to Master to ask if he should go to either Vincent or Clavell, if summoned. He was forbidden to go to either, but immediately went 'to Mr. Clavell without being sent for.'

No business was transacted on the 26th September, as the merchants, who had been called 'to treat with about the Honourable Company's treasure,' refused to come during 'the unlucky days' of the waning moon.

On the 27th, before the inquiry into the case of Raghu was commenced, certain minor matters were dealt with: the approval of Clavell's instructions for managing the investment at Balasor, an order to him to draw up similar instructions for Hugli, and an order to Job Charnock at Patna to procure the borax and turmeric wanted by the Company and to repair to Hugli by the 1st December. These details being settled, the inquiry into the case of Raghu the *poddār* was begun in earnest. The trial lasted until the 13th October, during which period little other business was transacted. This case, which arose out of Raghu's death on the 21st August, 1673, some hours after being beaten by the orders of Anant Rām, is fully dealt with in the account of the inquiry, where the justice of the verdict and the credibility of the witnesses are discussed.

After three days of almost uninterrupted labour at the great case, the evening of the 29th September was marked by a probably welcome visit from the Dutch 'in their Pleasure Boate or Budgrow.' The following afternoon the visit was returned, when the Dutch 'entertained us with fireing of gunns and other Civillityes.' Master was much impressed by the spaciousness of the Dutch Factory, which was about ⅛ mile distant from that of the English at Kasimbazar. He also remarked that 'their Gardens, which were large,' were 'well kept.' Sunday, the 1st October, was a day of well-earned rest. On Monday

Master paid his delayed visit to the *faujdār* or Military Governor, and to Bāl Chand, Governor of Murshidābād.

The *poddār's* business dragged on, being resumed on Tuesday the 3rd October, when Master expressed his dissatisfaction with the method, hitherto adopted, of requiring the accused to withdraw during the examination of witnesses. This had been done in accordance with Major Puckle's instructions, but Master, not unnaturally, was doubtful 'whether it be according to the customes and lawes of England.' The matter was referred to Matthias Vincent, virtually the accused in the case as presented to Master, and he declared himself to be satisfied with the trial as previously conducted. At the same time he obtained permission to have an alleged voluntary confession by Anant Rām registered in the Consultation Book.

On the 5th October the Company's business took precedence of internal dissensions. Certain piece-goods had been ordered to be provided at Dacca, but Master was informed that, 'by reason of the lateness of the yeare, there cannot any quantityes be had there.' The advisability of procuring these goods elsewhere was discussed, and it was agreed to obtain them wherever possible. As there was a scarcity of the fine *khāṣṣas* and *malmals* ordered, notice was given prohibiting the captains and officers of the Company's vessels from taking any to England on their own account. This matter being settled, Joseph Hall urged the Council to examine the charge brought by Anant Rām, in a so-called 'confession,' against Vincent. The inquiry occupied the remainder of the sitting. Major Puckle, who was 'very sick,' was absent from the Consultation. On the two previous days the Council had met 'in his chamber,' but he was now too ill to attend to business.

In the afternoon, the Dacca accounts were examined. It was found that heavy expenses, 'neare' Rs. 10,000, had been incurred in settling the demands of the son of De Soito, a Portuguese, who had claimed for goods sent by his father to Persia as far back as the year 1651. In order that the Company might have a clear understanding of the matter, and of the reason for parting with so large a sum as Rs. 10,000, Samuel Hervy was ordered to draw up an account of 'the state of that business to

be represented' to England. On Friday, the 6th of October, the case of Raghu the *poddār* once again came forward; Anant Rām's complicity in the affair was discussed, and a verdict delivered and recorded.

After a short breathing-space, Master turned, on the 9th of October, from internal dissensions to commercial affairs. He inspected the warehouse and warehouse accounts, informed himself of the different kinds and qualities of silk provided by the weavers, and ordered Vincent to draw up a detailed statement of the silk trade at Kasimbazar, at the same time directing Hervy to write a similar account of the trade in *khāṣṣas* at Dacca, with a list of 'what Europe goods are vendible there.'

The intervention at this period of the festival of the Durgā Pūjā, during which no business is transacted in Bengal, had delayed the arrival of the merchants who dealt in the Company's bullion. Therefore, 'the time soe spending,' it was agreed to send the silver and gold then in the factory, under the charge of George Knipe and Richard Edwards, to Rājmahāl to be coined there, reserving three chests of silver for the factory at Patna. The need of money to carry on the Company's investments had become so urgent that it was considered inadvisable to await the return of Knipe and Edwards with the coin. Rs. 60,000 were consequently borrowed at interest, and arrangements were made to procure the bales of raw silk ordered from England.

During the next three days, the 10th, 11th, and 12th October, Master was again occupied with the private feuds of the Bengal servants. A charge of Joseph Hall against Vincent and the late Mr. March had to be settled before the *poddār's* case could be finally concluded. Much time was wasted in petty squabbles with Hall, who refused to take the oath and would produce no witnesses, but brought in a fresh charge, which also had to be examined. The evidence was in Vincent's favour. While this inquiry was proceeding, some of the outbuildings of the factory took fire on the 11th October, their thatched roofs rendering them specially inflammable. Only about a fortnight previously the kitchen had been burnt, but, happily, the conflagration on this occasion was 'soone extinguished by pulling done the thatch.'

On the 13th October, the Council resolved to abandon the charge against Messrs. March and Vincent, as Hall could produce no witnesses to support his statement. They then proceeded to investigate an attack on Vincent's religious beliefs, a serious matter in those Puritan days. This also fell through, and, in the afternoon, the case of the *poddār*, with the other incidents arising out of it, was at last brought to a conclusion. Vincent was acquitted of complicity in the affair, and was adjudged to have acted as 'a good and faithfull Servant.' Hall, of course, dissented from this verdict, and continued to uphold his right to take the oath as he chose. Master declined to administer it otherwise than in the form agreed upon by the rest of the Council, whereupon Hall declined to be sworn, and so finally put himself out of court and out of consideration.

The 14th October, 1676, is memorable, because it marked the inception, owing to Master's keen commercial instinct, of the English factory at Mālda, about fifteen miles from Rājmahāl. The Company's servants, who had been sent to Rājmahāl to superintend the coinage of English bar silver in the Mogul mint there, had, during their leisure hours, explored the neighbourhood. 'Some of the Councell well experienced in these parts,' chief among whom was probably John Marshall, gave their opinion that 'Maulda on 'the other side Ganges, where the Dutch have lately built a Factory,' was a place eminently suitable for the provision of 'Course goods proper for Europe.' Master seized upon this information as a chance of carrying out the clause in his Commission allowing him to purchase any goods suitable for the home markets not hitherto imported into England. He proposed that some hundreds of rupees should be invested in samples of goods to be procured at Mālda, and that these samples should be forwarded for the Company's inspection and approval by 'this yeares ships.' It so happened that Richard Edwards, as has been already stated, was bound for Rājmahāl in charge of the Company's bullion, and Master ordered him 'to make a step over to Maulda,' to provide the samples, and at the same time to find out how the trade of the place was conducted, so that the Council might judge of the advisability of making a settlement there. The nearness of

Mālda to the mint was an important factor in the eyes of the Council, for, should the place prove to be commercially valuable, it would be infinitely more convenient to consign the bar silver thither than to send it to Rājmahāl, where it had to be carefully guarded until the Mogul officials were pleased to turn it into coin.

In accordance with his instructions, Edwards made a selection of Mālda goods, and despatched some expensive samples, amounting to Rs. 845 in value. These reached Master at Ḥugli on the 26th November following, and Edwards's 'Accompt of Maulda' ten days later. He reported that the inhabitants drove a thriving trade in *khāṣṣas, malmals, alāchas*, etc., with merchants from Agra, Benares, and Gujarāt, the goods being conveyed both by land and water. He detailed the lengths and breadths of the various kinds of goods, as usually made, but added that there would be no difficulty in getting the local weavers to make cloths of different dimensions or patterns if desired. He accounted for the dearness of the samples he had procured by the fact that they were 'of those sorts the Dutch buy and not common to that markett.' He added that in his opinion the goods would come out at eight or ten per cent. cheaper if money were advanced for providing them at the right season. He held out very little hope of trading by barter, 'the vend of imported goods' being 'very inconsiderable'; neither did he consider the soil of the district suitable for the making of saltpetre. On the whole, this report on Mālda, as a centre for cotton-goods, was sufficiently favourable to warrant the settlement of a factory, known variously as Maulda, English Bazar, Angrezabad, and Englishavad, which afterwards ranked sixth in Bengal. The sale in England of Dacca and Mālda goods at once turned out to be satisfactory. On the 12th December, 1677, the Court wrote (*Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 519): 'Maulda goods . . . wee finde the goods of which you sent us Musters are very well liked of here, and therefore wee have ordered a large quantity thereof to be provided, to which end wee order that you invest there, of the stock wee now send you, in the goods wee write for, to the value of 80 or 100,000 Rups.'

The officials at the Court of Dacca had thrown out unmis-

takable hints that they expected a substantial contribution by way of *peshkash* from the English. It was therefore resolved that a letter should be written in Persian to the *dīwān*, promising him some horses 'lately come from Persia,' in the hope of stopping his 'eager demands of the Present.'

Beyond the sealing of new indentures by Edwards and Knipe, who had respectively risen to the rank of merchant and factor, the Diary records nothing of importance until Tuesday the 16th October. On the evening of that day occurred the death of Major William Puckle from a fever. He had 'kept his Chamber of a Delirium' for twelve days, and had taken no part in the Consultations at Kasimbazar since the 4th October. He seems to have done his utmost to carry out the duties entrusted to him, but was hampered by physical and moral weakness, want of experience, and want of a specified status such as was granted to Master. He made no enemies, but at the same time he did not effect much good, either at Masulipatam or in the Bay of Bengal. He was buried on the day after his death with as much ceremony as was possible in the circumstances, all the Company's servants at Kasimbazar following him to the grave. Messrs. Marshall and Littleton, with Samuel Puckle, the eldest son of the deceased, were ordered to take an inventory of Major Puckle's effects and a list of the papers found in his possession. The inventory is interesting, as it comprises many articles now obsolete among Anglo-Indians, such as a 'Perrewigg,' 'jebee' (*jībhī*, tongue-scraper), 'touch box,' etc., and the list of documents proves that Puckle had done his best, though without success, to unravel the tangles and settle the differences in the Bay of Bengal. Unfortunately, the diary which he kept from the 3rd February till the 1st September, 1676, has disappeared, together with all the papers relating to the various charges of Nurse, Hall, Smith and Vincent against each other. It is therefore impossible to judge of Puckle's capacity in conducting these cases; but the fact that nearly all the charges were brought before Master for re-examination seems to show either that no definite settlement had been arrived at, or that Puckle's decisions were not regarded as final.

On the 18th October, the day after Puckle's funeral, a letter

was sent to Fort St. George detailing the recent transactions in 'the Bay.' After commenting on Puckle's measures prior to the 23rd September, the Council reported his death in the following terms: 'The proceedings here since Mr. Master his arrivall and before are of so various a nature and of so large an extent that we have no time at present to relate them unto you. The originall Papers of all Transactions or their Copies, where the other are of use here, will come unto you per the ships. And wee are forced at present to bee brief unto you, in regaurd we know not of what greate Import it may bee to the speedy setling of the Honble. Companies affaires in Metchlepatam, that wee acquaint you that on the 16th Instant it pleased God to take unto himselfe Major Wm. Puckle. Wee Interr'd him yesterday with as greate solemnitie as the place afforded, though not according to his merrits and our own Inclinations.'

Master himself, in a subsequent letter to the Company, dated 1st January, 1677,[1] remarked, with reference to his predecessor, 'Major Puckle did take greate paines in the Companies business, but many of his notes being in short hand cannot be understood.' The Council at Fort St. George did not endorse Master's opinion, for we find in their letter to England later in the year (1st September, 1677[2]), that they 'reflect on Major Puckle's papers sent home by his Son, with contempt.'

In Consultation, on the same day (the 18th October, 1676), Walter Clavell and Edward Reade requested that the charges brought against them by Messrs. Hall and Smith in the previous May might be investigated. The accused 'being withdrawn,' Master and the Council perused the papers recounting the charges, and 'the Depositions and Examinations taken thereupon' before Major Puckle. Smith and Hall were invited to produce further proofs of their charge of 'unfaithfulness' against Clavell and Reade, but declined. 'The Councell then long debateing concerning the said Narrative and Charge' decided that no case had been made out against the accused. Both the complainants, Smith and Hall, appealed to the 'Honourable Company' to judge 'what of importance or unfaithfullness is made out against them [*i.e.*, Clavell and Reade].'

[1] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 3*a*, p. 17. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Valentine Nurse, another malcontent, whose charge against Clavell had been heard by Puckle and decided in Clavell's favour, now desired a 'better imployment' than that to which he had been appointed, or, as an alternative, permission to go to Madras. 'The Councell thought fitt to grant the latter,' and so Nurse carried his grievances to Fort St. George.

From the 19th until the 26th October Master was occupied in hearing and conducting the examinations of the case of Walter Clavell *versus* John Smith. Smith having failed to substantiate his charge against Clavell, the latter retaliated by accusing Smith of many misdemeanours, especially while holding the post of head of the Dacca factory from the autumn of 1669 until March, 1673. Clavell's charge consisted of seventeen articles, to which Smith replied categorically. Then each separate charge was examined and the depositions of the witnesses, who were Clavell himself and Messrs. Reade and Hervy, were taken. A *précis* of this affair is given separately, and it is only necessary to state here that the evidence was strongly against Smith, who, on the 26th October, was adjudged 'unfaithfull in his trust and Imployment.' During the eight days occupied by the case of Clavell *v.* Smith, a few items of business were transacted. The native merchants came 'to treat about the Floretta Yarne,' or floss silk, to be shipped to England, and Messrs. Vincent, Marshall and Littleton were ordered to contract with them for the quantity required. They 'agreed with the merchants,' and produced 'musters' or samples of three grades of quality, and the 'Councell approved of the bargaine.'

At a Consultation on the 20th October a long charge by Vincent against Hall was laid before the Council and read. A copy was delivered to Hall, and Vincent was 'minded to gett his wittnesses and Proofes ready when the Councell shall think fitt to take their examinations.' On the same day news was received from Hugli of the death, on the 16th October, of De Haese, chief of the Dutch factory there. On the 22nd October further news of a disquieting character came from Hugli. The bearer was Nīl Chand, the 'Indian Doctor' who had attended Puckle in his last illness. Nīl Chand reported that business was practically

at a standstill 'by reason the Governour had killed a boy, whose freinds prosecuted him.' The Governor, Malik *Zindī*, the son of Malik Kāsim, Governor of Balasor, was an inconsequent youth, perpetually at variance with the English during his tenure of office. In the present instance, however, the consequences of his indiscretion do not seem to have been serious or lasting.

On the 25th October the examination of the witnesses against Smith was concluded, some minor domestic affairs occupied the attention of the Council, and one serious matter of general importance was discussed. A report had reached Kasimbazar that the Emperor Aurangzēb had imposed a duty on 'all silver and gold that should be sold by one Hindue Merchant to another,' a measure which, if carried out, would necessarily 'very much prejudice trade.'

Master next proceeded to investigate 'The Charge of Matthias Vincent against Joseph Hall,' which had been delivered to him on the 20th October. On the 26th, after Smith's case had been temporarily disposed of, the procedure with regard to Vincent's charge was agreed upon, and the charge itself, with Hall's reply to each count, was read. The three following days were occupied in the examination of Vincent, his witnesses, and the documentary proofs he brought in support of his charges; but no decision was arrived at until the 2nd November, when Hall was found guilty. The case, in which a surprising amount of rancour was exhibited on both sides, is dealt with separately later on.

Though fully occupied with hearing and sifting the contradictory evidence against Hall, Master yet found time on the 28th October to take advantage of an overland conveyance to Surat for the despatch of a letter *viâ* that port to the Company in England. The subject of the letter was one which he rightly considered of paramount importance, namely, the need for obtaining a *farmān*, or royal grant, to protect the trade of the English in Bengal. So convinced was Master of the necessity for such a grant, and of 'the Hazzard and perill' of the Company's 'whole trade in the Bay Bengala' then existing, that he risked a precarious means of transit for his

letter, in the hope that a statement of his opinion might reach the Court at the earliest possible moment.

The letter itself is a remarkable document, and is an additional proof of Master's exceptional administrative and political ability. After informing the Court of the date of his arrival in India, he gives a *résumé* of his proceedings since leaving Fort St. George, alleging want of time as an excuse for not entering into a 'perticuler account of my Transactions in your affaires, referring that untill the dispatch of your ships.' Those matters could wait, whereas 'timely orders to preserve' and confirm the Company's 'Interest in this great and Rich Kingdome' were imperatively needed.

Master then goes on to give a statement of the position of the East India Company in Bengal. So far, their servants had traded in the province 'custome free,' but he had ascertained that all they could produce in support of their claim to do so was a *nishān*, or signed document, granted by Sultān Shujā'a, second son of Shāh Jahān, dated 1656, purporting to be grounded on a 'Pretended Phyrmaund' (*farmān*), royal grant or letters-patent from the Mogul ruler, confirming their privileges. Master had good reason for being alarmed as to the validity of the Company's claims. All their trading grants had been lost by Waldegrave, their agent in Bengal, about the year 1654, and from evidence still extant there are grounds for doubting whether there ever was a *farmān*, and for believing that the *nishān* of 1656 could not be relied on as being anything more than an inaccurate *replica* of a lost original.[1] Master next states that the only other documents on which the English could base their privileges were *parwānas*, or official letters, from governors of Bengal subsequent to Shāh Shujā'a. All these *parwānas* had been collected by him, and copies afterwards placed at the end of his Diary for the Company's future information. Unfortunately for the English, the fact that they had either never possessed, or could not produce, their *farmān* was well known, and Master points out to the Court that this had 'of late yeares occasioned great lets and disturbances to your business, to your charge and damage.'

[1] See Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, vol. i., p. 27, footnote.

For instance, he narrates how Job Charnock, the Company's faithful servant at Patna, had, about a year previously (by the intercession of Muhammad Arīf, styled by Master an 'ingenious' native *vakīl* or legal agent, whom he had sent to the Court of Delhi), nearly succeeded in obtaining letters-patent for free trade in Bengal. The grant only wanted confirmation, when someone at the Court suggested, 'That if the English had used to trade custome free, they had a Phyrmaund [*farmān*] for it, and if they had a Phyrmand (*sic*) allready, why need they have another, which dasht all the business.'

Master had inquired into the status of the Dutch in Bengal, and found that they had a *farmān* allowing them to trade on payment of 4 per cent. 'on all their Traffick,' and that besides this Customs duty, the presents exacted from them by the local governors 'are tenn tymes as much as ours.' The fact that the English, with no *farmān*, had hitherto traded Custom free was 'great greife of heart' to the Dutch, who lost no opportunity in consequence of embroiling the English with the native authorities. Only recently, they had backed up the claim of De Soito, the Portuguese already mentioned, for damages from the English for goods sent on their ship, the *Mayflower*, to Persia, in 1651. To make matters worse, because 'the usuall present is not yet given,' Rāi Nanda Lāl, the Nawāb's *dīwān*, had threatened to revive the business of De Soito and extract a further sum from the English. Master was also informed that Shāistah Khān had applied to the Emperor Aurangzēb for orders how to deal with 'the English, who had traded soe long' without a *farmān*, and that an answer was daily expected, and he greatly feared that Aurangzēb might give Shāistah Khān, who was his maternal uncle, a free hand. In that case, he dreaded 'to think of the evill may fall on your Honours affaires thereby,' should they be left in the power of a man who 'is every day more coveteous then other, soe that to relate to you the many wayes that are continually invented by his Duan (one of the Craftiest men in the Kingdome) and his Governours to bring money into his Coffers would be as endless as admirable.' In any case, Master was of opinion that Shāistah Khān would not demand less than 'the Dutch pay,' and would

probably insist on the refunding of all arrears since Aurangzēb's accession. To buy him off would cost as much as paying the customs demanded, and would be no safeguard for the future, while to attempt to oppose the Nawāb would be madness, for he would 'putt a stopp to all business' and 'you have noe Vackeel at Court' to procure redress.

This brings Master to the main object of his letter. Such a state of things as he describes is, in his opinion, unbearable. The only alternative is to purchase a *farmān* for free trade. This, he thinks, can be obtained for £3,000 sterling, which he considers will be money well spent, but he wants the Company's positive orders for such an outlay. Hitherto the restrictions against spending money without authorisation had been most severe. The Council at the Bay could, indeed, appeal to Fort St. George, and the Company had left it to the discretion of their Agent there to act in an emergency. But Master complains that 'Your Agent and Councell at the Fort will not vary one jot from your orders,' and that consequently his hands are tied. He satirically remarks that 'they say plainly that they doe not thinke it safe for them to give one tittle of direction more to others then your Honours give to them, but in keeping close to that, they esteeme themselves safe, lett what will befall your business.' Master also complains that he can get no support, when acting on his own initiative, from the Council at Bengal. The Company's orders that Vincent should, if found responsible for the death of Raghu the *poddār*, reimburse the Rs. 13,000 paid to Bāl Chand to settle the affair, had 'so affrighted' them 'that they account it more safe for them to lett your business run to the utmost danger, nay to ruine itselfe . . . rather then by their consent to part with [anything] to preserve your Interest.'

Master sums up his arguments in favour of procuring a *farmān* in the remark that the Company's business in Bengal, in his 'apprehention, is upon the brinck or borders of ruine and destruction, and makes me tremble to think on't,' and that, consequently, an outlay of two or three thousand pounds, the estimated cost of purchasing the Emperor's letters-patent, would, even if it were twice the amount, 'be well worth the

expence, for your trade will beare it, and the reputation thereof is of much advantage to your affaires.'

This letter came safely into the hands of the Company, *viâ* Surat, on the 13th July, 1677, and Master's urgent representations met with their reward. On the 19th July the Court wrote a short letter, which was also sent *viâ* Surat,[1] to 'Our Chief and Council at the Bay.' In it they remarked that 'Mr. Master by his letters hath so effectually acquainted us how needful it is' to procure a new *farmān* that 'we would have you renew your former endeavours . . . we would have you doe it with all privacy . . . and with as little charge to us as you can, but yet to doe it as soon as you can with conveniency.'

The result of these orders was the sending of Vincent, who succeeded Clavell as 'Chief in the Bay,' to the Nawāb's Court at Dacca in 1678, whence, on the 6th October, he returned, 'bringing with him the Princes Neshaan obtained for the Honble. Company's free trade in Bengall . . . so well penned that there is now a more Solid ground for our trade in Bengall then heretofore and well worth the charge and exceeding paines taken by the Chiefe in obtaining the same.'[2]

Master, who at that time was Agent and Governor at Fort St. George, must have felt no little satisfaction when he saw the fruits of his efforts during his mission to Bengal in 1676. In his 'Memorandum of the Good Services done the East India Company,'[3] he remarks, 'October 28th, 1676, I put the Company into the way and told them the necessity of procuring a Phyrmaund to trade Custome free in the Bay.'

On the 31st October Master turned to minor details connected with the factory and the Company's servants. Two of the cases dealt with throw an interesting light on the times. In the first, John Naylor, a silk dyer, petitioned that the whole of his salary of £50 per annum might be paid him in India, since, during the five years that he had served the Company, he had married, 'and hath his family here with him.' The request was considered reasonable, and, 'for his future encouragement,' was complied with.

[1] *Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 440. [2] *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i.
[3] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

The second case was that of Richard Moseley. This man had formerly been a soldier at Fort St. George, and, on Naylor's recommendation, had gone to Kasimbazar in 1671 as a dyer, though 'at souldiers pay.' He now petitioned for an increase of salary, and his wages were 'advanced' from Rs. 114 to Rs. 180 per annum. He had recently married a native woman, who had already had two English husbands, Gabriel Boughton and William Pitts. The report of her wealth was evidently an inducement to Moseley, and his marriage caused him to give himself airs, which were resented by his former companions. Writing from Hugli to Edwards on the 8th July, 1676, George Knipe informs him (*O.C.*, No. 4214) 'how Cruell, high and fantastick Richard Moseley is growne since his last arrivall from Cassumbazar, rayling against you and Anthony Smith most bitterly and abuseing me here not a little for what know not . . . he hath but little reason for his porter-like behaviour . . . it being too scurrilous to be endured, except it were in Moorfields among his companions. . . . He is so vehemently puffed up in the enjoyment of his old nymps and the hopes of her riches which am afraid will come short of.' These 'riches' were Moseley's undoing. After getting his salary raised, he petitioned for £1,885 1s. 3d., which, he said, was due to his wife, as Boughton's widow, from the Company. The sum claimed was in payment for goods entrusted to Henry Cherry, who figures so prominently in the De Soito case described later on. The fact that the Company had recently had to pay heavily to settle De Soito's claims against Cherry was, no doubt, the cause of the application. The fear lest the matter should again come to the ears of the Governors of Hugli and Kasimbazar, and, through them, to the Nawāb, induced Master and the Council to order Moseley 'to give noe disturbance' to the Company's business 'by the Nabob or Governours,' but to state his demands, which should be sent home to the Company and recommended 'to their Consideration.' Apparently no satisfactory reply to his application was received from England, for, early in 1678, Moseley, who was at that time at Hugli, made a formal demand of Rs. 17,000. Edward Reade, then head of the factory, refused compliance,

and Moseley, supported by John Norton, another aggrieved servant, applied to Malik *Zindī*, the Governor of Hugli, stating that the English were defrauding them of their rights. As soon as Reade heard that Moseley and Norton had appeared at the *darbār* he promptly imprisoned them both. Malik *Zindī*, who saw an opportunity of making capital for himself out of the affair, pretended that he was espousing the cause of his countrywoman, Moseley's wife. He demanded the release of the prisoners, and even went so far as to make a raid on the factory and carry them off by force. For six months he kept the English on tenterhooks by threatening to refer the business to Dacca, his object, of course, being to secure a large bribe for himself. Eventually his father, Malik Kāsim, was persuaded to intervene in favour of the English, and a compromise was arranged. Moseley and Norton were given up in November, 1678, having gained nothing by their ill-judged action but a long period of rigorous imprisonment. Norton died almost immediately after his return to the English factory. Moseley was sent to Fort St. George, and was not permitted to return to Bengal until 1679.

In his endeavour to carry out the Company's orders with regard to perfecting the dyeing of black silks in Bengal, Master inspected a 'parcell of throwne silk' intended for black taffaties, but, as it was a first attempt, it was not found satisfactory, and 'other finer and more fitt' was ordered to 'bee provided for that use.' The buildings in which the weavers and throwsters carried on their work were reported to be unsafe, from their liability to catch fire, and it was resolved to be for the 'Honble. Companyes interest to build a brick roome' in the factory.

The important question of accounts next claimed attention. Hitherto the Hugli and Balasor books had been kept together, and the result had been an indescribable muddle. It will be remembered that at Master's first arrival in Bengal he had sent back the books from Balasor to Kasimbazar, to await his leisure to inquire into and rectify the existing confusion. It was now generally recognised that 'great inconveniencyes' had arisen by keeping 'the said two Factory's

accompts in one pair of bookes,' and it was ordered that for the future the accounts of Hugli and Balasor should be 'kept apart in distinct bookes,' starting from the 30th June, 1676, on which date Master had ordered the joint accounts to be closed.

On the 1st November a letter was drawn up and despatched to Edwards at Rājmahāl in answer to one received from him on the 25th October. Edwards had complained of the hindrances he had met with from the *faujdār*, who refused to give him a pass for the Company's boat to proceed to Patna. He was ordered to obtain it by fair means, if possible; otherwise he must wait until a *parwāna* could be sent from Dacca to persuade the *faujdār* to allow the boat to proceed without molestation. On the same day the result of a contract with the native merchants for the muslins ordered by the Company was reported to the Council. The patterns of the goods were 'looked over and approved, and labells of the dementions and prices annexed to them.' The merchants were instructed to have the goods ready at Sāntipur (the chief depôt for *malmals*) when Master passed by that place on his way back to Hugli, so that they could be laden on the boats and taken down the river.

The next subject of debate was the English headquarters in Bengal. Hitherto the 'Chiefs of the Bay' had considered Balasor the best centre for the Company's trade, but it was now decided that Hugli was 'the most fitting place,' in spite of the fact that the ships from England had not yet ventured higher up the river than Balasor. 'Hugly being the Key or seale of Bengala' and 'neare the Center of the Companyes business' was thought to be 'more commodious for receiveing of advices from and issueing of orders to all subordinate Factoryes.' It was therefore decreed that the Chief and Council 'of the Bay' should reside there, and that yearly, in November or December, a temporary migration should be made to Balasor to inspect the condition of that factory and to superintend the despatch of the ships for Europe. An annual inspection of Kasimbazar factory by the Chief was likewise ordered.

The afternoon sitting of the Council on November 1st was occupied in deciding on the chiefship of the now separately constituted factory of Balasor. To avoid ill-feeling, Master was

anxious to interfere as little as possible with the 'settlement' made by Puckle in the previous April. The post appeared by right to belong to Edward Reade, but nevertheless, his junior in service, John Marshall, then at Kasimbazar, was chosen by the Council. The reason is not far to seek. Marshall had been appointed directly by the Company, and had served them for eight years, while Reade, who had been longer in India, had been practically smuggled from England by his relative by marriage, Sir Edward Winter, and his employment as a factor had only been approved after several representations on his behalf. Further, certain accusations had been brought against Reade, and these, though not proved, had probably lowered his prestige, while there is no record of any charge brought against Marshall. Reade, however, as was only natural, protested that he considered the chiefship of Balasor was his by right. To supply vacancies at Kasimbazar caused by Marshall's promotion Edward Littleton and Richard Edwards moved up one step, and became respectively second and third of that factory. Billingsley and Carpenter were made second and third of Balasor, with two writers to assist them.

On the 2nd November the verdict was given in the case of Hall, as already stated, and he and Smith were dismissed from the Council, but were allowed board and lodging in Hugli at the Company's expense until orders respecting them could be received from Madras.[1] As a matter of fact, though finally dismissed the Company's service in the following year, they remained in Bengal attending to their own affairs until 1679, when Smith absconded in a 'country vessel' and was murdered in the 'South Seas,' and Hall, though ordered to Madras, defied the authorities, and declined to leave Balasor.

Having completed his inquiries into personal matters, it must have been with great relief that Master turned to a subject far more congenial to him. He was a born organiser, and his mission 'to Regulate and sett in order the Honble. Companyes affaires in the Bay of Bengala' was a task after his own heart. Friday and Saturday, the 3rd and 4th November, 1676, were

[1] Hall and Smith, as members of Council, could only be suspended until definite instructions were received from Fort St. George or England.

occupied in laying down rules for the guidance of those to be left in charge at Kasimbazar, Hugli, Balasor, and the 'Subordinate Factoryes.' The Company's 'Printed directions' for the 'Christian and Sober Comportment' of their servants, and the 'Printed Rules' for the management of their affairs, were 'hung up in the Delawne [*dālān*] or dineing room and recommended to be carefully observed.'

Next, Master promulgated his 'Proposalls' for keeping the Company's accounts. These were the same as those that he had introduced so successfully in Surat, and a copy of 'the Surratt Bookes, Letter M,' was handed over as a guide. Not content with this, he gave further detailed instructions as to the keeping of each section of accounts, and was most careful to emphasise the responsibilities of the accountant. Hitherto, owing to the lax way in which business had been carried on, it had been easy to evade censure for omissions and errors. But now Master decreed that it should be clearly stated by whom the books were kept, and under whose supervision, that no loophole might be left for careless or criminal servants to escape the consequences of irregular actions. Each class of expenditure was carefully looked into, and special directions were given for drawing up invoices, entering the charge of 'Packing Stuff,' factory expenses, etc. The 'Alterations' made in each branch of accounts in 'the Bay' were copies of those introduced and adopted at Masulipatam in the previous August. The 'Warehouse Bookes' alone were approved, and, 'being found in good forme and method,' were not interfered with.

Not only were the various heads of accounts subjected to a rigorous examination and remodelling, but all other factory records were inspected in the same impartial manner. The 'Purser Gennerall' was ordered to act as public registrar of births, baptisms, marriages, and burials, keeper of wills and inventories, and trustee for the sums realised by the sale of deceased persons' effects. Formerly 5 per cent. had been allowed for 'gathering in the Outcry Money,' but now it was directed that goods should be paid for at the time of the sale, and the proceeds were to be deposited in the 'Company's Cash' in readiness for the legatees.

With regard to the Consultation Books and Incoming and Outgoing Letter Books, which had hitherto been kept in a very haphazard fashion, orders were given that systematic and regular entries should be made. Frequent Consultations were to be held, and, 'if there be nothing material to be transacted at such meetings, to make an entry in the Consultation booke to that effect.'

Master was always on the lookout to uphold the dignity of the Company, and was not satisfied with the tone sometimes adopted by the Bengal factors in writing to the Court of Committees. He enacted that, for the future, the Company should 'be addressed with a becomeing respect, as becomes servants to their Masters,' and he laid down a formula for the superscription of letters to the Court. Further, he noted that 'the Honble. Company have noe seale with their armes in the Bay,' and also that many of the account books had no covers, and were kept in a condition unworthy of those to whom they belonged. He accordingly gave orders that these books should 'be all bound up handsomely and covered with leather and distinctly indorsed.' This last regulation was doubtless intended as much to prevent the abstraction of loose leaves by unworthy servants for personal ends as to enhance the grandeur of the Company. Another and separate question relating to social dignity also occupied Master's attention. He concurred with the Court that it was advisable for the moral good of the juniors that all classes of the Company's servants should 'live in the Companyes house' and 'eat at a Publicque table,' but he thought it inadvisable that 'the Youthes' should be present when guests were entertained. At such times they should 'eat apart,' and only those should 'come to the Table whome the Chiefes shall think fitt to call.'

Yet another sumptuary enactment Master found time for in these two busy days. It was customary for all English ships to fly flags of diverse kinds, 'soe that the Chiefe of a Factory cannot be knowne or distinguished from others.' This was a grave offence against dignity. Master therefore ordered that the commodore's burgees or broad pennants, 'the Flagg with a Swallowes taile,' should henceforth be the monopoly of a

'Chiefe of a Factory,' and that all others should 'wear' only Ensignes and small squar Jacks,' to indicate their nationality.

During the time he had spent in Bengal, Master had observed that one of the difficulties in carrying out the Company's orders for goods was the confusion caused by inexact nomenclature. There was 'the name which the Company use,' the proper native name, and, very often, a third designation adopted by the factors in India for their own guidance. It was now suggested that, in future, all the names by which any article was known should 'be exprest in the Invoyces for England.' The Company's 'Printed Indulgences,' allowing their servants and the captains and crews of their vessels to trade in certain goods, were also read and 'recomended to be duly observed.' To prevent the smuggling of prohibited articles on board the Company's ships, Master directed that goods should not be taken aboard their sloops nor carried to their vessels designed for Europe without a signed order from 'the Cheife of Hugly or Ballasore, or such as they shall appoint.'

A month previously, in October, Matthias Vincent had been instructed to draw up a report of 'the manner of the Silk and Taffaty Investments in Cassambazar.' He now handed in a paper giving a clear account of the most marketable kinds of raw silk, the season and manner of purchasing it, and the method of weighing and pricing it. He also described the different kinds of 'Taffatyes' manufactured, their dimensions, consistency, colours, and the way in which they were dyed and sorted. The report is a valuable one, and the Company ought to have been especially grateful to Master for procuring such a minute statement of what was then a growing industry in Bengal. Moreover, if the paper was Vincent's own work, it amply disproves the accusation of ignorance and inefficiency in the Company's business brought against him by Hall.

Next, Samuel Hervy handed in an 'Accompt of the manner of Provideing Cloth at Dacca.' This statement had also been prepared in accordance with Master's instructions on the 9th October. Hervy described how the money for *khāṣṣas* and *malmals*, or fine muslins, was given to the brokers in January, and how the brokers divided it among their underlings, the

paikārs, who acted as chapmen, and went from town to town delivering it to the weavers, who, in their turn, produced the goods. This system, as Hervy remarked, was not altogether satisfactory, for, should materials much under the quality of the sample be handed in, they could only be 'returned back, provided the broakers are not thought doubtfull.' He suggested that it would be wiser to employ the method adopted in Balasor and Hugli, and find 'responsible merchants' in Dacca to 'contract for the Investment,' for the brokers were 'Gennerally poor and Litigious, and if the Picars or weavers faile, Seldome pay their remaynes.'

For the Company's information also, a list was drawn up containing the names of their Bengal servants in order of precedence, with the dates of their arrival in India, their rank and salary. To this was added a list of ten others, who had died since December, 1675, eight of them within the time of Master's stay in Bengal.

Finally a collection of translations of letters and grants from the native government to the English was brought to Master, in accordance with his orders of the 20th October. These documents, five in number, dating from 1656 to 1676, including a copy of the Dutch *farmān*, were useful as giving an idea of the Company's status in Bengal, and also as affording a means of comparing their position under the Mogul ruler with that of the Dutch.

Directions to circulate among all the Bengal factories the 'Rules made in the Councell' for financial and social government concluded the arduous labours of the 3rd and 4th November. On that day Vincent wrote to Edwards that 'our Folkes are now departing every man to his station, soe I hope in four daies now to be quite rid of this tedious visitation,'[1] which remark must be read as the local official's view of an inspection that had been thorough and of lasting value to English interests in India. In his 'Memorandum of the Good Services done the East India Company' Master thus sums up his work in Kasimbazar: 'The 23rd [October, 1676] arrived at Cassumbazar, where all the Councill of the Bay were met, and there I examin'd

[1] *O.C.* No. 4232.

the busynes of the Podar encharged by the Company, of which Mr. Vincent was cleared: Allsoe other Charges of the Factors one against the other were Examin'd, and when all that was done, then I proceeded upon Directions for Regulating the Factorys: Divided the Factorys of Hugly and Ballasore, ordering the Accots. to be kept in each place distinctly, which before were in one pair of Bookes, Settled all the Factorys and wrott a Letter to the Company overland [October 28], advising the great danger their busynes was under for want of a Phyrmaun to settle the Customes in the Bay. . . . [I] throughly examined all the wranglings and differences in the Bay, and gave the Company a clear sight thereof, and made many Regulations there, as appears in my Diary. . . . They had not had any Mulmulls, few Cossaes and very little other goods from the Bay that year, 1676, if I had not soundly bestirred myselfe.'[1]

For the next four days Master apparently enjoyed a well-earned rest after six weeks of incessant toil at Kasimbazar. The 7th November was marked by the death of Thomas Reade, the dyer, who escaped drowning in the accident in the Hugli River on the 11th September only to fall a victim to fever two months later. His death was a loss to the silk trade, as is shown by a letter written on the 18th October by Master and the Council to Fort St. George:[2]—'Wee see no probabillitie as yet to provide three thousand peeces Black Taffaties for want of stock, Materialls of dying, Dyers, and success to their endeavours, which is yet but begining to bee sett a foot. Mr. Read the dyer hath begun to dye severall colours.'

On the morning of the 8th November, 1676, Master set out on the return journey to Hugli, travelling by land to Mohola, whence he took a boat down the river 'and rowed all night.' While resting during the heat of the day he recorded his impressions of the country round Kasimbazar and of the long narrow town itself, where a 'Pallanqueen can but just passe' in the streets.

On the morning of the 10th November, 1676, Master and his party halted at Sāntipur to take in the *malmals* previously

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.
[2] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii.

ordered. The goods were ready, but, as they had to be counted in the presence of the officials of the native governor, who assessed a tax on the weavers of 1½ annas per piece, it was decided not to wait for them. Master accordingly proceeded to Hugli, where he arrived the same afternoon, and was received by Walter Clavell, Verburg (who had succeeded De Haese as head of the Dutch affairs in Bengal), and Wiltfangh, Commodore of the Dutch fleet. The usual salutes were fired.

On the 11th November the effects of William Callaway, whose untimely death in the previous September has already been recorded, were sold by auction. Callaway's list of personal belongings is interesting. It contains, *inter alia*, a number of 'hatts' which would seem to be superfluous, were it not for the fact that his father, Jeremy Callaway, was a London haberdasher, and had probably entrusted his son with a consignment as an investment. Another auction took place on the 13th November, when the effects of Nathaniel Whetham, who was drowned on the day that Callaway died, were purchased in small lots by the factors, seamen, and free merchants of Hugli.

The factors left in charge at Hugli during the absence of Master and the Council at Kasimbazar had been greatly harassed by the exactions of Malik Zindī, who was acting for his father, Malik Kāsim, as Governor of Hugli and Balasor. The young deputy had stopped the Company's boats and had seized their goods and servants. His actions were debated in Council on the 11th November, and, in view of the necessity of lading the ships for Europe as quickly as possible, it was 'concluded best for the Companyes Interest at this time to take up the difference with a Present.' On the 13th November news was received from Balasor of a great storm, obviously a cyclone, lasting seven hours, that had happened 'in that road' on the 28th October, 'and if it had lasted a few houres longer, it is sayd hardly any one of the ships had escaped.' Writing to Fort St. George on the next day, the 14th November (*O.C.*, No. 4236), Master thus referred to the incident and also to Malik Zindī's extortions: 'Part of us are come to this place [Hugli] in order to our going to Ballasore, and to mind the dispatch of the ships, which I doubt will be much belated this

yeare, for by Letters received from Ballasore yesterday they have received great damadge upon the breaking up of the monzoone; and the 28th Last month the *Surrat Merchant* Lost her Mainemast cut by the board; all of them lost most of their Anchores and Cables, the Company's Ketches Lost their Mainemasts and Damadged their Petre, and two or three freighted vessells of Petre not heard off. Captain Bonnell writes me he never was in a greater storme of wind, and [? but] I doe not hear the Dutch have received any prejudice by it, all their ships being in the River. Besides this Impediment, there is a mischeifious young Governour that, for his humours sake, has put a stop to all our buisnesse, and will not suffer any boates with our goods to pass to and fro. These Countryes are in much more slavery and subjection than is Guzzaratt [Gujarāt] and remedies more difficult by reason of the Nabobs Power and Avarice.' Malik Zindī was indeed at this time a source of endless trouble to everyone, and Master continues: 'In a few days I hope to be at Ballasore, staying here only to perswade the Governour into better Condition, and put our buisness afoot. Our Long disputes on differencies having held us soe Long at Cassumbazar and the Late violent Storme (in which two of our Country sloopes were Lost) hath brought us much behindhand in our buisness, and the bookes fall to my share of the trouble, and I cannot see any Likelyhood of the Europe ships departure hence before Xmas, which is Late, and unless they find a quicker dispatch from the Coast may endanger Loosing their passage.'

The Dutch were as much worried as the English, and met their difficulties in a characteristic manner, for in the same letter Master informed Langhorne and the Council at Fort St. George that 'the Dutch have a brave Fleet of ships here [Hugli] of 10 or 12 saile, and Wiltfangh is Commodore of them, they Resolving to make these People sensible of the Injuries they have received, as they did the Governor of Surat, which buisness a? sea it seems was mannadged by this Commodore Wiltfangh, and to that Purpose they have Publiquely by Letters demanded of the Nabob at Dacca the mony they have given him formerly not to hinder their

busynesse. Whereupon the Nabob bids them be gone out of the Country. Signor Verburgh, the Late Chiefe of Cassumbazar, succeeds the late Directore de Haese, and he tells me he is resolved to shew them his teeth. I thinke what they doe will be noe prejudice to us.' On the 17th November there was an open quarrel between the Dutch and Malik *Z*indī, who refused to allow them to put their rice on board their ships. A skirmish seemed imminent, but 'upon second thoughts,' after marching towards the Dutch factory, he 'returned againe.' A week later Verburg, the Dutch 'Directore,' sent a deputation to him, in charge of Fentsell, his 'Second,' to offer to settle 'their differences.' Fentsell, however, committed a breach of etiquette, which so enraged Malik *Z*indī, that he called him 'giddy' (*gadhā*, an ass). Fentsell retaliated with a most opprobrious epithet, 'which the Governor returned to him againe,' and the two parties separated. Malik *Z*indī almost immediately after sent a request to the Dutch 'to returne back to him, which they refused to doe,' and, up to the time of Master's departure for Balasor, they acted as the affronted parties. On the 21st November, Master, with some of the Council, paid a visit to the Dutch and found Verburg 'very obligeing.' He was greatly impressed with the spaciousness of the Dutch factory, the solidity of its construction, its gardens, granary, weavers' apartments, and rope walk. Verburg confided to him that 'though they had carryed some rice off by force,' in despite of Malik *Z*indī, yet they did not intend to 'breake with these people.' But though his words were boastful, Master was of opinion that he and his colleagues 'seemed to be cast downe and not to like the face of their affaire.'

On the 23rd November, 1676, the Council met, and much business was transacted. Henry Carpenter and John Byam, who were out of their writerships, were promoted to be factors, and signed new bonds; Ralph Harwar, who had resigned his post as surgeon of Hugli factory, petitioned and obtained his arrears of salary; arrangements were made to ship saltpetre to Balasor; samples of borax and piece-goods were viewed and approved; and orders were given for the management and enlargement of the Dacca factory. Besides these minor matters,

the continual stoppage of business caused by Malik Zindī was debated. Clavell and Hervy had personally remonstrated with him, 'but nothing could prevaile upon his ill nature,' and it was found necessary to propitiate him with 'five half peices of ordinary broad cloth' before he could be induced to allow the Company's boats to pass or to release 'the persons he had in prison.' The cloth was valued at Rs. 300, and John Byam was mulcted of a third of the amount, because, while in charge at Hugli, he had 'unadvisedly' sent and taken 'by force' a boat which Malik Zindī had stopped, an action out of which the Governor made 'great pretence to justifie his undue proceedings.' Therefore, because the 'Honble. Companyes affairs have suffered thereby,' Byam, though a junior servant, was fined, 'that others might take warning how they ingage in the like for the future.'

Notice was now sent to the factors at Dacca, urging them to be 'watchfull,' because the mother of De Soito, whose claim against the English had been quashed in the previous June, was about to renew her son's demands. At the same time, so that the Nawāb Shāistah Khān might continue to have cause to favour the affairs of the English, it was ordered that the Persian horses and 'the remainder of the Present not yett sent to Dacca' should follow Samuel Hervy there within a reasonable time. Hervy, who was to take up his chiefship at Dacca at once, was instructed to reduce the present expected by the Nawāb if at all possible. At any rate, he was not to offer 'more then two of the three horses if he can avoyd it.'

On the 25th November Malik Zindī paid the English a visit. Master received him coolly, and found him 'as ill look't as he is evill in his naturall inclination.' His professions of friendship were looked upon with suspicion. The same day a Consultation was held, and further business was transacted. The Company's orders that no Englishman out of their service should reside anywhere but at Fort St. George were promulgated, and John Norton, the only freeman then in Hugli, promised obedience if he might have time to collect his debts. At this Consultation it was decided to erect accommodation for the Company's seamen on a spot of vacant land within

the compound of the Hugli factory, that thus they might be under the supervision of the 'Purser-marine.' It was further agreed to keep the old factory at Hugli in repair, and to use it as a storehouse for the Company's goods. This building had been abandoned in 1664 on account of its liability to be flooded in the time of the 'Freshes.' The 'new' factory was far inferior to the Dutch building which Master had admired, and since it had been agreed to make Hugli the headquarters of the 'Cheife and Councell in the Bay,' it was thought advisable to add 'necessary apartments' to make the premises 'capable of accomodating four marryed persons of the Councell.' The 'cooke roome,' too, which was of mud and thatch, was ordered to be replaced by a brick building, and, most important of all, rooms were to be set apart as 'a Councell Chamber, and a place for the Registers to be kept in.' With his usual common sense Master noticed that too many trees made the factory damp and unhealthy, and he therefore ordered some 'to be cut downe that the aire might have freer passage.'

While the Council was sitting, Samuel Hervy, delivered in his account of 'the business of De Soito,' drawn up according to Master's directions. This case, which is dealt with separately, had been concluded in June of 1676 by the expenditure of a large sum of money. It was in order to justify to the Company the payment of so many thousand rupees that a clear account of the whole transaction was essential. All business at Hugli being now settled, and affairs 'in a quiett and currant posture,' it was resolved that Master and his assistants should prepare to leave for Balasor.

On the 27th and 29th November respectively, the *Arrivall* and *Ganges* ketches, which 'had binn new masted and rigged since the storme,' anchored at Hugli. The *Arrivall* was laden with piece-goods, iron, etc., by Mīrzā Walī, Malik Kāsim's deputy at Balasor. Master was inclined to protest against this forcible use of the Company's property, but found it 'to be accustomary and not to be avoided,' although it greatly hindered 'the dispatch of the Companyes business at this season.' On the 29th, which was the day of Master's departure,

Malik Zindī created fresh embarrassments. He sent for the Company's *vakīl*, and demanded the immediate payment of Rs. 3,000, annually forced from the English at Hugli, under the guise of a present. The *vakīl* replied that the amount would be forthcoming in December as usual, whereupon Malik Zindī ordered his imprisonment 'untill it was paid.' Master, whose arrangements for sailing to Balasor in the *Arrivall* were completed, had no time to reduce the governor to reason, and the unhappy *vakīl* was left to his fate. The vessel sailed at eight o'clock in the evening, and at two o'clock on the following day reached Thāna, where the fort built as a protection from the attacks of the pirates of Arakan was noted. On the 2nd December she passed Hijili and Cocks Island, and lay for some hours becalmed on the Braces.

On the 4th December the *Arrivall* anchored in Balasor Road, alongside the *Eagle*, to which ship her cargo was transferred, and she was then sent back to Hugli to be reladen. Having given directions to Trenchfeild about the disposal of the saltpetre in the Company's ships, Master went ashore with the captains, and was saluted with the usual ceremonies. Walter Clavell, who had come from Hugli overland, Mīrzā Walī, several native merchants, and the chiefs of the Dutch and the Danes were all in attendance. They accompanied him to the town in palanquins, Mīrzā Walī even going as far as the English factory. Although Master reached Balasor on the 5th December, no Consultation was held until the 14th. On the 9th he and Clavell visited Mīrzā Walī, who treated them 'very Curteously,' and invited them to 'a feast' two days later. They made their excuses, 'whereupon he sent his victualls to the Factory.'

The business transacted at the Consultation, held on the 14th December, 1676, was mainly concerned with the lading of the Company's ships for Europe. Affairs were not going smoothly at Fort St. George, and trade had been much impeded by the native governors. The Council there found themselves likely to fall considerably short of the amount of goods they had agreed to provide for Europe, and in the previous October they had suggested to Clavell and the Council in Bengal the advisability of sending a ship to Bantam to supply the

deficiency, though doubtful whether such a course would meet with the Company's approval. At the same time, Langhorne, the Agent, wrote privately to Master,[1] telling him that the 'Investments were exceeding backward,' and that only fear of the 'late Severities of the Company' had prevented him and his colleagues from ordering the factors in 'the Bay' to send 'one of the lesser ships' with 16 or 20 per cent. of saltpetre to Bantam to be laden home with pepper. He desired Master to consult with Messrs. Clavell and Puckle, and left the onus of the decision to them. Master, however, was by no means inclined to make himself responsible for Langhorne's disregard of the wishes of the Court. He and the Bengal Council decided that it was not 'safe for them to digress from the Honble. Companyes directions' without 'positive orders' from Fort St. George 'for soe doing.' At the same time he did everything in his power to obtain cargoes and a quick despatch for the Company's vessels. He arranged to send the *Loyall Eagle* and *Johanna*, partly laden, to Masulipatam, in order to take in the goods from that factory, and he decided to keep the *Falcon* and *Suratt Merchant* at Balasor until the end of the month, in readiness for the consignments expected from Kasimbazar and the other inland factories. In order to make up the shortage of goods 'to supply the dead [or unsaleable] tonnage' of the ships of the year 1676, Master was offered a large quantity of ordinary piece-goods, especially 'sannoes,' but, as the Company had expressly limited their order to 1,000 pieces, it was not thought advisable to purchase more. The proceedings terminated by an attestation of John Marshall about goods packed by him in Kasimbazar in December, 1672, and by the signing of a bond by John Billingsley, who, after serving the Company for eight years, five as a writer and three as a factor, had now attained the dignity of a merchant. In the evening came the welcome news that the *Ava Merchant*, supposed to have been lost in the cyclone of the 28th October, was safely on her way to Masulipatam.

Much business occupied Master and his Council on the 15th December, 1676. Some new piece-goods, made at Dacca, were

[1] On the 7th October, 1676. *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii.

brought to notice, and a small selection was purchased to be sent to England 'for a tryall.' Arrangements were made with the captains of the Company's ships for taking in rice for St. Helena, and receiving beef in exchange. The ships' chaplains who had officiated at Balasor since Mr. Darley's untimely death were 'gratified' with Rs. 100 between three of them. Permission was given to Robert Douglas, surgeon of the *Eagle*, to change places with Ralph Harwar, the Company's surgeon, who desired to return to England. Douglas had attended Major Puckle, Wm. Callaway, and several of the Company's servants, and was now paid Rs. 80 for his services and 'Physick,' but the Company had cause afterwards to regret taking him into their service, for he became a notorious 'interloper.'

News of a disquieting nature, which had been received from Dacca on the 12th December, was also discussed. Nedham, who was in charge of the factory, had reported that a custom of 2 per cent. was about to be levied on all English goods, and suggested that, unless Master could get the orders revoked 'by the King, who alone can doe it,' an agreement should be made with the Nawāb at Dacca to pay him a lump sum yearly, 'rather then to be troubled in all our Factoryes upon all occassions with every pittifull Governour.' The Council 'with sorrow considered the ill consequence thereof' if the King persisted in levying such a tax, but they could think of no better remedy than to urge Hervy, then on his way to Dacca as chief, to 'use all meanes to smooth up' Rāī Nanda Lāl, the *dīwān*, to hasten 'giveing the Present,' and to 'informe himself well of the nature of the affair.' They also, in conformity with the Company's orders, referred the matter to the Agent at Fort St. George. After the Council had risen, a second letter was received from Dacca confirming the first, and stating that orders had been sent both to Hugli and Balasor to collect the 2 per cent. custom.

On the same day, the 15th December, 1676, all the Englishmen not in the Company's service were summoned and 'acquainted with the Honble. Companyes orders' forbidding any person out of the service to reside or build or buy houses in any place except 'at Fort St. George or Madraspatam.' They all agreed to comply

with this direction, but desired time 'to cleare themselves of their ingagements,' which request was 'thought reasonable.' Many of them, however, ignored the Company's injunctions and continued to live and trade in Bengal, in spite of frequent protests from England. The day's work closed with the important step of renting, on the Company's behalf, the land in Balasor on which stood the English and Dutch factories, the English, Dutch, and 'most part of the Portuguez houses.' The district had hitherto been rented by private individuals, and it was a good stroke of policy to secure the lease for the Company.

On the following day, the 16th December, 1676, Master was present at another important Consultation, the last over which he presided during his second visit to Balasor. It was then decided, in order to increase the sale of English broadcloth, lead, etc., of which there had been a glut in the market, to send a proportion of English goods, suitable for every factory in Bengal, to each of the chiefs in residence, requesting them 'to use their utmost endeavours' to dispose of such goods, 'being much for the nations Interest.' To keep the head of the Company's affairs at Hugli closely in touch with the 'Subordinates,' it was ordered that each month every outlying factory should send duplicate copies of its Diary and Consultation Books and Cash Accounts to the headquarters at Hugli. The Diary and Consultation Book of Hugli was further ordered to be sent twice a year for the inspection of the Agent and Council at Fort St. George. By this means Master no doubt hoped to procure cohesion and order in the various settlements.

Nedham's second letter, received on the 15th December, 'after the Councell was up,' was now 'sadly considered of.' 'No way of redress' was however found 'but to submitt to what shall be impose[d].' The 'only hopes' of the Council were that the 'Persian horses,' which formed part of the intended present, 'may something mittigate the Nabobs displeasure.'

At this Consultation Messrs. Clavell and Marshall produced their papers on the trade of Hugli, Balasor, and Patna, which they had drawn up in pursuance of Master's orders. Walter Clavell had spent many years in Hugli and Balasor, and

Marshall had served at Patna for two years under Job Charnock. It is an additional proof of Master's business acumen that he was content to leave the writing of such valuable accounts to men of tried experience, rather than trust to his own necessarily imperfect knowledge, gleaned during his short residence in Bengal. Of these 'Accompts' Clavell's are the more exhaustive and detailed. He dilates on the advantageous situation of Hugli, and its importance as a centre of European commerce, previous to the appointment of Shāistah Khān as *Sūbadār* of Bengal. He speaks in bitter terms of this Nawāb's exactions, which had paralysed trade and intimidated the merchants with whom the English had dealings. He goes on to say that the local governor had naturally taken his cue from the Nawāb, and that there was now no longer any means of obtaining goods for the European market without payment of heavy customs or private bribes; that salt and beeswax, the King's monopolies, were heavily taxed, and that goods bought by the governor at low rates from the Dutch were palmed off on the 'Towne Merchants' at exorbitant prices. Clavell then describes the way in which trade was carried on between the native merchants and the English factors. The weavers, and other would-be sellers in the neighbourhood of Hugli, either brought in samples of their cloth, or else a native middleman was sent to the outlying villages to purchase commodities 'at cheapest hands.' In either case the English gave 'passes' for bringing the goods into Hugli free of duty. The cloth was, for the most part, conveyed into the town by water. Clavell was very insistent on the advantage possessed by Hugli in its navigable river. He urged the importance of having trained pilots to bring the Company's ships up to the town, thus avoiding transhipment of the cargoes at Balasor. He instanced the practice of the Dutch, who had ships of six and seven hundred tons brought up to their factory at Chinsura, and there laden direct for Europe. The last part of the 'Accompt' contains a disquisition on the Dutch trade in Hugli, with their imports and exports.

In his statement of the trade of Balasor, Clavell explains how Balasor rose to importance on the decay of the first English

factory at Hariharpur and the silting up of Harispur, its port; how the quantity of *tassar*, or coarse silk, procurable in the vicinity, made the place an advantageous centre for taffaties and other materials woven from that substance; and how, in its early days, trade at Balasor, for want of coined money, was carried on by barter, a method that the English were still 'constrained to continue' while the Company persisted in overstocking them with English broadcloth. Clavell also describes in detail the contracts for cloth and other commodities with the native merchants, who were paid partly in money and partly in kind. Early in the year they brought samples for inspection, and agreed to provide the goods ordered by the following October, on the arrival of the ships from England. As it was an understood thing that 'abatements' were to be made on parcels not up to sample, it was a constant practice of the merchants to deliver their consignments so late that it was difficult to 'make the abatements and adjust the accompts' before the departure of the ships. Clavell was of opinion that if Balasor were not so glutted with 'Europe Commodityes' and if a *farmān* for unmolested trade could be procured, then goods might be obtained from the outlying districts at much more profitable rates for ready money. He suggested that, since Balasor was now made a distinct factory, the method adopted in Kasimbazar should be employed—*viz.*, that a certain sum of money should be advanced to the weavers early in the season, in order to facilitate the provision of goods before the arrival of the shipping from England. He also advised that competent persons should be sent to the weaving districts around Balasor to report on 'the nature of the trade of those parts,' and thus improve 'this trade, which the Honble. Company have often advised is managed to disadvantage.' With regard to the benefit of dealing with only one merchant, as then practised at Balasor, Clavell would not venture an opinion, but considered that 'things of this nature' should be settled at the 'descretion of the Cheife and Councell according as the times and Government will beare it.' An attestation of the brokers at Balasor, which follows Clavell's 'Accompt,' was probably furnished by him for Master's inspection, to prove that, up to the time of

Malik Kāsim's appointment as Governor of Balasor, there had been no embargoes laid upon the English trade.

Marshall, in his 'Accompt of Pattana,' deals with the situation of the Company's factory and its dependencies, and with the difficulties experienced by Job Charnock, head of the factory, in preventing the 'Peter men' employed by the English from selling saltpetre to the Dutch, but he does not enter into the manner of contracting for it, as he says that the method was fully described in the 'Pattana Bookes,' which do not now exist. Besides the underhand dealings of the Dutch, Marshall says that the English had also to complain of the high-handedness of the Nawāb, who, when the 'Petermen' are 'disinabled to comply with their ingagements . . . breaketh our store house . . . and forceth it thence.' He further remarks that there was no market at Patna for English cloth, and that the trade in lead, which 'would sell well,' was monopolised by the Nawāb.

The reading of these papers finished Master's official work in Balasor. On the 18th December, 1676, he, with Clavell and the ships' captains, left the town and 'went by land to the rivers mouth.' The same evening Master went 'aboard the *Eagle*,' but the ship did not sail until the 21st. The 19th was occupied in lading goods brought from Hugli by the *Arrivall*, and in the consideration of a letter from Edward Reade and an enclosure from Nedham at Dacca. The latter wrote that, 'with much trouble and bribing,' he had procured a respite of seven days before the order for taking the 2 per cent. custom from the English should be enforced, and that he hoped the delay would enable the Company's goods to be shipped from Hugli and Balasor custom free. He further reported the arrival of De Soito's mother, who had begun 'upbraiding speeches against us,' and the procuring by the Danes of a new *farmān* 'in every perticuler like as ours.'

On the 20th December, the departure of the ships was delayed by the arrival of the *Ganges* ketch with a consignment of goods from Hugli, and Master took this opportunity to record his opinion of the Dutch factory at Balasor and the state of Bengal as he had seen it. A 'handsome square building' had replaced

the factory house at Pipli, which was pulled down, and the Dutch had thus, like the English, six factories in 'the Bay.' Of Bengal itself Master remarked that it was suffering from the extortions of the Nawāb and of the Governor of Hugli and Balasor, which made 'Merchants business very troublesome.' He attributed the unhealthiness of the province to the 'holefull of water' standing by nearly all the mud houses.

At last, on the 21st December, after four months of varied and strenuous labour, Master set sail in the *Eagle* from Balasor Road for Masulipatam. He was accompanied by the *Johanna*, while the *Falcon* and *Suratt Merchant* were left behind to take in the remainder of the goods for Europe. Of his nine days' voyage Master has little to record. On the 23rd he saw the Black Pagoda or temple at Kanārak and the White or Jagannāth Pagoda. On the 28th, salutes were exchanged with a Dutch ship. On the 29th, the ships anchored in Masulipatam Road, but 'the wind blew soe fresh that boates could not come from the shoare' until Sunday, the 31st December, when Messrs. Mainwaring, Chamberlain, and Arnold, Commissioners, boarded the *Eagle* and accompanied the Agent to the town. On his arrival, Master learnt that the *Ava Merchant*, which had suffered so severely in the cyclone at Balasor, was safe at Fort St. George, and that the mainmast and mainyard of the *Suratt Merchant*, disabled at the same time, had been picked up and brought to Masulipatam.

The first week of the new year was a busy one. On Monday the 1st of January, 1677, a Consultation was held, when Master was both surprised and vexed to find that, although a large proportion of the fine goods, ordered under his direction in the previous August, had been duly delivered, 'noe progress' had been made in 'the sorting of the said goods,' owing to constant bickerings which had been going on between Mainwaring and Arnold of the one part and Chamberlain of the other, ever since the latter had joined them from Makkāpet on the 19th October, 1676. No doubt both parties poured their version of the deadlock in business into Master's ears, but the Company's concerns brooked of no delay, and he brushed aside all petty issues. He contented himself with reminding Chamberlain

that he had, so far, only delivered half the amount of goods ordered, but accepted his assurance that the remainder should be produced 'within three dayes next ensuing.'

Other business arose out of news received from the Council at Fort St. George that a Nāyak, Podela Lingappa, was forcibly preventing provisions as well as cloth from entering the factory, and an order was given to purchase rice, grain, and fuel to be shipped for their relief. A petition to Master and the Council was sent in by Richard Mohun, the displaced chief of Masulipatam, requesting the examination of Mainwaring's charge against him and his countercharge against Mainwaring, he having 'frequently though ineffectually both here and at Madras' urged that an inquiry might be held. Master, however, had had more than enough in Bengal of private rancour among the Company's servants, and replied that 'an affaire of that weight' would require more time than could be spared 'when the dispatch of the ships is so urgent,' and that such an examination would entail the 'constant assistance of all the Councell,' an impossibility at that juncture.

On the 2nd January, 1677, immediately after prayers, Master repaired to the sorting-place, summoned all who 'were not otherwise necessary imployed,' and personally assisted in sorting the fine sallampores, which was finished by noon. Later in the day he received a visit from Āgha Jalāl, the local governor, who was much more kindly disposed to the English than were Malik Kāsim and his son Malik Zindī at Hugli and Balasor. Āgha Jalāl was 'very civill in his expressions,' invited Master to visit him two days later, and would take no denial. Accordingly, on the 4th, Master, with Messrs. Mainwaring, Chamberlain, and Arnold, repaired to the Governor's house, where they were entertained 'at supper with Musick and Dancers.' 'At parting,' Master accepted 'two peeces of stuff' instead of a *saropā*, or dress of honour, the taking of which from a petty governor would have been derogatory to his dignity, as he 'found meanes underhand' to let his host know. The Dutch chief, Pieter Smit, whom Master had met during his previous visit, being 'dangerous sick,' sent Outhoorn, his Second, with his excuses for not paying a personal visit.

The 3rd January was again taken up with the sorting of piece-goods, a business to which Master gave his personal superintendence. In his 'Memorandum of the Good Services done the East India Company,' Master thus alludes to his actions from the time he left Balasor: 'December the 18th, 1676, I left Ballasore and went on board ship *Eagle;* the 21st sailed out of Ballasore Road, and the 29th anchored in Metchlepatam Road; the 31st I went on shoare. January 1: 1677. I caused the Councill to set, where they laid the neglect of sorting and packing the goods to one another, whereupon I set to it myselfe the next day, and having finished the Fine Salampores prised them at 1 Pago. Per Corge cheaper then the Muster to the Companys advantage; the Oringall Beteela's were prised at 2½ and 2 Pagods cheaper then the Musters.' He further remarks elsewhere in the same 'Memorandum,' 'The Goods from Metchlepatam had not been laded thence for England this year if I had not sorted them, and prevented those quarrels which hindered the busynes, and in prizing the goods at Metchlepatam I gained or saved the Company a considerable sume of Mony.'

On the 4th January, 1677, an unwelcome interruption to business occurred. The native revenue-collector, with several Mogul merchants, came to Master in the factory and demanded payment by the Company of debts said to be owing to them by Robert Fleetwood, who had died at Madapollam on the 3rd September, 1676. Master replied that Fleetwood was heavily indebted to the Company, and that what few effects he had left had already been seized by Āgha Jalāl 'to pay himselfe 3,000 Pagodas that was oweing to. him.' The creditors, however, refused to accept this explanation, and threatened to appeal to the King of Golconda or to Aurangzēb himself. Four days later they came again, and renewed their demands, when Master informed them that 'the Company was in the same condition with them,' and that there was no one to whom to apply except to Fleetwood's penniless widow and children. The creditors renewed their threats and 'parted angry,' leaving a list of the amounts said to be owing to them from Fleetwood's estate.

The 5th January was occupied in pricing the goods previously

sorted. Each piece was compared with the sample from which it was ordered, and 'abatements' made accordingly. On Monday and Tuesday in the following week, the 8th and 9th January, 1677, Master presided over two important Consultations. The first concluded with the pricing of Warangal *beatilhas* (veilings), but was occupied mainly with making regulations regarding the accounts and registers of the factory, the special duties of the 'Third' in the subordinate factories, the money produced by 'Outcryes' of deceased persons' effects, the keeping of duplicate copies of Consultations at Masulipatam and its 'Subordinates,' and the regular despatch of such copies to Fort St. George. These enactments were similar to those made at Kasimbazar in November, 1676, but two other regulations made at the Consultation of the 8th January, 1677, had reference to the personal behaviour of the Company's servants. For some years there had been constant bickerings at Masulipatam, much unseemly roystering among the younger servants of the Company, and a general want of discipline in the factory. Hence, orders enjoining respectful behaviour and a 'Submissive stile' were both necessary and salutary.

At the close of this Consultation all the 'freemen' then in Masulipatam were summoned and informed of the Company's orders enforcing their residence at Fort St. George, and prohibiting them from serving the King of Golconda 'or any other Prince in these Countryes.' They were further told that, if they refused compliance, they 'would be esteemed contemners of these orders and could expect noe benifitt of the Companyes protection and countenance. To which they made noe answer.' Benjamin Broomer, however, who was specially recalled to England, replied that he was making preparations for departure.

On the morning of the 8th January, Hartsinck, the Dutch chief-designate of Masulipatam, visited the Agent, and in the evening Master, with some of the Council, went to inquire for the sick chief, Pieter Smit. He was reported 'very weak,' but 'upon good hopes of recovery.' The hopes were, however, unfounded, for he died on the 21st March following, 'in the bloom of his days and the prime of his life,' as the inscription on his tombstone testifies.

On the 9th January, much business was indeed transacted. Chamberlain, in fulfilment of his promise, brought in the balance of goods for which he had received the Company's money in the previous August, and the 'Councell accepted the same.' A few pieces of a new kind of veiling were ordered to be purchased and sent home 'for a Tryall,' in pursuance of the permission granted to Master to invest in any goods likely to be saleable in England. The *Eagle* and *Johanna*, having been laden with an 'Indifferent proportion of the whole investment,' were despatched to Fort St. George, and the other two ships, the *Falcon* and *Suratt Merchant*, now arrived from Bengal, were detained to take in the remainder of the goods. The 'younge men of the Factory' petitioned for an allowance for 'washing their Linneing.' This was agreed to as reasonable, and they were granted one rupee per month, 'that being the common rate they pay.' It was thought politic to make Āgha Jalāl a present in return for his hospitality, more particularly as 'these civillityes are designed in expectation of a reciprocall returne.' Master was also again confronted by the widow Cole, whom he had befriended during his previous visit to Masulipatam. She petitioned for help towards the maintenance of herself and her orphan children, but the Council, though 'sensible of her deplorable condition,' did not consider themselves empowered to 'assigne her any releife,' and therefore referred her case to the Agent at Fort St. George.

In order to settle, once for all, the disputes about the sorting of cloth, Master laid down definite rules to be observed in the future. He directed that, immediately after prayers, the chief of the factory and all the Company's servants available should repair to the sorting-place and 'sort the cloth untill dinner, and againe after dinner untill night, till the same be finished.' Further, that the Company's business might not suffer from private feuds, Master forbade 'Papers of any differences' or 'recriminations' to be circulated 'untill the ships be dispatched.'

On this day, too, Christopher Hatton produced his 'Accompt of the trade of Metchlepatam,' another of those valuable papers for which posterity is indebted to Master. Hatton gave a short statement of the trade of Masulipatam from the date of

his arrival in India, in 1657. He named the ports with which business was carried on and the products imported and exported. He traced the causes of the then 'low Condition' of the place and its commerce, which he attributed mainly to 'the corruption of Government at Golcondah.' Into the manner of conducting investments at Masulipatam, Hatton did not enter in detail, since Master could have 'plenary satisfaction in our Consultation booke where all Circumstances relateing thereunto are recorded.' As an instance of the decay of the place, he remarked that in 1677 it was impossible to obtain goods 'without given money out some monthes before,' whereas, when he first arrived at Masulipatam, the 'Towne was so well stored with able merchants that many ships Ladeings of Divers sorts of Callicoes' were 'procurable in the space of two or three dayes.'

At ten o'clock on the night of the 9th January, Master left Masulipatam, a place for which he could have had but little liking. He had found the factory, at his previous visit (August, 1676), in a state of hopeless confusion. He had left it in comparative order, and had returned, five months later, to discover fresh disorder and dissensions. He had renewed his efforts to produce systematic reform, but he could not have been very sanguine as to the success of his labours. The 10th January was occupied in transferring goods from boats to the ships, but 'the sea breese being come in before they were delivered the ships could not saile this day.' Early in the morning of the 11th, Mainwaring sent out a catamaran from Masulipatam to Master's ship, the *Eagle*, with the news that Podela Lingappa had raised the siege at Fort St. George, which was therefore no longer in urgent need of provisions. Directly after the receipt of this information the *Eagle* and *Johanna* set sail from Masulipatam Road.

During his voyage to Fort St. George Master found time to make notes on 'the Dutch affairs upon the Coast' and on the town of Masulipatam. He enumerates the nine Dutch factories within the dominions of the King of Golconda, gives the rent paid by them for the town of Pālakollu, and states that, 'in all or most of these places they are indebted to the natives, the

merchants with whome they deale, and have not wherewith to pay them.' He remarks on the liability of Masulipatam to floods and the 'noisome smell in the Towne' after rain. He also mentions a cyclone that had occurred on the 13th November, 1676, which, 'by the report of the English here, was more violent then any thing that had happened of late yeares.'

On the 16th January the ships passed 'the high land' of Pulicat, and, on the following day, came in sight of Pālakollu. In the afternoon they anchored in 'Madrass roade.' Having written a letter to the Agent and Council, in which he explained that 'haveing mett with small and Contrary winds' his 'passage' from Masulipatam 'hath binn thus long,' Master 'went a shoare and was received with much kindness.' Three days later, on the 20th January, he was present at a Consultation at Fort St. George, when he delivered various papers to the Council. On the 23rd, he caused a list to be added to his Diary of all the Company's servants at Fort St. George, in order of seniority, with the dates of their arrival and 'Present Degree.' On the 27th he records the sale by 'outcry' of the effects left at 'the Fort,' by the deceased Nathaniel Whetham. The same day the *Falcon* and *Suratt Merchant* arrived from Masulipatam, 'haveing binn eight dayes in their passage.'

The last sentence in the Diary is very characteristic: 'Upon the *Faulcons* comeing into the roade Captain Bonnell in the *Eagle* struck his Flagg and tooke it downe from the maine top and afterwards put it upon the foretop; Captain Stafford tooke his from the fore top and put it up on the maine top, according to the Honble. Companyes orders to them upon my leaveing the Fleet.' Then follows Master's own signature and the name of the transcriber. In his 'Memorandum' he thus abstracts his actions from the time he left Masulipatam: 'January 9: 1677. I left Metchlepatam and went aboard the *Eagle*, but the Boates which were laden with the goods came not on board untill the 10th, which being received in the 11th, at 5 in the Morning we Sailed, and the 17th came to anchor at Fort St. George; I went a Shoare, and the 20th, at a Consultation, Delivered Major Puckles Papers. I made a full returne of my Commission and Instructions to the Company, dated the 30th

January 1676-77, which by the next returne from England they well approved.'

The Court's complimentary comments on Master's 'Diary and Instructions' are to be found in their letter to Fort St. George of the 12th December, 1677.[1] Under the heading of 'Mr. Masters *Diary* well approved of,' they wrote: 'Wee have perused Mr. Masters *Diary* and doe like the forme thereof well, and recommend it as a Pattern to be observed in all the subordinate Factories, For in the Consultation Books from Mesulapatam and the Bay, there are no Accompts given of any thing but slight touches of our own affaires. And therefore wee require that in every Factory a Diary be kept after the same method, and Copies of them to be sent to the Fort and us yeerly, and accordingly you are to give full directions.' The 'Instructions' were also 'very well liked of.' On these the Court remarked, 'Wee have received a returne of Mr. Masters Instructions, and doe commend him for his prudent and diligent conduct therein, and of the directions given to the Subordinate Factories for the more orderly management of our affaires, and as he hath settled the business in the Bay, So as wee hope our affaires will be better managed there for the future, So wee doe expect by the next ships an Accompt of the settling and regulateing it also at Mesulapatam and the Fort, and that for the future differences will be prevented that have been so prejudiciall to us.'

Master's Life between the Diary, 1677, and the 'Memorialls,' 1679.

There is a gap of two years and two months between Master's return to Fort St. George, in January, 1677, and his overland journey to Masulipatam in March, 1679. Of the first portion of this time, he says (in his 'Account of the Good Services done the East India Company' and in his 'Memorandum'),[2] 'All the next year, 1677, I remained in Councill at Fort St. George untill Sir William Langhorne went for England in January 1677-78, by which Ships I wrott a Letter to the Company and

[1] *Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 498. [2] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

therewith some Proposalls for Regulating their affairs, and allsoe A Collection of the Rules and Methods used by the Dutch East India Company in the Management of their busynes in India, To which I received a very gratious answear from the Company by the next returne of the Ships to India. . . . I proposed the Companys taking of Freight between the Coast and Bay, which they never did before, and thereby they got 3 or 400 pagos. per annum. By my proposing and interposeing in Councell, the busynes of Metchlepatam was kept out of Matthew Mainwarings hands and put into Christopher Hattons, who did it to content, and the other would have ruined it. The Church built at Fort St. George, Madraspatam, out of Voluntary Subscriptions, was set afoote and finished by my means. Through much patience and hazard I endured to stay for the Agency and to out Sir William Langhorne thereof, who very hardly brooked leaving the Imployment, and, had he stayed, the Companys affairs under his Agency had never been brought into order and method, but would have been ever in confusion as they have been all this time; and it hath cost me much care and watchfullness to keep them in some degree of order since my returne from the Bay and Metchlepatam untill his imbarqueing for England; and Edward Harris [Herrys] his goeing home with Sir William Langhorne is to be attributed to me, for I found he ever imbroiled the Companys affairs.'

Master had indeed need of self-control during the year 1677. He was compelled to defer to one for whom he had no respect, and for whose methods of government he had the greatest contempt. To a man of keen business capacity, loving order and discipline, Langhorne's easy-going methods and general laxity must have been most exasperating. Master's paper on 'The Character of the Government at Fort St. George from 1672 to 1677,'[1] which is a scathing indictment of Langhorne and all his works, contains seven important charges of misgovernment. 1. '*The infrequency of the meetings of Council.* '. . . When the Council did meet, there was nothing dóne regularly, but one walked one way and another walked another way in the Roome, when the busyness was moved, which was spoken

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

to but indifferently. . . . There hath been noe care taken to keep the young men to busynes. At his [Langhorne's] first coming to the Government all the young men were put to dyett abroad, some at Punch houses, and noe Table kept for them, which . . . was the Direct way to ruine all the young men and consequently the Companys busynes.' 2. *The mismanagement of the subordinate factories on the 'Coast' and in Bengal.* 'There hath noe regard been to keep them in any order or quiett . . . soe that all his time they have been in uncessant broyles and undetermined differences by many very obscure orders and directions. . . . Many generall Letters and Papers sent to and Delivered unto the Agent and Councill have been made away, and not entered in the Copy Bookes nor laid up in the Offices, because they did some way or other reflect on his managery.' 3. *Irreverence and disregard of religion.* 'The place in the Fort, which heretofore was set apart for a Chapell and was used only for that Service, has all his time been used for a dineing roome as well as a Chapell (then which nothing can be more Scandalous in these Countrys). . . . The French Padrys Church for the Papists was enlarged and much countenanced by him, but nothing forwarded towards building a Church for the Protestants, nor would he subscribe anything toward it when it was set afoot.' 4. *Neglect and miscarriage of Government.* 'Twas wholy left to the Justices of the Choultry, but where any thing extraordinary hath hapen'd he hath sloberd things over rather than proceeded in regular ways of Justice.' 5. *Monopolising the command of the military.* 'The Military Government he understood did wholy belong to him without any advice or assistance of the Councell therein, as he has often said, and therefore the old orders for the garrison which hung up at the Corps du gard were taken downe and new orders put up in his owne name without any mention of the Councill therein, and soe were the Passes which he gave to Ships signed by himselfe alone, altho they were written "Wee Sir W.L. &ca." . . . Every weeke one of the Companys have been exercised by him by turnes, by which means he kept the Soldyers in some awe and greater temperance then otherwise they would practice, and indeed this is the best thing

he hath done. . . . Those workes of the Fortifications built in his time have been most of them twice done, first with Turf which was very Chargeable and soone moulder'd and washed downe, then with Brick and Stone, all done upon his owne fancy and humor, without adviseing with any one, at double the Expence need have been, and much wash'd into the Sea through folly.'. 6. *Entrusting too much of the Company's investments in Vīranna's hands.* 'For the Investment for Europe and the Sale of Europe Goods, the first has been always and altogether done by Verona, with whome the contracts were made, and he soe much respected that he hath had the boldnes to make Sir W.L. stay a considerable time at his house when he hath called in there (as he would often doe). . . .' 7. *Useless disbursement of the Company's money.* 'For his Expences he seemed in generall to be very frugall, yet the Charges of the Garrison, Fortifications, repairs &ca. were not little, nor was there much done to any good purpose; he was at great charges upon enlarging and new forming two gardens, one within the other without the Towne. . . . The Muckwaes or Mussoola [or Boat] men had twice or thrice run away that year he went home, and once soe late as the 10th January, upon which Verona was sent after them and brought them back upon the promise of raising their pay.'

Master's personal dislike of Langhorne precluded him from being quite fair in his accusations, but it must be owned that the evidence extant of the mismanagement prevailing at Fort St. George from 1670 to 1678 goes far to prove the justice of these serious charges. At the same time Langhorne's position, after Master's arrival in India, was by no means enviable. During the year 1677 especially, he must have found it galling to be in constant association with a successor already burning to make a clean sweep of the old régime and institute his own methods of reform. The suave, easy-going Langhorne must often have smarted under the comments of his colleague, and the relief of both was probably great when the tension ended in January, 1678, with the departure of Langhorne for England and his succession by Master. Meanwhile, in England, there had been some opposition to Master at the East

India House. This is shown by a letter to him from his cousin, Sir James Oxenden of Dean, dated 12 January, 1677-78.[1] He writes: 'I heartily congratulate your safe arrivall in India, and by this Time I hope the quiet possession of your Gouverment at the Fort. Our Northern Blast which threatned the Shaking and loosning of your Foundation is passed over, and a Calme hath succeeded in the Comittee, which I hope will continue att least during your Contracted Time. . . . It would bee tedious and unnecessary to recapitulate to you the severall Waies and Artifices the adverse Party used to undermine and dispossesse you, and the constant applications wee made to maintaine you in your designed and appointed Station, Since I have already given you a brief account Over Land.' The letter, which is very long, goes on to describe how the opposing party had intrigued at Court, and had almost succeeded in inducing Charles II. to revoke Master's Commission and extend Sir William Langhorne's term of government by two years. 'Mr. Guy, one of the Bed Chamber to the King, hath confest that hee had a good sume of mony from Cooke for getting the King to speake to the Governour for Sir. Wm. Langhorns stay two yeares longer. Tis said the sume was 500 *li.* . . . If the Kings desire had taken effect, wee then had prepared a petition to have presented his Majesty . . . but it fell out better that there was no need of it. Since the Governours Report of his Majestys Conference with them and how hee was satisfy'd, our Adversarys have left us in some repose, and since the last Aprill Election, wherein our Friends were chosen, they have been quite silent.'

With regard to the Diary sent home by Master, and the charge of Joseph Arnold against him, Oxenden writes: 'I find the Comittee in generall well pleased with the Regulations you have made in their Affairs, and particularly with the large Memoriall you sent them, which is accounted very laborious and judiciory. It hath been left to Mr. Papillon to abbreviate it and report what hee thinks most important for the Companys Interest. . . . I have so well represented the impertinent, non-

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10. Some portions of this letter have been printed by Yule. See *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii., pp. 245, 246.

sensicall and malicious charge of Mr. Joseph Arnold against you[1] That his greatest Friends are ashamed of itt, and most of the Comittee look upon it as very idle and the effect of an overheated braine, and therefore by their generall Letters this yeare have sent him a Severe reprimand and Check for his drinking and debauchery. I resenting the affront done to you to Mr. Brittaine and Natt Scottow, They invited mee to Diner to reason the Case and show mee the Letters. They did first assure mee upon their Credity that Mr. Arnold was not the first Informer against the Captaine of your Ship' [James Bonnell, Commander of the *Eagle*], 'but was drawn in and forced to itt. Then they complain'd that, in spight of all their endeavours, they could never gett you to be reconciled to him, but that att Deale and all along you kept him at the greatest distance imaginable,[2] tho' hee used you with all the respect that could be, never putting on his Hatt before you, and you never desiring him to bee cover'd, tho' he was a good Gentleman and a Stout man. That as for their Security you bid them beware off, they are so well convinced of his Honesty that they will double that Security at any Time. I defended you as well as I could, and told them that all men had a natural aversion against Informers, and so had you, and that this last Charge against you had confirmed all people in the belief that hee was one, which had done him no Creditt at all here nor with the Company in India, and that all people henceforth would despise and avoid him like the plague. They did answear they did all extreamly blame and censure him for this Charge, and would tell him his Impertinency in it, but pray'd you would be reconciled to him and then they would undertake hee should ly at your Feet. I told them that if they would undertake that hee should write to you and begge your pardon for all his misbehaviours towards you, and perticularly this Charge, that I would likewise engage you should show him Countenance and bee reconciled to him; and therefore, pray Cozen, if they performe their parts, do you make good my promise, which the Lawes of Interest and Christianity will, I hope, oblige you too.'

[1] No details of this charge appear to exist.

[2] Arnold, who had been dismissed the Company's service, was reinstated in 1675, and returned to India with Master in the *Eagle*.

A reference to Master's religious principles in the same letter is also interesting: 'Discoursing with Mr. Papillon about the differences which might arise concerning the Ministers, by reason of the contrariety in their Principles, and that it was best to send all of one Stamp, Hee did not Seeme to resent in the least what had happned between you and Them, but only said you were a little too rigid a Church of England Man and had not latitude enough.'

Although a certain section of the Court of Committees was antagonistic to Master, he was warmly supported by two of its most powerful members, Sir Josia Child and Thomas Papillon. In November, 1677, Child wrote to Master: 'Whoever you find defective, turn them Imediately out of their place and salary, which I would advise you to doe speedily and smartly, whoever they shall prove to be. One such Instance of your wisdome and power would make you better fear'd and obeyed in all places for seven years after, and might be worth to the Company many thousands of Pounds in the consequence of it. Of this you may be confident, your Interest with us by such an Action would not be weakned but strengthned, and the party out of all possibility ever to be restored, whatever friends he hath in this Committee.'[1] Well had it been for Master if his supporters had retained this attitude towards him in the years which followed!

On assuming the post of Agent and Governor, Master lost no time in reorganising affairs at the Fort, as will be seen from the following account, in his own words,[2] of a portion of the work and events of the year 1678:—

January. 'The first Councill which I cal'd after Sir William Langhorne was gone was to make an order to send home two Prisoners for a Soldyer that was Strangled, being tyed Neck and heels on the gard a few days before Sir William Langhorne went. The next Councill was upon the 31th January, wherein was laid downe Rules for the management of the Companys busynes *Vizt.* That the Councill should set every Munday and Thursday; That Bills should be Drawne by the Second (or Accomptant) for all Moneys paid out of Cash; That the

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 11. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 10.

Generall Bookes of Accompts should be Ballanced yearely the 30th Aprill and kept in the Method used at Surratt; That the Warehouse Keeper doe keep Books of Accounts of all the goods Bought and Sold; That the Customer doe Collect all the Customes, Rents and Revenues of the Towne, and keep two Bookes, entering therein the Rates and other particulers; and to receive all the Freights and make entry of all Shipps coming and goeing, and to Register all Private Trade. The Mint Master to keep two Bookes, one for the Companys gold, the other for all other gold, and duly to receive the Duty. The Pay Master to keep 3 Bookes, (1) A Booke of all the Ammunition and Stores and the Expence thereof; (2) A Booke of all the Expences of the Garrison; (3) A Booke for Registering of Wills and Testaments, Christenings, Marriages and Burialls. That the Secretary doe Summon the Councill to Meet every Munday and Thursday. That he keep and enter all Consultations and a Diary of things observable, Register all Passes given, and see to get double Copy Bookes of Letters Received and Sent duly written with Marginall Notes and Alphabetts, and Drawe out Lists of the Companys Servants and allsoe of all Freemen. All the said Bookes of Accounts to be Read and Pass'd in Councill every Month, and Duplicates to be sent home to the Company and laid up in the Registers at the Fort. To Reduce the two Companys of the Garrison to 80 Men in each Company, there was 25 Men disbanded and 100 Peons turned off. . . . I first began and settl'd the Register of Private Trade.

February. 'I sent some Europe goods of the Companys upon their account to Metchlepatam [Masulipatam], where they sold for about 400: Pagodas more then they would have sold for at the Fort, beside the advantage of being turned into Mony from a Dead Stock. . . . I lessened the foundation of the Caldera Point or Bastian of the bignes Sir William Langhorne had laid it, by which meanes the Company saved at least 800 Pagodas in that Building. . . . With much labour I examined the busynes of Metchlepatam upon Richard Mohuns Charge against Matthew Mainwaring, and afterwards settled the busynes of Metchlepatam, soe as that affair never was soe well in any time heretofore.

March. 'I settled the Court of Judicature at the Fort to my owne great trouble, the Companys honour and to the advantage of the Towne and Trade. . . . At a Consultation:—Resolved That the busynes of Metchlepatam Factory shall noe longer be continued in Commissioners. That Mr. Christopher Hatton be continued Chief of that Factory, and Mr. Mainwaring to deliver all to him.

April. 'The foundation of the Church was begun, which will be built with the voluntary Contributions of the English in these parts, and not any of it at the Companys Charge. Orders were made about Popish Priests and the French Padrys. Ordered in Councill:—That noe Papist shall bear office in the Garrison, and Private Centinells of that Religion to have but 80: Fanams per Mensem Pay. Orders made for Punishment of Deserters and Gaming. Order'd in Councill:—That a Choultry be built in the Outward Garden.

May. 'By my continuall lying at Verona [Vīranna], he abated 6½ pr. Cent. upon 70000: Pagodas advanced on the Investment 1678, whereas he allowed but 5: Pr. Cent: the year before, which is 1050: Pagodas gained. The Dutys of the Mint I improved from under 100: to above 1000: Pagodas per annum by making the English and all other pay the ½ Pr. Cent: not done before, and to my owne Damage.

June. 'Orders made to receive English Seamen into the Gunners Crew and to give them Liberty to Voyage to and fro. . . . The Ship *Williamson* Capt. William Basse arrived from England.[1]

July. 'The ships *Nathaniell* and *Society* arrived from England. . . . The Marryed Men of the Councill Desired the continuance of their allowance for Dyett &ca., obliging their Salarys to make good what the Company shall not allow. . . . There is a Note in the Diary[2] of the Dutch Designe upon Bantam.

[1] In forwarding to Richard Edwards, at Balasor, his private correspondence, received by the *Williamson* (*O.C.*, No. 4448), Master remarked: 'I have not leasure to write you much news, but because I know you would gladly know Hall and Smith's Doome, I shall tell you that they are both dismist the Companys service and ordered up hither to remaine a year or two to end their owne business and then to returne for England.'

[2] By the 'Diary' is meant the *Diary and Consultation Book* at Fort St. George for the year 1678.

August. 'The houses Taxed and a Scavinger apointed to keep the Towne cleane. . . . In the contract with Verona for the investment, I abated him 1175 Pagodas upon 500 Corge [score] of Betteela's [*beathilas*] which before were bought at 39: and 42½ Pagos. [These] were now agreed for at 37: and 40: Pagodas Pr. Corge. . . . The Factorys in the Bay were all now settled according to the Companys Rules, and 10 Factors and Writers sent from the Fort to supply the want of them in the Bay. The Chaplains to take place next after the Chiefs of the Subordinate Factorys. Ballasore Factory to be under a Chief and Councill, and the Accounts to be kept distinct and not confounded with Hugly as heretofore. All the Chiefs and Councills to reside at their proper Factorys and Stations and not to remove without leave obtained. . . . Lingapa [Lingappa][1] sent to Verona (as he said) for all the Coyners in our Mint, and for the Chops [*chhāp*] and Stamps the Pagodaes are Coyned with, but wee had more Wit then to send them or any thing elce. 80000 Pagos. sent to Metchlepatam upon the *Nathaniel* and *Society*, 28800 Pagos. whereof was made up of my owne Mony, as appears in the Account Cash; the Companys not being Coyned.

August 13. 'I spared the Company 28800 Pagodas in August 1678: to make up a Sume of 80000 Pagodas to send for their account to Metchlepatam, as appears by my Cash Booke, which was repaid the September following.

September. 'Orders made in Councill for regulating Tavernes and houses of Publike Entertainment. . . . I Let to Farme the Licenses for Tavernes and Punch houses at Fort St. George at 205 Pagodas per annum the first year. . . . I settled the charge of the Mint upon coyning small moneys, Fanams and Cash, in such manner that, altho the Dutys were less, yet the Company received more by it then formerly, and the Poore of the Towne were exceedingly eased by it in those times when Corne was very dear. . . . Two Prisoners for Murder left in Prison by Sir William Langhorne and now to be Tryed by a Spetiall Commission from the King sent out by the Company, but the Prisoners names mistaken (as supposed on purpose by

[1] See *ante*, pp. 57, 61.

the Companys direction), were now tryed by vertue of the Kings Charter to the Company. William Gilbert was by the Jury found Guilty of Man Slaughter *Se defendendo*, and Manoell Brandon de Lima guilty of a Murder. He was Sentenced to be hang'd, from which Sentence he appealed to England, and twas allowed. The Portugez came in a body to returne thanks for the favour.

October. 'Upon the Petition of the Officers of the Garrison, their Places of Precedency were ranked with the Marchants and Factors as followeth: Captaine in the Degree of Senior Marchant; Lieutenant in the Degree of Marchant; Ensigne in the Degree of Factor; Serjeant in the Degree of Writer; And Commissions given them to bear them out in their Commands. A Provost Marshall apointed and a Commission given him, Allsoe instructions for Regulating himselfe in that Office. Orders were made to be observed by all Persons in Civill Imployments, under Penaltys consisting of 38 Articles. . . . I contrived the orders for good goverment and the bringing all the English &ca. the Kings Subjects to live under the Companys goverment, and granted Priviledged Passes to such as live under our Protection.

November. 'The Orders for all in Civill Imployments were read in the Chapell, November 5: This [*i.e.*, Guy Fawkes' Day] was kept more Solemnly then has been knowne at this place. . . . A Priest for Baptiseing a Slave Boy sentenc'd to Depart the Towne. . . . Madapollam Bookes, received the 6th, not being kept in the Method of the Surratt Bookes as was directed, Mr. John Tivill is ordered to come up to be Instructed. . . . Chena Vincatadry [Chinna Venkatādri], for exacting of Customes in the Towne, was confin'd and put out of Service of being Chief Peon. Pedda Vincatadry [Pedda Venkatādri] received Customes of the Gentues, which is not to be permited at the Choultry nor demanded as a due. . . . Orders published, That noe Person doe receive any Customes or Dutys, other then such as are allowed by the Governor and Councill, nor doe Justice or summon any person before them to that end, other then the Justices of the Choultry. I brought Verona to pay halfe Custome outward, and to pay as much Custome for what

he brought in by Sea as for what brought in by Land (which heretofore paid but halfe soe much), as by the account apears, which is, as Verona says, 1,000 Pagodas per annum to his Loss and the Companys gaine. . . . Verona and his Partners Submited to the said Regulation after Reproofe: They were presented with a horse, and 9 guns fired.

December. 'John Barker made Clarke of the Markett, to take account of all the Shops, and to apply himselfe to the Justices of the Choultry. Mr. Tivill having acknowledged his Error in keeping the Madapollam Bookes, the order for his coming up was reversed. . . . I contracted with Verona &ca. for 5000 pces. Fine Salampores, 4000 pces. of Fine Percollaes [*parkāla*] and 2000: pces. Dyapers, at 20: Pr. Cent: abatement of former prises, which Sir W. Langhorne would not doe; and I bought 4 threaded Ginghams at 25: Pagodas Pr. Corge, which cost 32½ Pagodas Pr. Corge heretofore. I put the busynes of writing to Metchlepatam and the Bay upon the Companys Letters in a plainer way then heretofore, to my owne greater trouble and pains.'

Though zealous for the Company's good, Master was not unmindful of his own estate, and two letters written by him to Richard Edwards at Balasor,[1] in May and June of 1678, show that he had invested considerable amounts in long pepper and *tutenaga* (spelter).

In the following year, 1679, the despatch of the ships *Williamson*, *Society*, *Falcon*, and *Nathaniel* for England was the chief occupation of Master and his Council, during the month of January. On the night of the 28th, two days before the captains received their 'sailing orders,' there is a note of an 'Earth quake which continued about halfe a quarter of an hour . . . but praised be God it did noe harme.'[2]

On the 1 February, 1679, the four ships sailed 'for England full laden with a Cargo of 2017 Tonns, amounting to £234,641: 14: 07d..' which, Master remarks, 'is 14 Tonns more then the Company were obliged to lade and £8904: 12: 05d: more then the Stocke sent from

[1] *O.C.*, Nos. 4425, 4438.

[2] *Mackenzie MSS.*, vol. lii., p. 5.

England.' In this month fresh disputes occurred with the King of Golconda's 'renters' (farmers of the taxes). Madana, the uncle of Lingappa, who had consistently opposed the English for many years, endeavoured to fix the price at which paddy should be sold in the market at Fort St. George. Master, with his characteristic clearness of political vision, declined to conform to this arbitrary demand, and ignored the threats by which it was accompanied. He declared that the market 'was free to all people to buy and sell in,' and that 'noe man could force' the sellers to dispose of their goods at fixed rates, 'And if it should please God to make it dearer or cheaper 'twas not in the power of man to alter what God Almighty had decreed in the Government and disposition of all things in the World, therefore 'twas in vaine to trouble himselfe as to those things.'[1] Lingappa and Madana, in reply, threatened to collect paddy on the outskirts of Fort St. George, 'where all this Townes people should come and buy,' and Master and the Council retorted that they would 'hinder the same by force.' There the matter rested for the time being.

In March, the state of the subordinate factories of Masulipatam and Madapollam was found to be still far from satisfactory. Master, therefore, decided to pay a personal visit of inspection, with the intention of instituting reforms, and made arrangements during 'vacancy in business' for an overland journey, leaving Messrs. Hynmers, Bridger, and Wilkes in charge at Fort St. George. This journey is described in his second Diary, which he styles 'A Memoriall.' It comprises seven weeks and three days, from the 11th March to the 3rd May, 1679.

Master's position as Agent and Governor in 1679 was very different from that of Agent and Supervisor, which he had held in 1676, and it was considered necessary that he should have an entourage befitting his new dignity. Instead of a couple of writers and a 'file of souldiers' as heretofore, he was to be accompanied on his journey by sixteen persons, *viz.*, two members of Council, the chaplain, surgeon, schoolmaster, secretary, two writers, an ensign, six soldiers, and a trumpeter, besides two freemen of position who joined the train. There was to be no lack of

[1] *Mackenzie MSS.*, vol. lii., p. 7.

pomp and ceremony. Timely instructions were sent to the chief at Masulipatam to prepare suitable accommodation for the party. He was to be in readiness to meet them at Peddapalle, to engage boats for them to cross over to Divi Island, and to provide 'a Tent to lodge in there,' and all because, as Master himself remarked in a letter to the Company, it was 'necessary for the reputation of the Nation to go in a handsome Port and Equipage.'

The First 'Memoriall.'

On the evening of the 11th March, 1679, Master and his following, escorted by the 'rest of the Councell and other friends,' left Madras and proceeded to Tiruvatiyūr (Trivetore), where they slept. The next morning formal farewells took place, and the party started on their overland journey. The mode of travelling is not actually mentioned, but there seems to be no doubt that they rode on horses and that their luggage was conveyed in waggons. At Vallūr they dined at the 'charge' of the 'Chief People of the towne,' and presents were interchanged. A halt for the night was made at Chinna Pulicat, whence Master despatched Messrs. Mohun and Cholmley to Jacques Caulier, the Dutch governor, to beg the loan of boats for crossing the River Arani on the following morning. Caulier had prepared to give the English a formal reception, but he agreed that a visit from Master should be deferred until his return, and, meanwhile, promised every assistance in his power.

After crossing the river, the travellers found themselves in the swampy ground skirting Pulicat Lake, and arrived at Srīharikōt 'by noone, all our People tyred.' The *ḥawāldār* (local overseer) of the place brought offerings of food, and 'invited us to Hogg hunting.' Food and fodder were also presented by the retainers of Chinna Venkatādri, one of the Company's merchants at Madras. By promising to visit the *ḥawāldār* on the return journey, Master 'excused the returne of his kindness now as to a present.' Here, Timothy Wilkes, a member of Council, Ralph Ord, the Company's schoolmaster, and William Bellamy, a freeman, left the party and returned

to Madras. The rest pushed on to Armagom, where again the *ḥawāldār* greeted them with courtesy, and offered presents of provisions. In the evening Master inspected the 'English old Factory House,' and received a petition for a resettlement in that place, which, 'by information,' he understood to be 'much better scituated for trade then is Madrass . . . and the soyle much better.' The town, however, had so declined in importance since the English had abandoned it in 1641, that the customs, which were farmed by Kāsi Vīranna, only produced, in 1679, about 60 pagodas. A present was made to the 'Principall men of Armagon,' and also to some of Vīranna's followers, who escorted the travellers through Kottapatnam as far as Kistnapatnam, some eighteen miles from Armagom.

Before daybreak on the 16th March, Kistnapatnam was left behind, and the party made their way through Gangapatnam to Utukūr. To reach the latter place the River Pennēr had to be forded 'with some trouble,' it 'being near high water and spring tides near the full moone.' At Utukūr the *ḥawāldār* was in waiting with a boat to transport the baggage. He also tendered a present of red cotton cloth and betel, and begged Master and his following to halt 'at his towne. The Beetle was accepted, the Redd cloth returned, and our stay excused,' and the party made their way through Varini to Gogulapalli, where they remained twenty-four hours, 'our people comeing in all weary,' after having 'travailed' twenty-seven miles.

At midnight, on the 17th March, the cavalcade was again in motion, and steadily pushed on, through Zuvvaladinne and Tummalapenta to Rāmayapatnam, where the English and Dutch formerly had small settlements, of which nothing was found remaining but a small 'mudwall thatcht house,' kept by the Dutch as a depôt for saltpetre. At 3 a.m., on the morning of the 18th March, the travellers passed through Karēḍu, 'a sea port and the best town on the road hitherto.' Thence they made their way by Velagapūḍī to Allūr, with its groves of tamarind trees and abundance of 'corne and Cattle.' After a halt for dinner, they again set forward, and pitched their camp for the night at 'Humlae Mooll' (probably Ammanabrōlu), some forty-five miles from Rāmayapatnam.

Early in the morning of the 19th March traces of an old Portuguese settlement (Feringhipuram) were noted, 'and about 9, with easy travailing,' the party reached the thriving market-town of Vētapālem in Bāpatla *tāluk*. From this place, Master despatched messengers to Christopher Hatton, the chief at Masulipatam, 'advising of his intentions to be at Pettepolee to-morrow morning, God willing.' Accordingly, at midnight, he 'sett out,' and, passing through Bāpatla, reached a branch of the River Kistna, the passage of which 'was very muddy and troublesome for our horses.' The baggage and attendants 'were ferryed over by gun [*guṇ*, ferry] boates.' On the farther bank of the river, Christopher Hatton, with his colleagues, Maurice Wynn, Henry Croon Colborne, and John Scattergood, were in readiness to greet the Agent, and escorted him to the Company's 'Factory house' at Peddapalle or Nizāmpatnam. It had been practically abandoned since 1675, and was 'a very sorry, rotten, ruinous timber building, much of it being fallen, and that which stands ready to follow the same fate.' The Dutch factory was in a similar state of decay, but with its 'flagg stafe, a very high one, still standing.' In spite of a new 'Choultry' and 'Key of Timber' lately built for the reception of the King of Golconda, Master found the town 'much decayed, many houses being empty, ruined and forsaken.'

On the 21st March, the chief revenue-collector and the magistrate, in the absence of the local governor, paid a visit to the Agent, and 'very much importuned that a Factory might be settled here againe, promising all friendly assistance to our business.' Master agreed to take their request 'into consideration.' Next came the merchants of Peddapalle and its surroundings, 'some of which have formerly dealt with the Company.' They offered to supply goods 'at more reasonable termes then the Marchants of Metchlepatam did, and to deliver the goods before they received the mony.' They were told that if they would bring samples to Masulipatam, their application should have full consideration, and, after some demur, they 'agreed to come thither with their musters, and to be there by this day seven night.'

On the 22nd March, Master and his following left Peddapalle

and crossed the Kistna, 'which took up 4 hours time,' since there 'was but one boate to ferry over our people, Pallankeens and Horses.' The party halted for the night at Pedda Kallēpalli, and, next morning, crossed by boat to Divi Island, where, according to the orders sent in advance, Master found 'the Metchlepatam Tent was pitcht, and there we rested all this day, being Sunday.' The 23rd and 24th March were given up to 'a hunting of wild Hoggs,' under the direction of Kṛishṇa Reddi, 'the Chief Man of the Island.' The first day's bag was '8 Hoggs great and small, one being a Bore, very large and fatt,' but afterwards they 'mett not with soe good success.'

On the 25th March, news was received of the death of William Cullen, a writer in the Company's service at Masulipatam. On the same day presents were exchanged between Master and the *ḥawāldār* of the island. The following morning the party 'passed over to the maine,' and found 'all the English that were in Metchlepatam' awaiting them. The heavy baggage was despatched by boats, and Master and his augmented train pursued their way by land for 'about 12 miles' to Masulipatam, which they reached at noon. Here the Company's merchants 'mett the Agent at the Towne gate by the Bridge foot, and we entered the Towne in a handsome equipage with a great traine.' Next day, the 27th March, the Dutch chief, Van Outhoorn, who had been prevented, by pressure of business, from welcoming Master at his entrance into Masulipatam, paid a formal visit. He and his colleagues were feasted by the English, but the Dutchman's boastful attitude and his confidence of his country's power in the East were resented by his hosts.

Among the Company's junior servants at Masulipatam there was much speculation as to the purport of Master's visit. On the 28th March John Clarke wrote to William Ayloffe, who was then at Madapollam, 'The 26th instant the Agent came to towne in great State, and yesterday the Dutch gave him a visitt; it is not yet understood what the Agents intentions are, all people being Silent, neither hath he done any thing yet in publique.'[1] But Master soon set all surmises at rest by

[1] *O.C.*, No. 4588.

calling Consultations on the 28th, 29th, and 31st March and 4th April, at which sittings he transacted a large amount of business, chiefly commercial.

The first matter taken into consideration was the proposal of the Peddapalle merchants to contract for goods to be supplied to the Company. It was at first 'resolved to be for the Honble. Companys Interest to make a contract with the said marchants,' but the samples they produced were found to be inferior in quality to those previously accepted at Masulipatam. 'Much discourse' ensued, which ended in the Peddapalle merchants offering to provide a large quantity of fine goods at 10 per cent. less than the prices charged at Masulipatam in 1678, 'provided that one halfe or one quarter of the money was paid them in hand.' The debate lasted till night, when the matter was left still unsettled. Meanwhile, the Masulipatam merchants, who were fearful of being ousted by their rivals of Peddapalle, declared themselves 'willing to make some abatement of the usuall prizes,' on condition that 'none of the Pettepolee Marchants might be concerned with them.' Their terms were eventually accepted, and, on the 31st March, 'the Pettepolee Marchants, being wholly disappointed of the Imployment they aimed at, at which they are much grieved,' were compensated for their trouble of attending at Masulipatam with a present of 500 pagodas and 6 yards of cloth, together with 'faire promises,' but 'notwithstanding, they seemed much dejected, and departed with sorrowfull countenances.'

The Peddapalle merchants seem at first sight to have been somewhat unfairly treated, for Master himself admitted that they had done 'good service' by 'being instrumental in abateing the prizes of the goods' at Masulipatam. But in his letter to the Company on the 17th July, 1679, he gives some sound reasons for his apparent harshness: 'Being at Pettipolee they had offers from the merchants there to be served with Goods 10 per Cent. cheaper then what they bought at Metchlepatam, but upon treaty with the Merchants of Metchlepatam, they closed with them for the whole investment at 8 per Cent, and give the reasons of it [below]. Dismissing the Pettipolee Merchants. The Pettipolee Merchants dismist with a present of 500 pago. The

reasons of this transaction, *vizt.*, 1st. Because the Pettipolee men would undertake but for 50,000 pago. and would have a good part of it before hand. 2dly. Thy would provide noe Oringall Bettellees, Dungarees and Saile Cloth. 3dly. They would oblige us to receive all the goods at Pettepolee, where the Company had no house to receive them, till it be new built, touching which they have had no orders, and to carry them by water to Metchlepatam would subject them to be stopt in severall places. 4thly. And without the Companys orders they would not put the making Investments into new hands.'[1]

On the 28th March, Kola Venkatādri, the *dubāsh* (interpreter) at Masulipatam, was imprisoned by Master's order, for 'minding more his own Interest then the Honble. Companys.' The circumstances leading to this drastic measure were that in December, 1678, and January, 1679, Abu'l Hassan Shāh, King of Golconda, visited Masulipatam, Narsāpur and the adjacent towns, accompanied by John Field, Kola Venkatādri acting as interpreter. Reports soon after reached Fort St. George that the *dubāsh* had obtained from the King a grant of 'so much good ground as 30 Candy of seede paddy may be sowen thereon,' and Master at once ordered an inquiry to be made into the matter. At a Consultation held at Masulipatam, on the 17th Febuary, the Council found that the grant was almost worthless, owing to the barren nature of the soil. There seemed, moreover, but little chance that the *dubāsh* would get possession of his land without heavy bribes to the Golconda officials. The Council exonerated him of unfaithful dealing towards the Company, but Master did not concur in their opinion. On the 28th March, he 'sent for our Gentleman Dubash and demanded his phyrmaund for his pretended ground for 20 [? 30] Candy of paddy, which he could not produce, soe is now close prisoner in the Factory under a guard of soldiers.'[2] The *dubāsh*, however, set to work to propitiate the Agent, and, three days later, was released, 'having, to regaine his freedome and expiate his crime, undertaken to bring the Marchants to abate ½ per Cent. upon the Investment more then they offered upon Saturday, the 29th Instant, which he hath alsoe effected.'

[1] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iiia. [2] *O.C.*, No 4588.

The reason for this peculiar condition being imposed was that there had been 'a tedious debate' with the merchants on the 29th March, which ended in their agreeing to a reduction of 7½ per cent. in the price of most of the goods hitherto provided, rather than allow the Company's orders to be transferred to their rivals at Peddapalle. On the 31st, owing to Kola Venkatādri's influence, they 'confirmed their agreement of 8 per cent. abatement.' A contract was subsequently drawn up, by which the whole investment was divided into 84 shares, distributed among 'Eleaven Principall Persons,' and, under them, twenty other merchants, for whose good faith the 'Principall Persons' were held responsible. The contract detailed the kinds of goods to be provided, their dimensions and price, the time at which they were to be delivered, and the manner in which payment was to be made. It was mutually agreed that 'this Contract shall be for many yeares continuance without alteration,' in order that the loss by bad years might be made up in good seasons. In confirmation of the agreement, a sum of 5,000 pagodas was advanced to the merchants, who then severally signed and sealed the contract.

In his private papers[1] Master records the various stages in the negotiations with the Masulipatam merchants, and sums up the transaction as follows:—'1679, *March.* I made a Journey from Fort St. George by land to visit those Factorys of Pettipolee, Metchlepatam, Madapollam and Verasheroone, in which undertaking I settled the Investments at Metchlepatam with able responsable men at 8 Per Cent. abatement of the former prices for those goods, and the Romalls [*rūmāls*] from 27½ to 25 Pagodas per Corge, besides the 8 Per Cent., and refused a great brocade Morsell offer'd for my own advantage.'

On the 1st April, Master paid a formal return visit to the Dutch, and on the following day he sent to acquaint Āgha Jalāl, the Governor of Masulipatam (who had been absent on his arrival), 'of his being in these parts to inspect the Companys business.' The Governor returned a 'complementall answer,' and announced his intention of visiting the Agent and entertaining him at his house. In the evening the Council went to

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

the 'English Garden,' where was buried Thomas Whitehead, the chaplain, whom Master had followed to the grave in August, 1676.

On the 3rd April another Consultation was held, and, as Master himself records,[1] 'The Contract with the Metchlepatam marchants was Interchanged and they were Tashrift [presented] with Fine Cloth and Cloth Rashes and are to allow 1½ per Cent. Dustoore [*dastūr*, commission], which is ordered to be divided between the Bramin and the Dubas of the Factory, whoe are to have no other wages of the Company, as they have had heretofore; and 5000 Pagodas paid to confirme this Contract. I examined the Bookes of Accounts, and ordered the Bad Debts which were cleared out of the Bookes should be entered at the beginning of every Journall, and made orders for Freemen.' The regulation as to bad debts was made because Master found that there were several sums due to the Company, but 'esteemed Desperate,' particularly amounts not collected from the abandoned factories of Peddapalle and Vīravāsaram (Verasheroon). For the future, all particulars with regard to such debts, their origin, names and professions of the debtors, etc., were to be entered in the 'Journalls.'

Orders regarding 'Freemen' not in the Company's service had been frequently promulgated, but without effect. Many who had been directed to repair to Fort St. George in 1676 were still residing at Masulipatam or trading without a pass, and, in order to compel the recalcitrants to obedience, Master now decreed that no British subjects, not possessing 'a Pass as Inhabitants of some place under the Companys government in India, shall have any countenance or protection or enjoy any of the English priviledges.' Certain freemen were then 'called before the Councell and acquainted' with these orders, 'that they might not pretend ignorance of the same.'

On the 4th April, Āgha Jalāl paid his promised visit to the Agent, accompanied by 'a traine of Persians &ca.' At his earnest request the visit was returned the same evening, and 'his treate was very civill.' He presented a horse and proffered gifts to Master's following, but these were refused, 'as being not proper

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

to be received but by an inferior from a superior.' However, as both the entertainment and the horse were given in 'expectation of a Pishcash [*peshkash*], it was thought fitt to gratifie his expectations' and to present him with 250 pagodas, 'he being a Person rising in favour at Court.'

The necessary business at Masulipatam being concluded, Master found leisure to despatch a letter 'overland by expresses' to Hugli, enclosing the Company's 'freshest advices,' and urging the Council 'to goe in hand with provideing the goods' for the expected ships. He informed the factors in Bengal of the recent treaty signed at Nimeguen between the French and the Dutch, though 'later advices say that those affaires are uncertaine.' In the matter of bookkeeping, to which Master always paid attention, he gave similar orders to those issued at Masulipatam—*viz.*, that the monthly accounts of the warehousekeeper, charges-general-keeper, etc., should be passed 'some day' before those of the bookkeeper, in order that the latter 'may thereby be warranted to enter the same in the bookes of Accounts.' The letter concluded with an explanation of his presence at Masulipatam and with a statement of his intention to 'proceed to Madapollam, and, God willing, some time this month' to return to Madras.

On the evening of the 5th April, Master and the Masulipatam Council 'supd at the Dutch Garden,' which was more favourably situated and had 'better aire' than the 'English Garden.' After a day's rest on Sunday, the Agent left Masulipatam with his party in the afternoon of Monday, the 7th April, accompanied by Messrs. Hatton, Field, and Wynn. Crossing the bridges made by Mīr 'Abdullah Bāḳir, a former governor, they covered nine miles, and then halted until midnight. Before dawn on the 8th April they reached 'Enteer River,' and were 'ferryed' over 'after a long time.' Thence the route was by the seashore, across a fordable river, and so, by the backwater, to Pedda Gollapālem, 'which is reckoned halfe way to Maddapollam.' Here they stayed to purchase rice, and then proceeded 'through woods in a pleasant road' to Chinna Gollapālem, four miles farther, where they 'dined' at 9 a.m. In the afternoon they reached the 'great river,' Kistna, and found boats at Kālīpatnam,

'which ferryed all our Company over.' Thence they followed the course of the Upputeru to Mōtupalli, 'within a gentue league of Maddapollam.' Here Master was greeted by John Tivill, the chief, and the other factors of Madapollam, 'and there we lay this night.'

On the morning of the 9th April, the Upputeru was crossed, and passing 'through a very pleasant country,' Madapollam factory was reached 'before noone.' This was Master's first visit to Madapollam, and he lost no time in inspecting the Company's buildings. He found the 'House, Warehouse, out houses, garden and yards' all 'well scituated' on the River Kistna. Madapollam and its two suburbs, Malik Mahmūdpetta and Navarāzpuram at this time had each a separate *ḥawāldār* 'for the gathering the ground rent,' and were independent of the contiguous town of Narsāpur, which was 'under the governour of Metchlepatam.'

On the morning of the 10th April Master was ferried over a branch of the Kistna which divided Madapollam from Navarāzpuram. Owing to the encroachment of the river, which 'gaines upon the towne of Naurasporam,' the houses built by the English had been, for the most part, abandoned, and the place had lost its former popularity as a health resort. Christopher Hatton had sold his 'faire great house' to the 'country people, the river having washed away the garden to it.' Sir Edward Winter's 'great house' was also partly 'fallen downe and the rest soe rotten 'twas not safe.' The house built by Robert Fleetwood was, however, still in good condition, and was 'liked well' by the King of Golconda, during his visit to Madapollam and the adjacent districts in January, 1679.

Jan Van Nooy, the Dutch Chief of Pālakollu (Pollicull), being at Narsāpur, 'sent to desire to give the Agent a visit,' and with his followers was entertained for four hours at the English factory. They 'went away' after 'very much importuning the Agent to give them a visitt at Pollicull.' Other visitors at the Factory on the 10th and 11th April were a dwarf and Narsarāj, a 'Gentue of an antient family.' The dwarf was 3 ft. 10 in. tall, 'his body streight and equall proportioned' and his 'speech small, equalling his stature.' With the 'Gentue,' a 'comely

personall man of affable and gentile behaviour,' presents of fruit and broadcloth were interchanged, since, as Master observed, he was 'very serviceable to our marchants in clearing their goods from stops in those parts.' Later, on the 16th April, the son of Narsarāj desired also to visit the Agent, but he was put off with a small present 'to prevent the trouble thereof and loss of time.'

On the afternoon of Saturday, the 12th April, a Consultation was held, and the Madapollam merchants were 'called to treat about the abatement of the prizes of the goods usually provided by them.' The result of the conference was reported by Master to the Company in the course of a letter in July, 1679:—'From Metchlepatam the Agent went to Madapollam, where a Contract, was made for Ordinary Long Cloth, Sallampores and some fine Goods, on which latter and the Dungarees they abated 8 per Cent., and 3 per Cent. on 11,000 pags. paid them before hand, and Connapa [Kanappa] the Bramini of that factory for his disrespectfullnes to the Companys Interest was fin'd 500 Pags. and dismissed the Servuce. Other affaires there were also regulated.'[1] This agreement was not concluded without much bargaining on either side, the merchants, among other things, stipulating that no 'other persons' should be 'joyned with them more then such as they now nominated.' Before signing the contract, other differences arose regarding the advances to be made 'upon the Investments hereafter,' and the merchants 'insisted soe obstinately upon their own way, tho it apeared to the Councell to be to their detriment,' that it was eventually decided 'to conclude upon a Contract for this yeares Investment only.' On the 16th April the affair was finally settled and the 'Principall Marchants,' 'under Marchants,' the 'Factory' Brāhman, and the interpreters, all received gifts of English cloth.

Kanappa, the Brāhman, whose 'disrespectfullnes' is noted in Master's letter quoted above, appears to have owed his dismissal to having 'cast out slighting speeches' of the Agent. He and his two sons were called before the Council and 'committed under guard,' with good effect, for after a day's imprisonment, they offered to pay 500 pagodas in order 'to be discharged of

[1] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iiia.

their confinement, without further punishment for their misdemeanours.' The fine was accepted and they were dismissed, and charged 'never to enter the Doores of any of the Companys Factoryes againe.' Kanappa and his sons were replaced by Guruva-rāj (who had previously served the English 'in these parts') and his brother Nārāyan.

The 'other affaires' that Master mentioned as being 'also regulated' at Madapollam were the granting of a pass to Arthur Seymour, a freeman; a demand for the renunciation by John Heathfield of the town of Navarāzpuram, taken 'to farme' 'against the Honble. Companys order'; directions for keeping the commercial transactions of Masulipatam and Madapollam in separate books of accounts; and an order for 'the breeding up of Spotted Deer' to be annually 'sent home for his Majesty.'

While settling these matters, Master acceded to the request of the Dutch chief and paid a visit to Pollicull, a few miles inland from Madapollam. Here he saw the large 'Jars' for the dyeing of 'Blew cloth,' and learned that the Dutch had made 4000 pagodas annually from their manufactures since they had obtained free possession of the town, in 1676. The visit occurred on the eve of the celebration of a hook-swinging festival, which some of his followers witnessed, 'and saw near twenty people hung up by the back before the Pagodae at the top of the high pole.' Before he left Madapollam he also 'went to view' the Dutch factory at Narsāpur, where he was much impressed by their extensive ironworks, there being 'as many forges as 300 smiths may worke in them.'

Master's official inspection was brought to an end by a visit, on the morning of the 17th April, to the abandoned factory of Vīravāsaram (Verasheroon), about nine miles from Madapollam. Here he 'viewed the Companys two houses,' both in such a ruinous state that it was not safe 'to adventure in to see them.' The garden, too, had been neglected, and its fruit was claimed by the local governor. Master, therefore, gave orders that men should be sent from Madapollam every year 'about Mangoe season' to gather the fruit and thereby 'preserve the Companys right and title to the garden.' He found the place suitable for weavers, and thought that, if it could be rented

from the King of Golconda, it would pay the Company to establish a depôt for goods there, were it not that the town 'is now ruined and empty of people through the tyrany of the Government.'

On the 18th April, 'having finished what was thought necessary to be done in this visitation of these Factorys,' Master and his followers set out on the return journey, but by a somewhat different route, 'intending to goe the upward inland way, and to make an Elbow, to take a sight of the Dimond Mines.' The first stage was to Pentapād, about twenty-two and a half miles. Thence they made their way to Ellore, which they reached on the morning of the 19th April. Here they lodged in a house belonging to Āgha Jalāl, the Governor of Masulipatam, and were entertained by his brother-in-law, to whom, for his courtesy, 'we presented 3 yards of Scarlett at parting.' At Ellore, 'reckoned one of the greatest townes in this Country,' Master watched the process of carpet-weaving, for which the place was famous. It was probably owing to his report of the manufacture that, in 1681, the Court ordered 100 of 'severall sorts' of carpets from Ellore to be sent home.[1]

On Easter Day, the 20th April, 1679, the party left Ellore, and, after a journey of thirteen and a half miles, reached Gollapalle, 'upon the Dimond mines,' and lodged in the house used by Nathaniel Cholmley, the Company's diamond agent. They lost no time in visiting the mines, of which Master gives a very interesting account. He describes the shallow excavations on the hillside, the deeper borings in the valleys, the soil in which the gems were found, the manner of getting rid of the earth and the way in which the workmen 'sett all the heat of the day in a ranke, one by another with their faces towards the sun, looking for the dymonds' among the 'gravell.' These men were 'well favoured, well clothed, and looke as though they fed well to undergoe their great and hott labour.' In Master's opinion, 'the cost and labour of finding them countervailes the vallue and worth of the dymonds.' There was a general impression at that time that the ground mined was owned by

[1] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xix.

those who had it worked, but Master found that this was incorrect. It was first necessary to procure a licence from the 'Governour of the mines' for permission 'to spring a mine' where the applicant 'thinks best,' and to pay a fixed monthly fee according to the number of hands employed. The labourers were paid half in money and half in corn, which commodity, together with salt, betel, and tobacco, was heavily taxed. To secure this tax 'all the miners . . . are compelled to live upon the mines in those townes where that excise is raised,' and no miners or 'dealers in Dymonds' were allowed to settle at Gollapalle, which was 'without those limitts.' On account of the taxes and licences, Mallavilli, the chief town on the mines visited by Master, was 'reckoned' to be worth to the King of Golconda 60,000 pagodas per annum, and 'as much more to the Governour to bribe the Courtiers to hold the place.' On the following morning, the 21st April, Master and his party were visited by diamond merchants, who, on finding them inclined to purchase, promptly raised their prices; 'soe we could not lay out 1000 pagodas amongst us all, for feare of injuring the markett.'

In the afternoon they set out again and 'passed over the mines' by Mallavilli, whence the Governor 'sent to complement the Agent and excuse his not comeing out to meet him.' They found the 'country pleasant, like England about London,' and the road to Mushtābād, where they passed the night, is described as 'by very pleasant vallys, with Tankes of water.' Next morning they made their way to Bezvāda, on the main road from Masulipatam to Golconda, a town surrounded by hills, in which, according to report, there were great treasures. 'Having foarded' the Kistna, Master had a distant view of the fortress of Kondapalli, 'said to be stronger and biger then that of Golcondah.'

The next halting-place was Mangalagiri, where the party 'tooke up' their 'quarters in a great Pagodae.' They paid a visit to another pagoda, dedicated to Narasiṁha, who was said to swallow 'just the halfe of any Pot of sherbet' offered to him. Master, however, 'spyed a hollow place' for the reception of the sherbet, 'which they say the Image drinks,' and was satis-

fied 'of the cheat.' On the 23rd April, the travellers left the mountains behind them, journeyed 'through a plaine country' to Ponnūr, and once more joined the Masulipatam road some distance short of Vētapālem. Henceforth their route was the same as that followed in the outward journey. At the junction of the Masulipatam and Bāpatla roads they found an endowed tomb where provisions were to be had gratis, and here, for the first time since leaving Vīravāsaram, they had grass for the horses.

After spending the night at Vētapālem, the party set out for Allūr, where they halted for some hours, then forded the Mushi and the Palēr, and pushed on to Karēḍu, fording the River Mannēr 'up to the shoulders.' At Karēḍu a deputation 'of the relations of our Madrass Marchants' awaited the Agent with the usual offerings of provisions, and from them Master elicited that piece-goods were procurable '5 or 6 leagues up in the country,' but that there was 'little or noe trade at all' at the town itself, which was 'only the Port to ship off and land goods.' Master found that the road to Golconda 'was good,' but that the transit duties were high. Karēḍu, 'about a mile from the sea side,' was 'small and of meane thatcht houses and narrow streets,' but the district was well watered, and produced good crops of corn and good pasture for cattle. In Master's opinion, the place had great possibilities, for, if it 'were in our hands, as is Madrass, it is presumed that in few yeares the greatest part of the trade at Metchlepatam would be drawn hither, and be of great advantage.' Leaving Karēḍu on the night of the 27th April, the travellers reached Zuvvaladinne early the next morning. They set out again in the afternoon, in order that they might ford the River Pennēr (at Utukūr) at low water. This they successfully accomplished, and reached Gangapatnam before midnight, 'leaving all our baggage upon the way.' The following night was spent at Kistnapatnam, and this time 'all our baggage came in with us.' The next halt was at Kottapatnam, and thence the travellers made their way to Armagom, where, as on the outward journey, they were entertained by Vīranna's 'people.'

After passing Srīharikōt on the morning of the 30th April,

the party found the swampy land by Pulicat Lake converted into sloughs 'by reason of the spring tides.' Here again the *ḥawāldār* brought fruit, etc., and was presented, in his turn, with 'cloth Rashes.' At dawn on the morning of the 1st May, a deputation of the Dutch merchants at Pulicat, from whom Master had requested the loan of boats, came out to meet the party. Jacques Caulier, the governor, 'not being able to stirr out of the Fort' 'by reason of age and weakness in the knees,' was represented by his second and 'four others of the Councell,' who prevailed on Master to redeem his promise of visiting Pulicat before he returned to Madras. The English put up at a riverside inn to rid themselves of the stains of travel, and reached Geldria, the Dutch fort, at 7 a.m. They were received in great state, and passed through a guard which reached 'from the gate to the staires of the Governours lodgings.' At the head of the staircase Caulier was awaiting them. He led Master into a large room, and placed him in one of 'two great chaires' at the upper end, 'the garrison first fireing 3 vollys.' This was followed by a further discharge of guns, 'in all fivety one Canon.' At noon there was a banquet 'with about 100 dishes of meate well dressed and well sett out,' with 'wine of all sorts in great plenty.' There was much drinking of healths and firing of cannon, both during and after the repast, but before dining Master inspected the fortress, which stood 'cleare of the towne' of Pulicat, at 'a convenient distance.' He found the buildings 'broad and handsome,' the governor's lodgings 'spatious,' with 'chappell,' 'guard roomes' and 'many other good buildings . . . within the Fort,' and yet it seemed to him 'but little larger then Fort St. George.' At about five o'clock, Master took leave of Caulier, and was escorted by the members of the Council and their wives to Chinna Pulicat, where the Dutch governor had built a 'garden house.' Here there was more feasting with 'other divertisements of merryment untill midnight.' The two parties then separated, and Master and his following set out for Fort St. George.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 2nd May, Tiruvatiyūr (Trivetore) was reached, and there Master halted until the

afternoon in order to rest, and to arrange that the Company's servants at Madras might be apprised of his approach and be ready to receive him with befitting respect. 'All the Councell and many others' came out to Tiruvatiyūr to welcome him; a company of soldiers saluted him at Purushottama's garden and 'marcht before him into towne'; the people 'in great numbers' flocked out to meet him; and his triumphal progress was marked by the firing of guns 'untill he entred the Fort.' Finally, the 'soldyers in armes fired 3 vollys, which ended the ceremony.'

At Fort St. George Master found 'affairs' in 'a very good posture,'[1] and was well satisfied with his 'Journey,' which, 'though chargeable, will be advantageious to the Company.'[2] In this opinion he was clearly right, for he had shown himself throughout his journey to be a man wise in his generation. All Master's commanding qualities came out in this visitation of his outlying factories. He had grasped the practical value of pomp in the East and, by his free and judicious use of it, he no doubt upheld the dignity of the Company and of the English generally. He understood the art of spending money to an advantage that was not immediately apparent. He was most judicious in his dealings with the native population, adapting a carefully thought out policy towards its many ranks. He was courteous in the native manner to people of consideration, and prevented the too pushing from receiving from him more than was their due. It is just this discrimination in behaviour that succeeds with an Oriental population. He could nevertheless always hold his own, and was as acute a bargainer as any of those with whom he had to deal. Exceedingly energetic as a traveller, he stuck closely to business, and was an inspector who dived into everything, a man whose eye his subordinates feared, as is shown by their correspondence. His policy was strictly in the interests of his Company, and his private papers prove that he was not to be bribed, both lines of action being rare in his day. There can be no doubt that this tour had a lasting beneficial effect on the Company's affairs in his time.

[1] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii.
[2] *Ibid., Miscellaneous*, vol. iii*a*.

Up to the journey just described, Master's measures had had the support and approval of the Committees at home, and on the 29th September, 1679, his friend and patron, Sir Josia Child, had written of his work in general, 'I am fully satisfyed your services have been well performed, and considerably to the Company's advantage, and for my owne part, I will not stick at any reasonable reward for them.'[1] But his account of the proceedings recorded in the 'First Memoriall' met with a very different reception. The Court were especially displeased at the rejection of the tenders by the Peddapalle merchants, and in their letter of the 5th January, 1681,[2] they remarked, after the discontented manner of the time: 'Wee do utterly dislike your rejection of the Pettepolee Merchants; and worse, your making us pay 500 pags. for the loss wee had by that indiscretion. If you answer that mony was well given (for by it wee got the abatement of 8 Per Cent. upon the Metchlepatam Investments), Wee must tell you Wee would gladly force our Selves to hope you intended it so. But whether you did or no, God Almighty, who is the searcher of hearts, only knowes; but in fact it proves fraud upon us: and all our Goods (generally speaking) from thence doe come dearer this year then ever they did since wee had a trade in that place, and worse sorted, especially Long cloth and Sallampores. The fault probably might be in the persons entrusted with the sorting of the Goods, And if you be of that opinion, as wee are, that so it was, Wee doe require you without further examination to send down one or two trusty persons from the Fort, to be of Councill, and doe that business there; and turne those unfaithfull Servants forthwith out of our service with Shame and disgrace. Had you dealt with the Pettepolee Merchants as well as with the Metchlepatam and Madapollam, and packed the Goods of each of those places by themselves (which for the future Wee enjoyn you to give direction to be constantly observed), Wee should have been able at all times to observe by the Goods here, which of those sort of merchants served us best, and which of our Factors sorted our Goods best according to Musters, and accordingly have ordered the restraint or

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 11. [2] *Letter Book*, vol. vi., pp. 249, 250.

enlargement of our Investments with any of them, of which wee shall write you more in an after paragraph.'

All unmindful of the storm brewing at home, Master pursued the even tenor of his way, and for three months after his return busied himself with commercial and other matters at Fort St. George. On the 28th June, the Company's three ships, the *Golden Fleece*, *Success*, and *George*, arrived from England, and a fortnight later the *Success* was sent to Masulipatam and Bengal. The despatches brought by these ships ordered some important changes to be made in the subordinate factories, and certain dismissals and alterations in appointments to be effected. In consequence, Master judged it advisable to make another visit of inspection, embracing, not only Masulipatam and Madapollam, but also the principal factories in the Bay of Bengal. On the 24th July, 1679, having concluded the contract for the investment at Fort St. George with Vīranna and the 'under' merchants, Master despatched letters to Christopher Hatton at Masulipatam, informing him that, as the Agent intended 'to voyage down into the Bay upon the *Golden Fleece* and to call at Metchlepatam in the way,' the Factory was 'to be put in a readiness to receive him and those that Accompany him.'[1]

The Second 'Memoriall.'

On the 30th July, arrangements were made for the management of affairs at Madras during the Agent's absence, as the journey was likely to occupy some five or six months. Joseph Hynmers was appointed Deputy Governor and ordered 'to take the Chaire.' The places of Richard Mohun, the mint-master, and John Nicks, the secretary, who accompanied the Agent, were temporarily filled by Vincent Sayon and James Wheeler. But, although the chaplain, Richard Elliot, joined Master's train, no provision was made for the spiritual needs of the factory and town.

The presence of the Company's ships at Madras obviated the necessity of a second tedious overland journey, and on the 1st August, 1679, Master embarked for Masulipatam in the

[1] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii.

Golden Fleece under Captain John North. With him sailed Mohun, Elliot, Nicks, two writers, an ensign, and thirteen soldiers, 'besides Peons and Pallenkeen boys,' not to mention interpreters, cooks, scullions, macebearer, barber, umbrella-carriers, etc., numbering fifty or more. On the *George* were John Thomas, factor, and his wife, two writers, the 'Clerke of the Court,' and Nathaniel Cholmley, the Company's diamond agent.

Early next morning Pulicat was passed, and firing was heard, but since it was uncertain if a salute were intended, and 'if we had fired, they ashoare could nither have heard the report, nor seene the smoake of the guns,' Master decided not to waste powder, and 'our ships answered them not.' On the 4th August, both ships anchored in the Road of Masulipatam, where they found half a dozen vessels lying at anchor. Master was greeted by Hatton and his colleagues and some of the 'Freemen,' who came out in 'two great boates,' but, 'the wind blowing fresh off the land,' no attempt was made to leave the ships, either then or on the following days. On the 6th August, Master decided to hold a Consultation on board, giving as his reason the contrary winds which were 'like soe to continue'; but in his own 'Memorandum,' and in the letter he wrote to Fort St. George on the 7th August, he stated that he 'staid aboard in Metchlepatam Road to save the Company a Present, which, if I had gone ashoare, it would have cost to the Governour,'[1] Āgha Jalāl, who, 'being just upon going to Court to quit his imployment . . . would use one means or other to get out of us, being very greedy of money to make all fair at Court at his going out of place.'

The chief business to be settled at Masulipatam was the definite severance, according to the Company's orders, of the two factories of Masulipatam and Madapollam. In the former factory Christopher Hatton remained as chief, with a book-keeper and warehousekeeper under him, and a steward and writer as assistants.' John Heathfield, surgeon, was to 'reside at Metchlepatam, but to remove to Madapollam when occasion requires.' At Madapollam, John Field was made chief. He

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

also had a bookkeeper and warehousekeeper under him, 'of Councell,' and a steward, but no writer. In order that the new independent factory might 'not be wanting of the directions and rules prescribed for the orderly management of the Companys affairs,' it was directed that copies should be taken 'out of the Metchlepatam Consultation Bookes and copy bookes of letters of all things relateing thereunto from the year 1675.' A third of the money sent from Fort St. George to Masulipatam for the investment of 1679 was ordered to be handed over to the new chief at Madapollam, together with a chest of 'Canary wine,' a certain quantity of paper and quill pens, broadcloth 'for presents,' and one of the 'Companys seales.'

In the letters received just before Master's departure from Fort St. George, the Court had written emphatically on the subject of retrenchment of expenses in the subordinate factories. The Agent, however, on examination, found 'the charges' both at Masulipatam and Madapollam less than 'of late yeares,' although the investments in both factories were 'greater then heretofore.' He therefore contented himself with enjoyning the Chiefs 'to be as frugall in their expences as possible.' He deprecated any reduction in servants, which would entail loss of dignity, and cited the example of the Dutch, who, having cut down their retinue, 'found themselves soe meanly esteemed and slighted that they were not able to carry on their business,' and were consequently 'necessitated' to 'live in the same port and quality as formerly.' This argument, however, failed to satisfy the narrow-minded Court, who, in their letter of 5th January, 1681, which is a strong instance of the mistake of unduly interfering with 'the man on the spot,' replied:—'Wee observe, that you doe profusely give order at all places for great enlargements in Brick buildings. Some probably there might have been absolute necessity for, but that there should be such great need in every place on a sudden, seemes strange and extravagant. And notwithstanding what you say of the Dutch reassuming their drums and Pipes, Wee are satisfied and better informed from others, that tho' they doe use their Drums and Pipes still, yet they have prudently retrenched very much of

their Charge in all those parts of India. Besides, as wee have told you formerly, our case is not theirs, and wee hope never will be, in that respect. Wee go to the Markett with ready money in our hands; those that must be trusted, have need to make the finer outside.'[1] In this last statement, however, the Court was incorrect, for while Master was at Masulipatam, he ascertained that the Dutch, 'some months since, paid off all their debts upon the Coast, and doe now in all their Factorys make their investments with ready money advanced to the Marchants, which they never did heretofore,' and 'intend to carry on vast investments to the prejudice of the English business.'

On the 7th August, the Company's surgeon at Masulipatam brought word that William Ayloffe, the newly appointed steward at Madapollam, had died of fever. Master immediately called a second Consultation on board the *Golden Fleece*, nominated John Clarke to fill the vacant post, and charged the Chief and Council at Masulipatam to take charge of Ayloffe's estate, 'according to the Honble. Companys orders.' The death of Ayloffe left the already understaffed factories with one assistant less, and Master therefore decided that, owing to the 'want of writers;' it was not 'needfull' to write separate sets of 'Copy Bookes of Letters to be sent to the Fort and to England.' At this Consultation John Field, the first chief of Madapollam, received his 'Commission and Instructions.' These enjoined that all business should be transacted in Council, that Consultations should be held 'every Munday and Thursday, and oftener as business shall require,' and that monthly accounts of all transactions should be sent to Fort St. George. Directions were given with regard to the investments, the supervision of the Company's gardens at Vīravāsaram, and the keeping down of expenses. Field was ordered to be specially careful of the defence of the factory, 'not to be often absent from the house, nor late in the night time,' nor ever to leave the building 'voyd of some English and Peons.' Further, he was instructed to have the Company's investments ready at Master's return from Bengal, and, in order that no time might be lost in lading the

[1] *Letter Book*, vol. vi., p. 249.

vessels, to have catamarans on the lookout during December, 'to give the ships notice where to anchor.'

The Court found nothing to cavil at in these instructions. Indeed, 'the method of sending Diaries and Consultations and Accounts of Cash monthly to the head Factory' was 'so well' approved, that, in their letter of 5th January, 1681, they wrote: 'Wee doe enjoyn you, without favour or forbearance, to turne out any from our service, of what quality or degree soever they be, that you shall find remiss in that particular.'[1]

On the 8th August, Master wrote to his deputy at Fort St. George, detailing his actions at Masulipatam and announcing his departure for Bengal. The ships sailed on the 9th August, and a week later arrived 'near Ballasore road,' but 'could not gett in to birth our selves.' A boat was sent to obtain news from the *Success*, which had arrived on the 4th August. Captain Cowley reported that his bullion had been landed, and that a portion of his cargo was on its way to Hugli.

On the 18th August, the *Golden Fleece's* boat was sent 'ashoare' with a letter for transmission 'by express' to Hugli and an order to Richard Edwards, the chief, to arrange for the Agent's 'handsome reception' at Balasor, to provide for the transit of the party to Hugli, and then to repair on board the *Golden Fleece*. The letter to Hugli informed Matthias Vincent and his Council that, on account 'of the alterations' made by the Company in the letters recently received, it was thought necessary for the 'Agent to voyage downe upon the ships to visit these Factorys, to settle the same, and put all other affairs in good order.' The Council at Hugli were therefore urged 'to hasten all the Companys three sloopes downe to us, to carry up the treasure and other goods upon these ships, and to accommodate our proceeding up to you.'

On the morning of the 19th August, Richard Edwards arrived on board the *Golden Fleece*, and reported that 'against to morrow morning there would be fitting accommodation at the Banksall by the rivers mouth to carry the Agent &ca. to Ballasore.' On the following day, therefore, Master, with the captains of the three ships, 'went ashoare.' On landing, they were met

[1] *Letter Book*, vol. vi., p. 250.

by a kinsman of Malik Kāsim, the Governor, and 'other persons of quality of the towne, and the Companys marchants.' Thus escorted, the Agent and his followers were conveyed in palanquins to the town of Balasor. Early next morning the Governor, with the chief native officers, paid a formal visit to 'the Companys Factory, with apearance of great friendship.' This act of courtesy was followed by a pressing invitation to a feast. Master 'endeavoured what he could to excuse' acceptance, but the Governor was not to be balked. 'In the Evening the victualls were sent to the Factory,' and the next day some carps taken in one of the Governor's 'owne tanks,' with a message desiring that 'the Agent would returne his visit without long delay.' Finding excuses unavailing, Master bowed to the inevitable, and, with Messrs. Mohun and Edwards, paid his ceremonial call on the morning of the 25th August. Malik Kāsim was, however, disappointed of his hopes of largesse. No gold or silver was presented to him, 'as is usuall upon first visits,' because, as Master remarks, such offerings were only made 'by inferiours to those of a higher degree,' and 'not practiced by persons of equall quallity.' Further, it was necessary to impress the Governor with the distinction 'between the Agent and those Chiefs' of the factories in Bengal from whom he was accustomed to receive such gifts. Malik Kāsim took his rebuff quietly, and waited patiently until Master was leaving Balasor a fortnight later. Then he gave 'private notice that he expected a present from the Agent and a visit before his departure for Hugly.' The visit was accorded, but, 'after consideration thereupon had, it was thought fit to deny him the present, yet with some glimps of hopes to obtaine it after the Agents returne from Hugly.' By thus temporising, the cost of a present was saved, for when Master came back to Balasor in the following December, Malik Kāsim was absent, and his deputy was satisfied with a modest gift.

The chief business to be settled in Balasor was the inspection of the accounts. In February, 1679, Master had written to the Chief and Council in 'the Bay' complaining of the way in which the 'bookes of Accompts' at Hugli, Balasor, and Dacca were kept, 'soe that we are as far to seek in the perfecting your

Accompt Currant in our Generall Bookes as ever we were.'[1] Therefore it was no surprise to find, on examination, that the accounts at Balasor were 'behind hand, in great disorder and confusion'; and John Byam, the Second and Accountant, was ordered to 'adjust them with the Broker and the Marchants immediately,' so that everything might be settled 'in due order' before the Agent's departure.

On the 27th August occurred a boating fatality. The 'country boat' in which William Bellamy, with Messrs. Sheppard and Nurse, was 'goeing aboard the ships,' sank, and though the captain of the *Success* rowed to their assistance in his skiff, he was not in time to save Bellamy, a freeman, who had accompanied Master in his overland journey in the previous March. On the following day the Company's sloops arrived from Hugli, bringing the news that Thomas Labrun, a seaman, 'being ashoare upon an island a shooting,' had been carried off by a tiger.

The 30th August was occupied in attempting to come to terms with the merchants regarding the prices of piece-goods to be provided before the end of the year. 'They drove off the time from morning untill late in the Evening out of designe to avoyd it,' and nothing was settled. The matter was deferred until Monday, the 1st September, when Master called a Consultation, to which Richard Edwards, 'though not of the Ordinary Councell,' was summoned, since, as chief at Balasor 'for near two yeares,' his advice might be of use. The merchants were again sent for, and a contract was confirmed with them by which the 'Sannoes, Ginghams, and Nillaes' ordered by the Company were procured at 20, 12, and 16 per cent. 'cheaper then in the year 1676.' In order 'to prevent bad debts, by which the Company have suffered considerably in this place,'[2] Master insisted that, for all money advanced on account, the leading merchants, Khēm Chand and Chintāman Shāh, should be securities, the one for the other, and also for their less wealthy colleagues. The contract had been practically settled by Edwards in the previous July, but, before confirming it, Master ascertained that there were 'noe other Marchants hereabouts

[1] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii. [2] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

soe able and capable to procure the said goods, or that can undertake them cheaper.' By taking security of Khēm Chand and Chintāman Shāh, he protected the Company from loss through 'persons of small or noe estates imployed in the investments,' and also secured the arrears due from all the merchants, except three, for whom Khēm Chand's firm declined to be responsible, since their affairs were 'esteemed desperate.'

On the 3rd September, a second Consultation was held, when the agreement was read to the merchants, and, after some alterations, 'ordered to be ingrossed.' It set forth that the investment should be divided into ten parts—*viz.*, four to Khēm Chand, two to Chintāman Shāh, and the remaining four subdivided among the smaller merchants, at the discretion of the chief of the factory and Khēm Chand and Chintāman. This firm obliged themselves, in return for a full advance on the whole investment, to repay any 'arrears' within a month after the departure of the ships for Europe, or, in default, to pay 1½ per cent. interest per mensem until the amounts were settled. All goods were to be delivered by the 25th November yearly, and late consignments were to be returned on the merchants' hands. Failure to supply the goods contracted for entailed forfeiture of the share or shares in the investment. The contract, sealed by Master, Mohun and Edwards on the one part, and Khēm Chand and Chintāman Shāh on the other, was to remain in force during the Company's pleasure, 'unless the Marchants, through their default, shall cause a breach thereof.'

Much business was transacted at a third Consultation held on the 5th September. In the first place, a dispute between John Threader and the ships' captains was settled. Threader, a writer in the Company's service, had been ordered by the Chief and Council at Hugli to have the lead brought in the ships from Europe transferred to the Company's sloops; but the commanders were of opinion that 'it would be safer for the ships' to leave it 'aboard' as ballast until 'the Petre' was 'brought downe.' Master decided 'to continue the lead aboard, the Safety of the Ships being more the Companys Interest then the owners, by how much their Concerns is greater then the others.' Next, after ordering the repair of a leaky sloop, the

Agent proceeded to deliver to Richard Edwards 'Large Instructions drawne up for the manageing the busynes and settling the Accompts of the Factory at Ballasore.' These 'Instructions' were indeed ample and detailed. Edwards was reminded of the contract concluded with the merchants, and the method devised by Master 'to secure our Honble. Masters from bad debts,' which 'have growne apace.' A copy of all proceedings at Balasor 'in this visitation' was delivered to him for his 'better direction in the observation thereof.' Definite orders were issued as to the keeping of accounts 'as shall be found plainest and best for the Companys Interest,' all such accounts to be adjusted in December or January yearly under pain of dismissal 'upon your first default in this particular: therefore looke you to it.' All moneys paid in and goods delivered were to be carefully entered in a 'receipt booke,' to 'avoyd' such discrepancies as 'now happens' for 'want of such punctuallity.' Edwards was also enjoined to see that there was no falling off in the standard of goods supplied by the merchants, and to take special care that no materials but those ordered by the Company should be supplied, 'except a Bale of new Sorts of goods for tryall of Marketts.'

So far the factors at Balasor had escaped censure. In the 'Accompts of this Factory,' however, Master found 'such gross Errours . . . as we presume cannot be paraleld in any place.' The excuse given for 'these unpardonable Crimes and enormitys' was that there had been no books at Balasor until the 14th April, 1679, when John Byam brought those kept by Edmund Bugden from 1st May, 1677, to 30th April, 1678. But it was in these books that Master discovered the mistakes which 'we shall now give you directions how to rectifie, that soe they being once put into a Method and order to be understood, you may keepe up with them accordingly.' Minute instructions followed as to the cash account, debts due from native merchants, accounts of deceased persons who had been in the Company's service, and, finally, 'errours in casting.' Then, 'these directions being observed, your accompts will stand right,' and ''twill evidently apeare for what you are responsable and for what you are not.' Edwards was ordered to begin without delay to balance his

books up to the 30th April, 1679, and 'send them by express to Hugly,' then to 'begin your next books' and 'bring them up to a day,' which 'we expect to be done before the month of October be expired.' He would then have 'leasure and pleasure' to copy his 'last bookes for England.' In order that 'the like errours' might be avoided for the future, a copy of the Regulations made by Master in his visitation in 1676 was produced as a guide, together with other documents, 'in all which you will find ample directions for the ordering and methodizing the Companys business and the punishments to be imposed upon failure therein.'

The 'backwardness' of the accounts was excused for the various reasons given by Edwards, but his negligence in correspondence with his chief at Hugli, in spite of frequent admonitions, was 'too great an offence to be passed over.' He was consequently admonished 'to be carefull' not to 'offend therein for the future,' under pain of incurring loss of a quarter's salary for the next offence and dismissal from the service for a third transgression. Edwards was further accused of incurring too much expense in the upkeep of the factory. 'A Pallankeene and two horses' was considered 'sufficient accommodation for goeing abroad'; the 'charge of servants' was 'more then necessary' and must be reduced; the cost of 'Candles and Oyle' must be halved, and the 'publike table' dispensed with after the Agent's departure. In conclusion, Edwards was urged to be 'punctuall, diligent and faithfull in the discharge' of his 'Imployments, for therein you will reap advantage, content and satisfaction.' On the other hand, should he 'be found to faile,' proceedings would be taken against him 'very prejudiciall' to his 'reputation,' which 'we advise you to prevent.' Such plain speaking left the culprit far from comfortable, for, not only were his accounts ill-kept, but he had used the Company's money for his own investments, and had borrowed of natives at Balasor to cover the deficiency.

Early in the morning of the 9th September the Agent and his party set out for Hugli. Master went by boat, in order 'to save the charges of goeing thither by land, as some advised,'[1]

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

and yet he was afterwards accused of unduly wasting the Company's money! The Company's wharf at the river's mouth was reached in the afternoon, but the tide was 'too low to goe over the Barr.' On their way down Balasor River, and while lying at anchor, ships from Ceylon and Tenasserim were sighted, 'the trade of Ellephants being much driven at this place.' Late at night Chintāman Shāh arrived with a letter from Malik Kāsim, asking that some 'iron ordnance' of the Company's, which he desired to purchase, might be taken to Hugli 'in our sloopes.' A curt verbal answer was returned that the English 'did not use to deale' with 'the Governours' but with the merchants, through whom all transactions must be carried out; that the purchase could be negotiated, but that the goods could not be 'accommodated' in the sloops 'either now or hereafter, during the ships being here,' on account of pressure of business. Malik Kāsim, however, managed to circumvent the Agent. He appealed to the *dīwān* at Dacca, and procured an order, which was delivered to Master at Hugli, requiring him to send the guns to Dacca 'in the Companys sloopes.'

During the delay at the mouth of the river, Master noticed the want of a 'marke for the Barr.' The 'Tomb,' built by the Dutch for that purpose, had 'fallen downe the last foule weather,' and certain flag-staffs had disappeared. Orders were therefore issued for flag-staffs to be put up at the factory, and at 'the point of sand at the rivers mouth' for the guidance of ships 'to come to anchor' and for boats 'to goe over the Barr.' On the 10th September, Master went on board the *Arrivall*, 'disposing the young men and Lumber aboard the *Ganges* and the *Lilly*,' and on the 11th he set sail. The weather from the 28th August until the 3rd September had been very stormy, when an improvement took place, and Master evidently thought that there was no danger of a recurrence of winds and squalls. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why, even on the score of economy, he should risk a second voyage to Hugli at the same time of year as in 1676, when the journey was both dangerous and disastrous. This time no lives were lost, but for two days the sloops were in a perilous position, being caught 'upon the Braces in $2\frac{3}{4}$ fathom water' by 'a Violent Storme, which drove

us back into 6½ fathom, and there rid it out in great danger, the Seas running over us.'[1] The danger was all the greater since the *Arrivall* was 'an old vessell, very leaky, and one of her pumps proved unserviceable.' However, the only damage incurred was the loss of the *Lilly's* boat. The *Ganges*, which 'rid out the storme in sight of the ships,' joined the other two sloops on the morning of the 14th September.

At the entrance to Hugli River, boats had been posted to give notice of the Agent's arrival. State barges and cargo boats were in readiness, and Matthias Vincent, the Chief, with two members of Council, the chaplain and the surgeon, came down the river to meet the sloops. The party supped at Great Thāna and went ashore at Bārānagar, where 'the tent was pitched' for the night. Hugli was reached on the evening of the 16th September. Two miles below the town, the Agent was greeted by his old acquaintances, Verburg and Fentsell, the Dutch Chief and Second, and salutes were fired from both the English and Dutch factories.

As usual, Master lost no time in proceeding to business. He spent the 17th September in perusing the diaries of the three inland factories, Kasimbazar, Dacca, and Patna, in inspecting the accounts of Hugli, and in examining Edmund Bugden, who was responsible for some of the Balasor books, about certain 'differences.' This caused a letter to be written to Richard Edwards, instructing him how to 'clear' several accounts, so that the Hugli and Balasor books might 'be brought to a Correspondency.' Letters were also written to Patna, Kasimbazar, and Dacca to 'advise the reasons of the Agents visiting these Factorys.' Job Charnock at Patna was urged to send news of the expected saltpetre, 'the time spending away'; Edward Littleton at Kasimbazar, and Samuel Hervy at Dacca, were censured for not having their accounts 'yet ballanced,' and were urged to finish and forward them without delay, 'in regard the Generall Bookes of Hugly and those at the Fort lay open for them.' Consultations were held on the 22nd, 26th, and 29th September, when much business was transacted and many regulations laid down. It was decided that a certain

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

proportion of the bullion in stock should be immediately sent to Kasimbazar to be 'converted into Rupees,' in order 'the sooner to pay off the money taken up at interest.' Further directions were given regarding accounts, especially as to 'how the Accompt Cash wanting in Ballasore Bookes should be charged.'[1] Edmund Bugden, whom the Court had dismissed from their service by their letter of January, 1679, was ordered to make good a sum of Rs. 14,000 said to be due to the Company. Bugden thereupon desired leave to go to Balasor to realise his effects and sell the cargoes he expected from the Maldive Islands, but Master declined to allow him to leave the factory until he should discharge his debt or give substantial security. Under these circumstances, Bugden found it convenient to produce the Rs. 14,000 without delay. Earlier in the year, complaints had been made that private individuals had bought up silk and employed weavers to the detriment of the Company's investments, highly reprehensible actions in the eyes of the Court. To prevent a recurrence thereof, Master reiterated the orders given in 1676, and again at his recent visit to Masulipatam, with regard to freemen. It was further directed that all passes for trading should be registered, and a strict account kept of private trade, together with the names of the traders. Copies of the orders were sent to the subordinate factories 'and due observance required thereunto.'

While Master had been thus engaged, during the last week of September, 1679, there occurred the wreck of a Dutch sloop laden with guns, and heavy and continuous rains, causing an 'unwholesome aire, many people sickning and dying.' Formal visits were also paid at this time by the *faujdār* to the Agent and by the Agent to the Dutch.

During this visitation Master everywhere upheld his dignity as the Company's direct representative in Eastern Asia. He had left the unfortunate chief at Balasor writhing under well-deserved reprimands and in terror of dismissal, and an answer by Vincent to a letter from Edwards, still extant, asking if he were likely to be discharged, shows how Master was regarded by the Company's servants at Hugli: 'I know nothing yet of

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

your being removed any whither, and suppose you will goe nigh to be continued there, though the Governour being farr more reserved and close then when last here, I am certain of nothing; but whatever happen I am of the opinion you will not be removed till after the shipps dispatch.'[1] The only chief who appeared not to stand in awe of Master, probably because he had nothing to hide, was the Company's old and faithful servant, Job Charnock. His apparent want of respect and deference was, however, bitterly resented by the Agent. Indeed, Charnock's habit of ignoring correspondence so irritated him that, on the 30th September, he sent a copy of his previous letter of the 17th to Patna, with an intimation that 'an express should be dispatched every weeke' until a reply was received.

Throughout October, 1679, Master remained at Hugli, carrying on his inspection into all matters concerning the Company's interest with a thoroughness unequalled by any former agent. Between the 6th October and 3rd November, he called nine Consultations, and succeeded, at last, in reducing the factory to a state of order never before enjoyed. Nothing was too trivial to escape his notice. He gave advice to Samuel Hervy at Dacca as to his dealings with Hājī Muhammad, the Prince's *dīwān*, who was 'very outrageous towards' the English. He made an exhaustive examination of the Hugli accounts, and did not rest until all errors, such as the difference between the 'Account of cash' and the 'true cash in the Chest' were accounted for and rectified. Some of these errors were of many years standing, and entailed much labour to disentangle, especially as there were 'entrys interwoven betwixt the Cash of Hugly and Ballasore.' For these Joseph Hall was accountable, and to him Master applied for an explanation. But Hall, who owed his dismissal, in 1676, to Master, either could not or would not give any assistance. There was also some trouble in settling the accounts of Walter Clavell and John Marshall, who had died in 1677. Claims were made on their estates for money due to the Company and counterclaims by their 'overseers' for sums advanced for the use of Hugly and Balasor factories. All were carefully examined, and a settlement arrived at

[1] *O.C.*, No. 4658.

between the contending parties. On the 15th October, the 'Accompts of Ballasore Factory were adjusted in the Hugly Bookes and made exactly to agree, the reconciling parcells being very great summes, as apeares in the Bookes.'[1] Master also records, in his private papers, that, 'in settling and rectifying these Accompts,' which cost him 'much paines to the Companys great advantage,' he saved them Rs. 15,000, 'which was swallowed up in the Accompts by Mr Bugden, Mr Clavell and Mr Marshall,' besides recovering Rs. 11,900, which had been 'twice Entered' by Mr. Clavell 'to his Accompt Cash,' and the interest for which was charged to his estate.

An inspection of the Company's buildings at Hugli showed 'an absolute necessity' for repairs and alterations, and orders were issued for the erection of additional warehouses, a 'Councell Chamber,' library, offices, etc. These additions were by no means approved of by the economical Court of Committees, who, in their letter of 5th January, 1681, voiced their indignation as follows: 'Wee observe what you write in that paragraph concerning Buildings, That you will consider our interest therein as if they were your own particular concernes, so far as a particular can bear proportion with a Nationall. Which words, tho' they are fairely expressed, do seem to carry a meaning in them, which wee cannot approve in you, And doe believe is a Notion Agent Master carried too farr to our Damage in his late progress. The Company is Nationall, but you are our Servants, live in grandure, and doe greatly augment your Estates by our favour. And you must, if you will be honest, observe our Commands without respect to futurities, which wee are the proper judges of in our owne business.'[2]

At the Consultations of the 21st, 23rd, and 25th October, the books of the three subordinate factories of Kasimbazar, Patna, and Dacca were 'adjusted with the Hugly Bookes,' those of the two former from the year 1670 and those of Dacca from 1672, 'the summes reconciled being great.'[3] 'Three pair Pattana Bookes' being found 'wanting,' a letter was drafted to Job Charnock, the chief, requesting him to supply the missing

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10. [2] *Letter Book*, vol. vi., p. 250.
[3] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

volumes, 'to be at Cassumbazar by the 20th next month at farthest,' and, in any case, 'to send advice how it stood with them,' especially as to the consignment of saltpetre, now anxiously awaited as ballast for the ships. But before this letter could be despatched, news arrived from Patna explaining that 'the occasion of their long silence' was owing to the embargo placed on the fleet of saltpetre boats by the Nawāb's officials. Thirty-one boats, containing 29,890 *man* of 'petre,' were in readiness to proceed to Hugli, but were held up for want of a *dastak*, or pass. For three months Charnock had been attempting to procure their release without the payment of exorbitant bribes. In July, the Nawāb had promised a *dastak* in return for Rs. 500, but, 'at delivery, he fell off from his promise.' Then a new *dīwān* came into office, and the affair was delegated to him. This entailed fresh petitions, innumerable bribes to underlings, and much negotiation before a promise of a *parwāna*, or order, to permit the fleet to sail could be obtained. During this long delay the boatmen grew discontented, and demanded a large sum for demurrage. Charnock declared himself weary of the 'insufferable troubles and dayly affronts' that he had to contend with, in a place where 'every petty Officer makes a pray of us.' He, however, was of opinion that the boats would be 'cleared' within a day or two after the despatch of his letter, and, as soon as they were 'sent downe,' he professed himself ready 'to attend' the 'commands' for his departure from Patna. Master, who seemed to look askance at all that Charnock did, was not satisfied with his explanation. He ordered an addition to be made to the letter already drafted, censuring him for not agreeing to the extortionate demands of the Nawāb, or, as he termed it, 'hazarding soe great a concerne of the Companys for soe small a matter as 1000 or 1500 Rs.,' and for 'neglecting a due correspondence soe long.' The order for Charnock to be at Kasimbazar by the 20th November was reiterated, with an implied threat that failure in compliance would cost him the post of chief of that factory. On the 30th October news was received that the boats were still detained, but there was yet hope of the *dīwān's dastak* to 'clear them suddenly.' However, though all the *bhars*, or lighters, procurable were in readi-

ness 'to carry the petre aboard the ships,' there was no news of the fleet's arrival when Master left Hugli on the 3rd November.

Several events, apart from business transacted in Consultation, are recorded during October of 1679. On the 10th Master's 'Trumpeter' died of a 'vyolent feaver.' On the 20th, 'the Dutch made a great Entertainment for a peace with France,' at which 'the Agent &ca., with the women who were particularly invited,' were present, the company numbering seventy in all. At this entertainment Master was greatly chagrined because the health of Louis XIV. was drunk before that of his own sovereign. To his remonstrances the Dutch retorted that 'they had orders how to governe themselves on this occasion,' and after his description of the feast, he adds the sage remark, 'To prevent any disrespects upon such publick occasions it is a good expedient to condition before hand what shall be done, or to avoyd the meeting.'

On the 22nd October, news was received from Dacca that Shāistah Khān, who was made Governor of Bengal, had sent his son, Buzurg Umed Khān, 'to take possession of the Government' as his deputy. Later, the report arrived of the coming of Shāistah Khān himself, 'in great magnificence.' Meanwhile, 'Alī Naqī, the Governor, who had been awaiting an acknowledgment of his ceremonial visit on Master's arrival, grew impatient when a month had passed with no sign of a gift, 'and apeared cross in our business because he was not gratifyed therein.' Therefore, lest he might hinder the despatch of the ships for Europe, it was 'resolved to present him,' and, at the same time, to give 'the usuall yearely gratuitys' to the 'under officers.' These latter being 'meane persons,' it was not 'thought creditable for the Agent to repay' their visits in person, and Mr. Vincent was accordingly sent to represent him. Among other minor matters, Master settled a dispute between two of the Company's native servants as to commission said to be wrongfully withheld by one of them. The offender was confined 'under guard in the Factory,' but, 'still persisting in his obstinacy,' was 'put in irons.' This drastic measure brought him to reason. The business was settled for Rs. 3,000, and the contending parties 'made friends.'

On the 31st October an unpleasant incident occurred with the Dutch. William Bonnell, 'a Soldier of the Agents guard,' was 'fallen upon' by some Dutch sailors and 'stabed through the heart.' A conflict was averted by sending Vincent with a party to 'bring off them that were run to assist.' Verburg, the Dutch Chief, was at once acquainted with the outrage, and he offered every facility for the discovery of the murderer. A search was made, and the roll of the Dutch ships called, but without result, and, in spite of Master's demand that the murderer or murderers should be discovered and brought to justice, and the 'promising answear of complyance' from the Dutch, no arrest was made. In the end, they 'pretended there was five men run away, and opined that it must be those that did the murther.' But the Dutch suffered for their supineness in this matter later in the year. When Master was finally leaving Hugli, in December, 1679, the 'Directore' sent him a list of deserters among his seamen, which 'he said were aboard of the English ships,' and desired their restoration. The only reply he received was a retort from the Agent as to 'why he did not doe him justice for the man that was murthered.'

On the 3rd November, the business at Hugli 'being soe settled as not to require the Agents longer presence,' he set out for Kasimbazar. The journey, as in 1676, was made by boat, the party going on shore to feed and sleep. On the 5th November, when a short distance from Nadiā, one of the soldiers committed suicide. He 'lipt out of a boat' and his 'body could not be found.' On the 7th November, Edward Littleton, the Chief, with the rest of the Council of Kasimbazar, came out to meet the Agent at Mohola. He was followed by the Dutch 'Directores' of Kasimbazar and Dacca 'and two others.' Thence, the whole assembly went by land to the Company's factory, which they reached soon after midnight. Master remained at Kasimbazar for nearly a month. During that time he only called three Consultations, but managed, nevertheless, to transact a large amount of business. Accounts, as usual, were his chief consideration. The missing Patna and Dacca books were received soon after his arrival, and by the

20th November they, with the Kasimbazar books, were all 'ballanced and adjusted with the Hugly Bookes.'

The next matter of importance was the silk investment. While inspecting what had been already brought into the factory, Master observed that the merchants used ropes of 'the lowest sort' for packing purposes. He at once arranged for 'the Companys Silke' to be 'packt with such Ropes' to be made of the 'Refuge Silke,' which would save 'Freight and Custome.' He also discovered a new hard-wearing material woven from silk made by a wild silkworm, called *arindī* (the modern tussore or *tassar* of commerce), and ordered some pieces and some of the yarn to be sent 'home for a tryall.'[1] The 'overlooking' and pricing of silk goods occupied a week or more, and was carried out with great thoroughness.

More important still was the 'firme and lasting contract,' made on the 26th November, 1679, with Chitr Mall Shāh to take all the Company's bullion at a fixed rate and convert it into rupees. By this arrangement Master achieved the intensely difficult object of regulating the exchange, so that the Company's servants knew exactly where they stood in regard to cash for each year's investment (at a period when violent fluctuations in the value of the precious metals were the rule), and were relieved of the worry and risk of converting the bullion sent out annually into coin, in order to provide themselves with the money they required. As regards the season of 1679, the rates Master got out of Chitr Mall Shāh were better than he and the factors could themselves have secured in the ordinary market; while Chitr Mall Shāh, as a professional dealer in coin and bullion, no doubt had means of making a profit. The whole transaction shows Master in the most favourable light as a mercantile agent, and this one step alone should have earned him the lasting gratitude of the Court, had it been able to grasp the full import of what he accomplished.

Other 'Regulations' made at Kasimbazar dealt mainly with the silk investment and the keeping of the books of accounts with the weavers and silk merchants. Piece-goods were to be under the care of the warehousekeeper, who was to enter the price

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

and mark the same on each piece as it was accepted. He was also to supervise the raw silk, and after 'prizing thereof' to 'look well to the putting of it back into the bags.' Precautions were to be taken 'to prevent theft and alsoe deceit in changing and mixing the severall sorts of silke.' Even the 'packing stuff' did not escape the Agent's notice. He ordered that all such materials should be 'charged at the true price,' and that no one should 'have any advantage therein, either this year or hereafter.' The earnest-money given for goods to be provided for the Company was reduced to a fixed sum proportionate to the quality of the goods, and 1¼ per cent. per mensem interest was henceforth to be charged on all sums so advanced. The commission to be paid by the merchants and weavers to the native writers, overseers, etc., was fixed at ⅔ per cent., and no 'monthly wages' were henceforth to be paid to these subordinates, but they were to be 'content' with their commission, nor were the weavers to allow them more 'upon any pretence whatsoever.' Lest the merchants should be 'surprized' by these new regulations, or think themselves 'imposed on by the Chief of the Factory,' they were summoned and acquainted 'with what herein concerns them.'

The factory buildings were thoroughly inspected, and found to be in a very dangerous condition. The constant repairs necessary to the 'mud and thatch' structures entailed great expense with small results. Master therefore ordered the erection of brick 'throwing' and 'weaving' houses, a 'ketchin,' and small 'out houses' for the 'accommodation of marryed people.' He also directed that a room should be reserved as an office, where the account books could be deposited, and that the 'said roome should never be diverted to any other use.'

The one social event recorded during the month Master spent at Kasimbazar was an invitation to be present at the baptism of a child of the Dutch chief, and the only other entry in the 'Memoriall' which has no reference to the Company's affairs is the note of the coming to the factory of one Dewaldās, a man of 'Giganticke stature and make.' In fact, the Agent had little time for diversion, for, apart from the actual business of inspection at Kasimbazar, he was in constant correspondence

with the other Bengal factories, and he also took advantage of an opportunity to send despatches to Masulipatam and Fort St. George, by boat, and to the Company in England, overland, *viâ* Surat.

On the 14th November, news was received from Patna that, as a result of the payment of Rs. 900 to the Nawāb and the harbour-master, there was every hope that the saltpetre fleet would be permitted to set out in a day or two. Charnock, however, wrote that it was impossible for him to leave, as ordered, before the 20th November, 'by reason of clearing the Petre.' Master declined to accept this excuse, and replied that, unless he arrived 'before the Agent and Councell entered upon settling all Persons in imployments,' he might possibly be debarred from taking up his new appointment as chief at Kasimbazar.

The letters received from Balasor were not as pleasant as might have been expected after all Master's efforts to put matters straight in that factory. The accounts for October showed a balance of over Rs. 8,000, and yet there appeared to be no money to defray the cost of 'packing stuff.' The accountant and warehousekeeper had demanded an explanation from Edwards, who had 'returned this answear—that by reason of his indisposition, which renders him uncapable of examining his papers and accompts, he could not at present give any Accompt thereof.' His colleagues, however, who were anxious not to be involved in the disgrace attaching to the discrepancy, explained matters in a letter dated the 4th October, and, as Master afterwards remarked, when commenting on it to Vincent, acted 'very prudently to clear themselves by writing that letter whilst Mr. Edwards lived.' To this letter Edwards added a postscript, entreating 'the suspention of Censure till upon the first returne of his health.' His death, which occurred two days later, was probably accelerated by worry and anxiety at the prospect of losing his post. His effects were promptly secured, and the inquiry into his indebtedness to the Company deferred until Master's return to Balasor.

On the 25th November, news reached Kasimbazar, *viâ* Hugli, of the still well remembered cyclone, which devastated Masuli-

patam and the surrounding district on the 11th October, 1679. The 'terrible tempest' occasioned much damage and heavy loss of life, but the English suffered less than the Dutch, and the 'investments,' to Master's great satisfaction, were reported to be in good 'condition and forwardness.'

The results of the storm seem to have thoroughly frightened the English residents, for two years later, we find Gyfford, Master's successor, trying to reassure them with some common-sense remarks couched in the quaint language of the time: 'Wee hope the Almighty will prevent your fears of a second inundation at Metchlepatam. The last wee look upon as a preternaturall thing, for what ends God himself knowes, and may again, when he pleaseth, inflict his judgments in any kind upon that or other places. But, in an ordinary way of Providence, and the naturall course of things, you are as safe as wee are here or others elsewhere, and therefore wee ought not to be so sollicitous to secure ourselves from extraordinary Providences, neither can we by any means prevent it. It was not your Island secured you before, neither could it doe now if it was there again.'[1]

The delay in the arrival of the saltpetre fleet was now growing serious, and it became necessary to consider what should be done in case the boats should not arrive before the ships for Europe must start on their homeward voyage. Master was loath to give orders to 'buy up the Petre in Hugly,' for fear the merchants should 'stand off upon termes,' and thus occasion loss of time in bargaining with them. Still, if Charnock failed him, a supply was absolutely necessary. In the end, he decided to wait a few days longer, and, in the meantime, directed Vincent to contrive 'how to compass the buying up all the Petre in Hugly upon a day at once.' This he was ordered to do on the 30th November, and was urged to lade his purchase 'upon freighted vessells and send it aboard the ships with all expedition possible,' since nothing had been heard from Patna for ten days, neither was there any 'news of the Petre boates.' The need to get the petre down to the ships at Balasor was all the more urgent, since Shāistah Khān's son and Deputy was nearing

[1] Letter dated 11th November, 1681: *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xix.

Rājmahāl, and it was not unlikely that this 'change of government' might entail some hindrance to the despatch of the Company's goods. New governors were, as a rule, a signal for fresh extortions, and it was wise to get the 'peece goods' safely on board and send them down, in the charge of 'able Pilots' to Balasor Road. In his private 'Memorandum' Master writes: 'By my being in the Bay this year, 1679, the Companys Shipps were dispatched for England, which otherwise they could not have been for want of Saltpetre, which, not coming from Pattana, was at the utmost time bought up at Hugly, and the goods from all the Factorys were much belated, but furthered by my Presence.'[1]

On the 3rd December, news was brought that the Nawāb's Deputy was near Mīrdāūdpūr, and accordingly two of the Company's servants were sent to meet him 'with a present of Broad cloth &ca.' Master avoided the visit, and, in consequence, a larger gift, because he was 'upon his departure hence.' At noon, on the 4th December, he and his followers set out for Hugli, and were escorted as far as Mohola by the Kasimbazar Council. At parting, Littleton, the chief, was urged by the Agent not to relax his efforts, as there was 'much business yet to be done in the Factory,' and was exhorted 'to dispatch the same with all hast possible.' The return journey to Hugli was uneventful, and the 'Companys Garden,' where Matthias Vincent was awaiting the party, was reached on the evening of the 6th December.

Master remained at Hugli for ten days, and maintained his reputation for transacting much business in a short space of time. On the 7th December, letters arrived from John Byam, the acting chief at Balasor, explaining how the late Richard Edwards, 'to make up the Companys cash when the Agent was at Ballasore,' had borrowed a large sum of a native merchant, most of which he had paid back, and, for the remainder, had given 'a bill, which still stands out.' Next came tidings of the long-expected saltpetre boats. The fleet had started from Patna on the 19th November, had been twice stopped, and was then further delayed by the desertion of the

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

boatmen. Charnock himself 'was makeing hast to come away after the remaines of the Factory were delivered up.' On the 8th and 9th December, long letters were written to Madras, Masulipatam, Madapollam, Kasimbazar, and Balasor, chiefly about the return journey and the 'petre' boats. 'To Dacca was written that it was much to be admired noe advices had come from thence.' On the 10th December, a Consultation was called, when, among other matters, the disposal of the estate of the late William Bellamy was arranged for; Edward Bugden's 'accompt' was 'adjusted' and his salary paid up to the time of his dismissal; and 'a parcell of plate' was purchased for the use of the factory from Edward Reade, who had received permission to return to England.

Of far greater importance was the Consultation held on the 12th December, when measures were passed 'for the better regulating the affairs of the Honble. Company in the Bay of Bengall.' The regulations were based on those made by Master at his previous visit in 1676, but certain alterations and amplifications were now deemed expedient, and these were explained in detail. The accounts were the first consideration. The method to be employed in balancing the books was repeated, and the penalties for failure in the punctual observance of the rules laid down were duly set forth. In each factory a 'large, light and well scituated' room, to secure the safety of the Company's books, was to be 'sett apart for the office, and never diverted from that use.' The vexed question of a 'publike table' was settled according to the Company's orders; all 'single persons' were to 'Dyet' together, and no 'Dyett mony' was to be allowed, except to married servants desiring 'to Dyett apart.' An 'Establishment of Charges' was laid down for each factory 'soe far as it can be conveniently done.' No candles were in future to be allowed, except to the members of Council, the chaplain, and the 'Chyrurgeon.' The responsibility of the chief was specially insisted on. No chief was to leave his post without grave reason, nor to allow any measure affecting the Company to take place without his concurrence; but to prevent the heads of the factories from misusing their power, no native merchant employed by the Company was to

be superseded without due inquiry 'in Consultation.' This rule was extended to native writers, *baniyas*, etc., none of whom were to be dismissed 'without due order of Councell,' since it was 'of bad consequence to turne off old servants.'

At the same Consultation further directions were given as to the despatch of saltpetre, the purchase of 'packing stuff,' and the safety of the Company's 'treasure' when on board the sloops. In his private papers Master remarks on these proceedings: 'In settling Regulations for all the Factorys in the Bay at Hugly, the 12th December, 1679, I saved the Company that 1¼ Pr Cent. upon all the moneys to be paid upon their Investments in the Bay, and all the wages of the Mutsudys [clerks] and Vackeels [native agents], and alsoe reduced the allowances of all the servants wages for the Chiefs &ca.'[1]

The morals of the Company's servants in Bengal were not neglected, and 'orders for the civill government of the Factorys,' adapted from those drawn up for Fort St. George in Master's first year of office, were directed to be 'observed' and 'affixed up in the offices,' in the subordinate factories, and 'in the Chapell' at Hugli. This moral code enjoined the strict observance of the Decalogue, and recounted the penalties for breach thereof. It was to be 'read publikely' at each factory twice a year, 'that none may pretend ignorance.'

Lastly, the 'stations and employments' of all in the Company's service in 'the Bay' were 'debated'; a list was drawn up in accordance with the appointments agreed on; and all incumbents of new posts were ordered 'to take charge of the same within the month of January next.'

On the 13th December, Master called his last Consultation in Hugli, an important one, as it marked the official commencement of Mālda Factory, for the foundation of which he was responsible in 1676. The Factory was now 'settled'; Fytche Nedham was appointed chief, and orders were issued for the building of a factory house 'upon an open and high peece of ground.'[2]

Numerous other details claimed Master's attention. Edmund Bugden, now in the status of a freeman, was permitted to remain

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10. [2] *Ibid.*

in Bengal 'to get in his estate abroad,' on condition that he signed a bond to repair to Madras with his wife 'the next yeare.' The other freemen were all informed of the Company's orders for them to reside in Fort St. George, and either promised compliance or requested extension of time in Bengal, on the same terms as those granted to Bugden. The Company's relations with the native government were debated, and it was considered politic to offer a present, 'as accustomary,' to the new *Sūbadār* [Governor]. It was left to Vincent's discretion to 'make up the said present' as soon as news of Shāistah Khān's arrival should be received. Malik Kāsim, too, whose desire for gifts had been circumvented at Balasor, was not to be entirely evaded. Before his departure from Hugli to meet the new Governor, he left 'a memorandum for the present he expected upon the Agents comeing.' Vincent was therefore empowered to give him the value of 'about 500 Rs. as he shall be in imployment able to serve or disserve us.'

Charnock's delay in leaving Patna was a constant source of exasperation to Master. On the 13th December, he wrote a severe letter, reproaching him in no measured terms for failing to be at Kasimbazar as 'possitively ordered' by 'a day sett,' and informing him that since he had not come 'as enordered,' he was now to be Second at Hugli instead of Chief at Kasimbazar. To this change of appointment a 'ready complyance' was desired. There is no doubt that the Company's decision to place Charnock as chief at Kasimbazar was unpopular in Bengal. Edward Littleton looked upon the post as his right, and in this he had the support of Matthias Vincent. They probably did all in their power to increase Master's antagonism to Charnock, but it was a grave mistake to act in direct opposition to the Company's orders, and this high-handedness with regard to an old and trusted servant was one of the causes which led to Master's subsequent dismissal. Charnock eventually arrived in Hugli a week after the Agent had left for Balasor, and it is not unlikely that he had purposely avoided a meeting, though he declared he had 'made all hast possible from Pattana.' He strongly resented the 'hard measure' dealt to him by Master, and persisted in declaring that he had only

delayed his departure in the interests of the Company. He declined to accept the post of Second at Hugli, and requested that he might 'not be deprived of what the Honble. Company have been pleased to apoint me.'

The Court supported Charnock's claims. On the 5th January, 1681, they wrote as follows: 'Wee are in all your Letters troubled with long Sections concerning the method of Succession. You make the Doctrine more intricate then the Text, and at last a use shamefully contradictory to either of them, as you did in the case of our old and good Servant Mr Job Charnock, who had the right indisputably of succession (as you call it) besides our express order to be Chief of Cassambuzar, A person that hath served us faithfully above 20 years, and hath never, as we understand, been a prowler for himselfe, beyond what was just and modest, Who therefore, wee are resolved, shall not live unrewarded by us. Our Letters were plaine enough, that he should be Chief of Cassambuzar, and at the same time Second of the Bay in degree, and to succeed Mr. Vincent as chief of the Bay in case of his death or removall. His staying at Pattana to dispatch the Petre-boats was his care and his duty to our Service, that being a matter of such concernment, as he very well knew, to the dispatch of our Ships. And therefore Agent Master did very ill, and contrary to his duty and the trust reposed in him, in takeing hold of that pretence, to dispossesse an honest man of the just reward of his fidelity, due to him by all rights. Wee do therefore require Our Agent Gyfford and Councill that, upon your arrivall at the Fort, you doe immediately dispatch an Express to Mr. Charnock, with the contents of so much of this Letter as concernes him and our Affaires at Pattana, Ordering him therein with all possible expedition to settle our Affaires there, and leave them in a regular and due method, and from thence presently repaire to Cassambuzar to take the Remaines from Mr Littleton, and the possession of our Factory and Affaires, as Chief of Cassambuzar, and that Mr Littleton (if he like it) doe proceed to be second of Hughly and to have the place of third in the Bay. If he like not this, Wee give him leave to come home, although he be a person Wee have good thoughts of,

as you may perceive by our last years letters, but wee will not be disobeyed by any that serve us.'[1]

On Sunday, the 14th December, the recent orders for 'the civill government of the Factorys' were read 'after divine service.' The following day, 'Alī Naqi, the Governor, by means of a trumped-up story of alleged injustice done to a Muhammadan at Fort St. George, endeavoured to extort a second present before the Agent's departure. But, with his usual astuteness, Master evaded the wiles of that official.

On the afternoon of the 16th December, all arrangements having been made for the transport of the saltpetre, silk, and piece-goods, *bajrās* conveyed the Agent and his party down the river towards Balasor. A farewell visit was paid to the Dutch, who 'accompanyed us to the Dutch garden, and there gave us a handsome treat' and a salute of guns. On the night of the 20th December, the Agent's *bajrā* 'gott near over the Braces, the wind contrary,' and the next evening he 'got aboard of the *Golden Fleece*.' He at once sent a letter to John Byam summoning him to give 'accompt of the affairs of the Factory' since, 'the monsoone being far spent,' he did not propose to spare the time to land. Nevertheless, it was afterwards determined to be 'convenient for the Agent to goe ashoare,' and he accordingly arrived at Balasor factory at noon on the 23rd December, 'the Marchants meeting him by the river side,' but the deputy governor 'neither mett him nor sent to compliment him.' An examination of the accounts of the native merchants was made, and an 'outcry' of the late Richard Edwards' goods was arranged for Christmas Eve, 'all the commanders and severall others being now ashoare here.' The sale 'lasted from morning to night,' and there was then 'much left unsold, he having more lumber then any man has been knowne to have of his quality or standing . . . which made it evident that he was a careless and a vaine man.' Master could hardly be expected to estimate the value in which some of Edwards' 'lumber' would be held a couple of centuries later, for, as a matter of fact, the letters he had accumulated and preserved are invaluable, as furnishing the only social and domestic details that are now

[1] *Letter Book*, vol. vi., pp. 250, 251.

available with regard to his contemporaries and colleagues in Bengal. In spite, however, of much that was non-saleable, it was found that the effects Edwards had left would 'pay what he run out of the Company's cash' and clear his name.

On Christmas Day, the deputy governor, who desired one of Edwards' horses for his master, Malik Kāsim, visited the Agent to endeavour to obtain it. He was told that the animal was designed as a gift for the Nawāb, Shāistah Khān, but nevertheless 'he would needs have him brought to looke on.' To atone for his disappointment, it was deemed advisable to give the deputy a small present 'in broad cloth &ca.'

On the 26th December, after having given orders that Joseph Hall and Valentine Nurse (discharged from the Company's service, as already related), who refused 'to give bond to repair to Madrass,' should not be countenanced or assisted in any way, Master left Balasor, went on board the *Golden Fleece*, issued despatches to Captains North and Earning of the *Golden Fleece* and the *George*, and sent a letter to Vincent at Hugli giving an abstract of the proceedings at Balasor since his arrival.

On the 27th December, the *Golden Fleece*, with 'the Agent and those that came with him' on board, weighed anchor. The passage to Narsāpur, which was reached on the 7th January, 1680, was a stormy one, and 'something hazardous.' The *George*, which should have accompanied the *Golden Fleece*, was delayed by bad weather, and made straight for Masulipatam, her master, Nehemiah Earning, 'giving accompt that he was drove by Narsapore River by the streames.' For this breach of orders and the worry caused thereby, he was reprimanded by Master, and held responsible for the extra expense incurred in conveying the Madapollam goods to Masulipatam. The Company's third ship, the *Success*, was left behind in Balasor Road to take in 'the remainder of the goods in the Bay,' and was then ordered to sail direct to Madras, so that her lading might be commenced and no time lost.

On the 8th January, John Field and Henry Croon Colbourne 'came aboard ship' and escorted the Agent to the Madapollam factory house. Here, for the first time during his visits of inspection, Master found his directions followed, the accounts

'kept up in good forme and method,' and the cash 'in the chest . . . agreeing with the cash booke.' Only four days were spent in Madapollam, and, as much business had to be accomplished, Master took the, for him, unusuall course of holding a Consultation on a Sunday. On Saturday, the 10th January, regulations, similar to those enacted at Hugli for the 'carrying on of the Honble. Companys affaires in this Factory,' were passed in Council. The establishment of servants was fixed on the same basis as had been arranged for the Bengal factories, and the orders concerning freemen were repeated. On Sunday, the 11th January, 'after many debates,' the merchants were induced to agree to 'a settled contract for goods to be provided.' In the previous March they had been unwilling to bind themselves to an arrangement lasting longer than one season, and Master had not pressed the point; but now he was able to procure their assent to a contract similar to that made at Masulipatam at his former visit, an arrangement which was to be 'for many years continuance without alteration.' Presents to the merchants confirmed the agreement. Other business settled at this Sunday Consultation was the order for the erection of a flag-staff at the river's mouth as a 'marke for the ships to come to anchor at'; the election of a new 'factory' Brāhman, and a pension accorded to the widow of his predecessor; the order for the sale of one of the late Robert Fleetwood's houses, and the decision 'to stay a while longer to try for a better price for the other.'

On Monday, the 12th January, 'the writeings for the Marchants being sealed and interchanged,' Master and his following 'tooke boate, and goeing over the Bar in some danger, got aboard ship before noone.' The next morning the *Golden Fleece* anchored in 'Metchlepatam Roade,' and a letter was sent to Masulipatam desiring that 'Mr. Hatton, if he be well, if not that one other of you' should 'come off to give accompt of the affairs of the Factory.' Both Hatton and Wynn obeyed the order, and arrived with '10 boates laden with goods.' On the 14th January Master went 'ashoare in a country boate.' The Dutch chief saluted him from 'the Tarras of their house,' but 'came not downe to meet us in the street.' Two days only were spent in Masulipatam, and immediately on his arrival Master called

a Consultation, at which the same orders for the government and allowances of the factory were promulgated as those given at Hugli and Madapollam. The Company's regulations regarding freemen were also repeated. On the 15th January, the accounts were examined, and here also they were found to be 'kept up in good forme and method.' Additional buildings for the factory and the Company's 'garden house' were sanctioned, 'by reason the late storme hath made the towne more unhealthy and less safe.' An 'allowance' [re-imbursement] 'of four per cent. of the eight per cent. abated them' was granted to the merchants engaged in the Company's investments, on account of their 'losses by the tempest.' It was also 'thought fit for their encouragement' to give them a present of 'Scarlet,' European broadcloth 'wherewith they may take heart to goe on with the business the next yeare.' Van Outhoorn, the Dutch chief, sent a message that he would visit the Agent in the evening, but Master excused himself from receiving him on the score of pressure of business. He had probably not forgotten the Dutchman's boastfulness, which had roused his ire in the previous March. In Master's private 'Memorandum' there is the remark: 'Note. The Dutch Company made great investments this year with ready mony, thinking soe to spoyle our busyness!'[1] This is of consequence in judging his subsequent treatment by the Court of Committees.

Early in the morning of the 16th January, Master and his party once more went on board the *Golden Fleece*, 'but the wind was small, and that a sea breeze, soe that the ship could not saile untill evening.' While awaiting a favourable wind, a letter arrived from the Deputy at Fort St. George 'giving Accompt of the business there.' In this letter Hynmers reported that the Company's investment was well advanced; that Henry Law, accused of murder, had been 'committed to prison, where he is to remaine till the Agents arrivall here'; that news had been received of the murder of John Smith,[2] the dismissed chief of Dacca; and that the 'Accompts of this Factory' were in good order, and had been kept up to date.

[1] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 29, 38.

Owing to the 'small and contrary winds,' the *Golden Fleece* did not come to anchor in Madras Road until the evening of the 25th January. The next morning a salute was fired, and Master went ashore, being 'courteously wellcomed and received by the Deputy Governour,' the Company's servants, and the inhabitants of the town. Thus escorted, he was conducted 'into the Fort,' and 'soe ended this troublesome voyage.'

The opinion of the Court on these journeys, which really constituted a valuable visit of inspection in the Company's interests, is astonishing for its injustice and narrowness. They wrote:[1]

'Wee have read over all your Consultation Book, and considered well of our Loss and Gaine by Agent Masters Progress (as wee may call it), being attended with such a Princely Traine and Charge, and as wee would be unwilling not to acknowledg what was well done, so wee must reprove what we think was amiss. And to be plaine with you, not in that Ironicall sence you used that word as is beforementioned, but in truth and reality, wee doe thinke our loss and expence thereby doth much overballance any advantage wee have or may hereafter reap by it. For 1st., Wee do observe the Expence was very great, the Retrenchments of charge in the severall Factories are very slight, your Orders concerning that being mostly only in generall terms, and reduced to no kind of certainty. And if you shall say, The particulars could not be ascertained, as you doe in some of your said orders, Sure the annual disbursment might have been stinted within some certain bounds, as it is at Surat, and lately at Bombay.' Well might Master remark, in his 'Memorandum,' 'The Honble. Company doe very seldome or Rarely take notice of the good services done them, yet the better to convince them of such Services, I have here kept a Brief Memoriall thereof.'[2] . . . 'I have (as much as I could) avoyded sending any great matters home untill I am in every respect prepared for my owne Returne, because I have observed our Company are very ungratefull and cruell to a man that

[1] General letter to Fort St. George of the 5th January, 1681; *Letter Book*, vol. vi., p. 249.

[2] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

hath got an Estate in their service, altho he hath done them a hundred times more service.'[1]

Master's own final comment on his visits of inspection is found in a note among his private papers: '1680. Apr. 11: Easter day: to Returne all due acknowledgments of gratitude and thankfullnes for preserving me from perils, dangers and evill accidents in my Travells by land and sea, giving me health and strength to performe my Imployment and giving me grace in the sight of others to help and assist me therein.'[2]

The Sequel to Master's Inspections.

Throughout the year 1680 and the first half of 1681 Master remained at Fort St. George. At the end of his notes for the year 1679-80, but written much later, he records: 'These are the Services of this one year (those of the years preceding and succeeding being as proffitable) for which the Comittee, by the next returne of the ships for India, dismist the said Streynsham Master their service and Imployment, Requiring him Imediately to surrender the place of Agent and Governour, which he did accordingly the same hour he Received the order, upon Sunday evening, the 3d of July, 1681, by Candle light, four days before the Covenanted time of five years was expired'[3]—a comment showing in its scornful terms the strength of the man, his feeling of superiority over his masters, and that sense of injustice under ill-treatment which overshadows resentment.

The dismissal of Master had not been achieved without a struggle. On the 19th November, 1680, 'Upon a long and serious debate,' his recall was decided on. On the 24th there was a 'motion against the said order,' and another long and serious debate,' after which the 'question' was 'put to the Ballot.' The votes were 'even, twelve in the affirmative and twelve in the negative.' On the 2nd December, however, another ballot was taken, the 'order of dismission was

[1] Letter from Streynsham Master to his brother, James Master, dated 25th January, 1681; *Master Papers*, No. 13.

[2] *Master Papers*, No. 13.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 10.

confirmed,'[1] and, on the 20th, Sir Josia Child wrote to Master, 'You will probably wonder at the comeing of a New Agent, and more to hear That I was one of them that voted for him, which I assure you was not from any unkindness to you, for I noe more intended this chang when I wrott last to you, than I did the changing of my Wife, which noe man living hath less reason to desire then myselfe.'[2] So far the members of the Court of Committees contented themselves with the formal removal of a man whose ability they feared. Master, though dismissed, was 'to be civilly treated,'[3] and was permitted to remain at Madras 'a year longer, if for his conveniency.' But no sooner was his supersession an accomplished fact than the Court broke out in a torrent of invective against him. His 'going down with so great a trade [? train] to the Bay . . . had like to have lost the Monsoone for our ships'; his 'taking his whole salary and gratuity in India' was 'a barefaced presumption'; his 'settling the Chiefship' at Kasimbazar was 'disliked.'[4] In fact, the deposed Agent could do nothing right.

By the courtesy of Mr. William Irvine I am enabled to print an unpublished account (from the *Archives Nationales*, Paris) of an interview between François Martin, chief of the French factory at Pondicherry, and Streynsham Master in May, 1681, two months before the arrival of Agent Gyfford. The Frenchman's account is specially valuable, as a record of an unbiassed and unofficial description of Master, by a contemporary, at the close of his tenure of office in India.

30*th May*, 1681.—'Je fis partir le sieur Germain le 30*e* au matin pour aller à Madras donner avis aux Reverends Pères Ehprem et Zenon, Capucins, de mon voiage et poure faire excuse a Monsieur le gouverneur de ce que je n'allois pas le voir en passant, que je craignois de l'importuner, sachant qu'il estoit indispose. . . .'

31*st May*, 1681.—'Le sieur Germain me vint rejoindre à Trivetour le matin due 31*e*. Il me dit qu'il avoit veu les

[1] *Court Minutes*, vol. xxxii., fols. 64, 70, 72.
[2] *Master Papers*, No. 11.
[3] *Letter Book*, vol vi., p. 268*a*.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 257, 272.

Reverends pères Capucins, Ephrem et Zenon, quy luy avoient dit que Monsieur le gouverneur m'avoit toujours attendu, que depuis trois jours la garnison avoit esté plusieurs fois sous les armes, sur l'avis que l'on avoit donné que je venois le long du bord de la mer, que je ne pouvois pas me dispenser de venir à Madras, et que le Reverend père Zenon arriveroit dans une heure, quy me diroit plus particulierement son sentiment là dessus. Le Reverend père vint ensuite. Il me dit qu'il avoit parlé au gouverneur avant que de partir, qu'il se plaignoit de ce que j'estois passé sans le voir, et que s'il avoit esté en santé qu'il m'auroit prevenu. Je me resolus par là à faire cette visite. Je partis de nostre campement sur les quatres heures du soir. Au tiers du chemin je recontray le sieur Wilhem [? Wilkes], l'un des conseillers, et le sieur Chombley [Cholmley], célèbre joaillier. Les palanquins s'arretèrent ; après les premières civilitez, où nous vidâmes quelques bouteilles de vin, nous avançames ensuite jusques à un jardin de la Compagnie, quy est à une portée de canon de Madras, où je trouvay la collation preste. Le Reverend père Ephrem m'y attendoit. Apres y avoir resté une demy heure, nous reprimes nostre chemin. Nous entrâmes dans la ville et ensuite dans la fortresse, où la garnison estoit sous les armes. Dès mon entrée dans la fortresse, le canon de la place et des dehors tira. Je montay à l'apartement du gouverneur, que je trouvay en robbe de chambre. Il me fit toutes les civilitez qu'il pust. Je [j'ai] remarqué dans la conversation que nous eumes ensemble qu'il manquoit de mémoire.[1] Il m'en avoit aussy averty devant, à fin que cela ne me surprit pas. C'estoit un homme ferme, quy n'avoit pas suivy toujours les sentimens du conseil, et quy s'estoit attiré par là des ennemis, mais quy a extremement bien servy la compagnie d'Angleterre. Les deux hommes qu'il avoit fait areter pour les affaires de la Compagnie, et dont il avoit fait vendre les effets, avoient aussi animé des gens de la terre contre luy. L'on dit qu'il prit sa maladie dans une promenade qu'il fit dehors de Madras, où aiant soif l'on luy presenta un

[1] When Gyfford, Master's successor, applied in October, 1681, for an account of a sum of money ordered to be paid the merchants in November, 1680, 'Mr. Master gave for answer that his memory continued very bad, God knew when it would be better . . .' (Pringle, *Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, 1681, p. 46).

cocos pour en boire l'eau. Il y en a quy ont crust que l'on y avoit meslé quelque chose dedans. Cette espèce de maladie, quy luy laissoit de temps en temps de bons intervalles, a continué; et des personnes quy l'ont veu depuis en Angleterre m'ont assuré qu'il en estoit toujours incommodé. Quoy que les officiers de la Compagnie et les habitants se soient plaints de son gouvernement, les personnes quy ont remply sa place depuis n'ont pas laissé de l'imiter presque en tout, et les Directeurs de Londres s'en sont bien trouvez. Nous restames une heure en conversation, pendant laquelle il fit tirer encore deux vollies de 25 coups chacune. Je vis bien que ce bruit l'incommodoit; je le priay de faire cesser. Il ne pust s'empecher de me dire qu'il croioit que l'on l'avoit empoissonné. Je ne pus me dispenser de rester à souper quy dura jusqu'à minuit. Le gouverneur resta dans son apartement. Je pris congé de luy ensuite. Il me donna toutes les marques d'une parfaite amitié. Je trouvay encore la garnison sous les armes; en sortant le canon fit grand bruit; je ne conté (*sic*) les coups, mais il est certain que la décharge dura pres d'un quart d'heure. Je passay ensuite à l'hospice des Reverends pères Capucins, et me jettant après dans mon palanquin, je fus accompagné jusques au jardin par les personnes quy m'estoient venus recevoir, où je trouvay encore une collation de confitures, apres quoy nous séparames, et je retournay à nostre campement.'[1]

The opinion of Master expressed by the chief of the French factory accords with his character as revealed in his diaries and in his own accounts of his work. It shows him as a man, head and shoulders above his colleagues and those whom he had to serve; a strong man, who went his own way, and so made enemies that maligned him and depreciated his services, while they took advantage of his abilities and adopted his policy; a courteous man of the world, who spent himself in the service of the Company with diligence and single-minded honesty, and acted with a determination, that the majority of the Court were quite unable to appreciate, to do his best to keep order, to put a stop to malpractices, and to uphold the dignity of his country.

The story of Streynsham Master, so far as these volumes are

[1] MS. T.* 1193 in *Archives Nationales*, Paris.

concerned, is now finished. Much might be written of his later years, but with them the Diary and 'Memorialls' have no concern, and a few brief remarks on the period following his dismissal are all that are necessary here. The native merchants, whose frauds he had detected, and whom, as Monsieur Martin remarks, he had mulcted and dismissed, rejoiced at his downfall. They lost no time in charging him with injustice and exaction,[1] a charge to which the Court of Committees lent a ready ear. In September, 1682, on his return to England, a suit in Chancery was filed against Master 'touching the Company's demands on him.' In 1683 his 'writings' were 'perused and inspected.' In June, 1686, he petitioned that his account might be 'stated' and the money due to him for tonnage, etc., paid. The request was refused until the 'suit depending in Chancery betwixt the Company and him were brought to an issue.' It was not until October, 1691, that the case was settled, and £1,200 was paid to him 'in full of all demands,' to put 'an end to the suit.'[2] Thus ended Master's connection with the 'Old Company.' His election as one of the Directors of the 'New Company' in 1698, his knighthood, his two marriages, and his subsequent life in London, are all set forth by Yule. The account here may fittingly close with a remark in his own words, in February, 1702, to Thomas Pitt, whom he had entrusted with the collection of money due to him in India. After enumerating debts still outstanding, amounting to pagodas 20,846, and offering a further commission for collecting them, should the 10 per cent. already promised be deemed insufficient, Master adds: 'Wonderfull unhappy man I am, who settled such a beneficiall contract for the Company and all my Successors, and can not only Reap noe benefit thereby to myselfe, but, on the contrary, Sustaine soe great loss as my Just demands are upon mony lent and supplyed out of kindnes and Respect both to the Marchants and to the Company; if you doe not find means to assist me therein, 'tis sure a vexatious wound to be thus

[1] *O.C.*, No 4807.

[2] *Court Minutes*, vol. xxxiii., fols. 35, 144; vol. xxxiv., fol. 217; vol. xxxvi., fol. 76.

ill treated, that rather then beare it I may be provoked to apply to my old Masters for Redress.'[1]

And thus, in bitter disappointment, ended the labours of five strenuous years in the East, a result that only too often attended the efforts of the more capable men of whatever nationality, who went out in the seventeenth century to serve their country in India and the 'South Seas.'

[1] British Museum, *Add. MS.*, 2285, fol. 168.

TRADE AND FINANCE IN EASTERN INDIA IN MASTER'S TIME

To make anything like a comprehensive survey of the system of trade adopted by the East India Company in Master's time would demand deep and prolonged research, far beyond the limits of his own pages, and would occupy more space than the present purpose warrants. It will therefore be sufficient now to bring to notice the main points in the system that are revealed by the diaries.

The principles on which the old merchants conducted what, for the time, was a very large trade[1] in 'the Coast and Bay,' meaning thereby the whole Eastern coasts of India and Bengal, with Madras as headquarters, were simplicity itself. It was in the application of the principles that complications arose. They chartered annually about half a dozen ships, carrying between them somewhat more than 2,000 tons for the outward and homeward voyages, which occupied about a year. These ships carried a very small variety of merchandise. A typical example is the shipping of 1675, which arrived at Madras in 1676, and greatly occupied Master's attention. Five ships of a combined tonnage of 2,140 tons contained only four categories of cargo—bullion, merchandise, stores, and broadcloth—and only two categories were required for the return voyage, cotton and silk piece-goods, and a severely limited general merchandise.

The value of the outward cargo was £235,000, distributed thus:

Bullion ...	£196,000,	or roughly,	83 per cent.
Merchandise[2]	£29,000	,,	12 per cent.
Stores ...	£2,000	,,	1 per cent.
Broadcloth ...	£8,000	,,	4 per cent.

[1] It must have been about half of the whole trade of the East India Company at the time. See Davenant, *Essay on the East India Trade*, 1696, pp. 15 *et seq.*

[2] Davenant, *Essay on the East India Trade*, p. 15, says that the merchandise sent out to India was 'near an eighth part' of the bullion.

The broadcloth has been placed by itself, as it was largely used in making presents to important personages to secure their goodwill. It was provided, in fact, as part of the price to be paid for the goods to be bought for the return cargo. This, indeed, was also the destiny of the main part of the merchandise. So that it would appear, on the above figures, that the Court of the East India Company regarded the outward cargo as rather more than 99 per cent. investment and rather less than 1 per cent. stores; or, to put it in a more familiar way, they looked on the stores and supplies sent out to the factories as costing twopence in the pound invested.

The merchandise sent out, chiefly for conversion into local money at the best price by sale or barter, consisted of metals—lead, copper, tin; minerals—alum, quicksilver, brimstone; paints—white and red lead, vermilion; piece-goods—broadcloth, worsted and woollen fabrics. The return cargoes practically consisted of piece-goods of cotton and silk, both pure and mixed. Saltpetre was taken as a saleable ballast, and raw silk, silk and cotton yarn, borax, turmeric, and sticklac, were carried as make-weights. In consequence of this method of trade, cotton and silk goods from the East were sold so largely to Englishwomen and households as to rouse the active animosity of the home woollen manufacturers.[1]

It is therefore of some interest to note what Indian piece-goods our forefathers used in Master's time. In 1676 and 1677 the return freight demanded from 'the Bay' consisted of—

COTTON GOODS.	1676. Pieces.	1677. Pieces
Cloths or 'calicoes':		
Long: white, unbleached, soft, blue - -	104,000	96,000
Blue[2]: ordinary, fine, superfine - - -	12,000	12,000
Striped[3] (ginghams): ordinary, fine, trouserings, bleached, unbleached - - - -	12,000	10,500
Spangled: fine - - - - -	9,000	8,000
Chintz - - - - - -	92,000	95,000
Diaper patterned: ordinary, fine - - -	none[4]	3,000

[1] *Vide* Davenant, Pollexfen, and other writers of the day, *passim.*

[2] *Mūrīs:* no doubt the blue cottons worn by Muhammadans or 'Moors.'

[3] Whence, perhaps, the familiar striped sailors' trousers in the pictures of the time.

[4] By special order.

	1676. Pieces.	1677. Pieces.
Cotton Goods—*continued.*		
Veilings : ordinary, fine, transparent	15,000	20,000
Muslins : fine red (*sālū*)	1,500	—
Sailcloth	10,000	20,000
Neckcloths : 18 to a piece	2,000	3,000
Handkerchiefs : 15 to a piece	—	10,000
Silk Goods.		
Veilings : fine, unbleached	300	600
Cloths : red and white	6,000	6,000

It is to be inferred, from the above statement of requirements, that at this period muslins were on trial in England, probably because Englishwomen had not yet found out the advantages they afforded for tasteful clothing and upholstery: too close in texture for veils, not close enough for the clothing of a northern people, and too light for the heavy furniture and curtains of the time.

The length and breadth of the 'pieces' is not always available, but the following table will give some idea of this important detail in merchandise.

	Length in Yards.	Breadth in Yards.
Cotton Goods.		
Clothes or 'calicoes' : striped (ginghams)	21–24	—
Veilings	16–25	—
Muslins	18–20	1–1½
Neckcloths	7–10	1½–2
Handkerchiefs	15	¾
Silk Goods.		
Veilings	25	—
Cloths	4½–7½	¾

The scarf or neckcloth of the period was 4 feet to 6 feet in length, and 18 went to a piece. The handkerchief was 27 inches square, and 15 went to a piece.

The cargoes for 'the Bay' were consigned to the Agent and Governor in Council at Madras, and his method of utilising the Company's bullion and merchandise, and of complying with its demands as to the return cargoes, was to apportion the bullion

and the goods sent out to the chiefs of the various factories or settlements. This was done under the express orders of the authorities in England, for they interfered in all sorts of unnecessary details, and were insistent on being obeyed. Frequent mistakes, such as sending broadcloth to Orissa, where it was unsaleable, were the result, and formed one of the chief causes of the perpetual friction and bickering that went on between the Court of Committees in London and the Council in Madras. The allotments of bullion and merchandise were made by Orders in Council, or Consultations as they were called, at Madras, and the factory chiefs were either given a practically free hand in their distribution by easy-going agents like Langhorne, or were very closely looked after and minutely inspected by energetic agents like Master. Occasionally the agent dealt directly with a native merchant, as in the case of Venka Brāhman, at Madapollam, who was intrusted with 6,000 pagodas, or £2,700, for a supply of chintzes, spangled cloths and veilings, at a discount of 12 per cent. off market rates, representing a gain on the transaction of £321 to the Company. It was the securing of such discounts, or abatements as they were then called, that was the most important concern of the chiefs of factories when buying for the Company.

When the chief got his allotment, his usual course was to contract with responsible local merchants or brokers for a supply of the goods he wanted, in time for the return shipping, and to pay a portion of the price in cash in advance. There seems to have been no other practicable way of managing the trade at the time, and it led in practice to constant losses, or 'desperate debts,' owing to failure on the part of the natives to complete contracts, and to attempts (too often successful because of the terms of the charter-parties of the shipping which were known to the native dealers) to force goods on the Company not up to the samples attached to the contracts. So that sorting and checking the goods tendered in detail, and the consequent assessment of 'abatements,' became an essential part of the duties of a chief and his staff. Previous to Master's time, the custom in Orissa had been to make the advances partly in cash and partly in merchandise from

England, but this naturally led to many disputes and much ill-will on the part of the native merchants, who were sometimes saddled with unsaleable goods. One of the many clever and valuable services Master rendered to the Company was his arrangement by which all payments and advances for goods purchased were to be made in cash alone. In some places, however, as at Dacca and Mālda, where there were no leading merchants, who could act as the Company's brokers, and no men of such standing as to admit of their being accepted as security for small or doubtful dealers, resort was had to smaller merchants and petty brokers. The dealings of the Company's agents seem never to have been direct with the working manufacturer or weaver.

The Court was always on the lookout for novelties wherewith to tempt their customers, and Master was specially instructed to seek for them. It was, no doubt, partly in the hope of creating a trade in muslins, for which Dacca afterwards became famous, that he started the Mālda factory. Coarse, close, soft, and fine muslins were, of course, procurable in most places and commanded the highest prices, *pro rata*, of all cotton goods on the spot, as may be seen from the following table, made out from the statements relating to a total investment of Rs. 150,000, collected for Master at Balasor.

	Price per piece. Rs.
Coarse cottons	4
Mixed cottons	3
Blue cottons	4½
Towellings	5
Thick muslins	7½
Soft muslins	8

But the great service Master rendered the Company in the matter of novelties was the introduction of *tassar* (tussore) silk goods, a trade that has lasted on to the present day in several forms of cheap silks. The material went by various names in Master's time—*arindī*, silk of worms fed on the castor-oil plant, 'tester' and 'herba,' which last term, from a false etymology, long led to a belief that the *tassar* goods were not made of silk at all, but of some kind of grass.

Financing the trade was always a complicated and difficult matter for the chiefs of factories, owing to the conditions obtaining in the regions in which the Company worked. Each chief had to depend for his finance on the prices he obtained, in money which he could pay out, for his bullion, both gold and silver, and for his merchandise. This required as much judgment, local knowledge and acuteness in bargaining as did the purchase of his goods for Europe, and was open to the same risks of loss from bad faith on the part of buyers. The silver was partly in bars and partly in Mexican and Spanish dollars, and the gold chiefly in coins (European and Indian), such as pistoles, *mohars*, etc. Sending bullion to the local mints to be coined was not resorted to if it could be avoided, and practically only when a sufficient price for it could not be secured in the market. Sometimes bullion, gold especially, was not locally saleable at all. When there was nothing for it but to have the bullion coined, invariably a slow process lasting about a month, recourse was had to loans locally at an interest of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per mensem or 15 per cent. per annum, which the Company recovered by a rebate of 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on all moneys paid out, whether to third parties or their own servants and employés. Such high rates of interest as 15 and 18 per cent. per annum, as appears incidentally from dealings with such great and powerful brokers as Khēm Chand and Chintāman Shāh of Balasor, were the ordinary rates then paid on outstanding obligations by merchants of the best position and credit.

The necessity of selling bullion for providing themselves with cash, the difficulty of assessing its value, the great variety in the quality of the current money, the differences between the numerous local exchanges, and the violent fluctuations in price to which bullion was liable in countries where it was scarce and of uncertain quantity, kept the question of exchange ever before the minds of those responsible for the Company's trade. It must have been a kind of perpetual nightmare to many of them, and perhaps the greatest service of all that Master rendered to his countrymen in Bengal, and incidentally to the Company, was his 'firme and lasting contract' with the great native banker of Kasimbazar, Chitr Mall Shāh, to take all the bullion

of the Company sent to Bengal at a fixed rate. The intense relief that a fixed rate gives to the Government and the whole community, in a country liable to continual and violent fluctuations in exchange, must be still fresh in the minds of many who recollect the years in India before the exchange of the rupee was settled, at a rate within small limits of variation, by legislation under Lord Lansdowne's Government in 1894, a little more than 200 years after Master had accomplished the same feat, though on different lines.

On the whole, though they are not revealed to us in Master's pages as men of a high class of character or mental attainments, the leaders in 'the Bay' must have been acute men of business to make the trade pay their employers at all, considering the difficulties under which it was carried on, both as to the business itself and as to financing it. They had to trust entirely for success to their capacity for utilising the exchange to the best advantage, to their powers of bargaining and cutting down prices when making advances and payments for the goods they purchased, and to their judgment of those with whom they had to deal. Added to this, they had to endure all the discouragement incidental to serving an unsympathetic, undiscerning and most discourteous directorate at a distance.

A point that seems to come out clearly is that, as a rule, the Englishmen who went out to India in the latter part of the seventeenth century were not successful in 'shaking the pagoda tree.' Master himself, no doubt, and some others of the leaders of the time, came home with ample fortunes. But the great majority, in fact nearly all, of his contemporaries died in the country, many of them in debt, while many of the others left but little property behind them, and not much of that ever found its way to heirs at home.

The actual salaries of the English servants of the Company would have been grotesquely inadequate, were it not that they were allowed to trade on their own account between ports in the East. But it seems to have been overlooked that, in the majority of cases, they would have to resort to practices, which could hardly in any circumstances be described as honest, in order to find the capital necessary to take advantage of the

concession. Perhaps it was deliberately anticipated that in any case they would peculate. But the result of this policy was that the temptation to shady transactions was not often resisted, and that peculation caused endless trouble among the servants themselves and between them and their employers. It led to a large internal British trade in India, which was by no means to the advantage of the Company, and must have occupied a considerable portion of the energies and time of those who should have been wholly at the service of their employers. It also led to endless insubordination, as when once a man had acquired 'a private estate,' dismissal had no terrors for him, and in such cases he constantly—William Jearsey is a notable example—turned 'interloper,' successfully defied the Company, and lived on amicable terms with its agents and servants as a respected freeman for many a long year thereafter, or until his death.

There is not evidence enough as to prices to show how profits were made in the trade, but incidentally one or two interesting facts appear. Silk goods were to cotton goods as $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 in price, and raw silk was bought at Rs. $36\frac{1}{2}$ per pound. The Dutch were in Mālda before the English, and, previous to the competition set up by the arrival of the latter, were able to buy muslins at a much cheaper rate than afterwards. Thus, pieces measuring 20 yards by $1\frac{1}{4}$ yards cost at first Rs. 6 to Rs. 10 per piece, against Rs. 9 to Rs. 15 in Master's time, or a rise in price of 50 per cent. to the benefit of the natives. On the other hand, the British factory set up at Kasimbazar induced a large number of weavers to congregate there, with the result of lowering the price of their products, and coarse cottons fell from Rs. 15 to Rs. 6 and 7 per piece of 10 yards by 1 yard, a loss of well over 50 per cent. to the natives. Food prices are always of interest in gauging the cost of living, and it is worth noting that in 1676 paddy was bought in Masulipatam by Master for the Company's use at 35 *sers* the rupee and rice at 15 *sers*.

The gross profits, however, on the sale of the goods that reached England must have been enormous,[1] for they had not

[1] The ordinary merchant's expectation of net profit on home manufactures in those days seems to have been 6 per cent. (Pollexfen, *England and India*, 1697, p. 24).

only to provide a dividend to the shareholders, but also to cover freight and all the home and local charges, which last incidentally appear (from the cash for the year supplied to the new factory at Madapollam in 1679) to have been fixed at 14 per cent. of the money invested. The profits had, in addition, to cover losses by bad debts in consequence of the system of advances to brokers and manufacturers, exactions of native rulers, presents made to all kinds of people thought worth propitiating, settlement of extortionate or trumped-up claims and charges, and pickings by all sorts and conditions of men. They had to cover, too, losses due to bad faith and fraudulent management, for there were cases in which no books of accounts were forthcoming to show how the money supplied had been spent, or how the countervailing purchases had been made, and many in which the accounts were cooked, and many more in which the books could never be balanced. They had further to cover wholesale trickery and peculation in such matters as boat-hire, packing, table expenses, and the like, on the part of the Company's own servants, and the losses consequent on their continual disputes, bickerings, and mutual ill-will. In all the circumstances, so far as the 'adventurers' or shareholders were concerned, the trade of the Company was a mere speculation [1] that, somehow or other, owing to the very great difference between the purchase price of piece-goods in the East and the selling price in Europe, managed for so long a period to pay its way. Perhaps the ill-humour, that almost invariably characterises the correspondence and dealings of the Court of Committees in London with its agents in India, was

[1] They had to rely on peace conditions prevailing *en route*, and at both extremities of the trade (*vide* Davenant, and all the writers on the subject of the time). According to Davenant, *Essay on the East India Trade*, p. 15, the gross returns in normal times of peace, on the £400,000 invested altogether by the East India Company annually, averaged £1,600,000 in England and Europe, and the dividend usually paid in Master's time was under 20 per cent.; so that, at that time, the working and other expenses of the trade were over 95 per cent., and the net profits available for dividend under 5 per cent. of the Company's revenues. Davenant's opponent, Pollexfen, *England and India*, 1697, p. 14, makes the dividend 'not 10 per cent.,' representing a net profit of under 2½ per cent. of the Company's revenues. He did this probably for polemical purposes, as so small a net profit on such a trade would have involved a rashness in speculation quite foreign to the spirit of the Company.

due to the worry caused by the consciousness of the risk and of inability to control it.

It is greatly to the credit of Master that throughout his period of 'Agency in the Bay' he endeavoured to secure proper accounts, and thereby to reduce opportunities for peculation. Wherever he inspected, he never failed to examine the books personally in complete detail, to lay down rules for keeping them, nor to deal severely with those who disobeyed him or were remiss in this all-important mercantile duty. No doubt he thereby roused much enmity, but his policy in this respect was so obviously to the advantage of his employers that, unjust as they were in their strictures on other points in it, they could not but express their approval of his method of bookkeeping.

The Dutch trade of the time in 'the Bay' is constantly noticed in Master's pages, and from his observations it would seem to have been larger than the English and in keen competition with it, competition in those times involving an amount of mutual jealousy and rancour not easily comprehensible nowadays, though there was much outward courtesy between the representatives of the two nations. Their property and stock were valued, in 1672, on a change of agents, at 24 tons of gold, or about 3½ millions sterling, and their trade certainly covered a wider area of merchandise than the British, and was conducted on a larger scale and in better settlements, though not on the same lines. Their method of trade seems to have been much the same as that of the English, but it was not by any means all financed from Europe. Gold came in from Japan and so did copper; tin, bell-metal and spelter, elephants' and tusk ivory, from the Malay Peninsula; pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs and conch shells from the 'South Seas.' Only brimstone, quicksilver, vermilion, and some cloths, which did not sell well, seem to have been sent direct from Europe. They sent home cotton cloths, silk (raw and woven); sailcloth, hemp and cordage; rice; opium, turmeric, sugar and pepper; vegetable dyes, beeswax and saltpetre (probably as ballast). They maintained a large smithy for small ironwork, and they kept pigs in great quantities, which must have been most detrimental to their prestige in such a country as Bengal.

Whether the trade of the Dutch 'adventurers' in India paid as well as that of the English there is no means of ascertaining from Master's diaries,[1] but it does not appear to have been conducted on such sound general principles—*viz.*, financing directly from headquarters and sending directly home goods bought with the money supplied.

[1] According to Pollexfen, *England and India*, p. 37, the Dutch sent out only one-seventh as much bullion from Europe as the English. The dividends paid were small, 'not 5 per cent.' (p. 39). See also Davenant, *Discourse on Publick Revenues*, 1698, vol. ii., pp. 407, 409.

THE CASE OF RAGHU THE *PODDĀR*

THE death of Raghu, the Company's cashkeeper at Kasimbazar, threw the English factory into a state of great commotion, and gave rise to serious troubles. The story of the affair, which led to the celebrated inquiry conducted by Master, can be gleaned from letters written at the time of the occurrence and from the evidence given at the inquiry.

Raghu had served the Company as *poddār*, or cashkeeper, from 1671 to 1673, during the chiefships of Messrs. March and Vincent. He seems to have replaced Anant Rām, who held the post in the time of Messrs. Ken, Sheldon, and Powell, or from 1658 to 1671, 'but not after.' Raghu was found by Vincent and his second, John Marshall, to be indebted to the Company 'for what short in his Account of Cash delivered into his charge.' He was also suspected of having, with his partners Murād Chand and Nem Chand, 'abused the Company in the Saile and Mintage of Silver at Rajmahal.' This silver he took 'to be minted' for the Company at the end of the year 1672, returning about June, 1673. There is also mentioned among his debts 'another Accompt of Cash which the said Podaur was charged with in the Companys bookes.' The whole amount of the deficit is nowhere stated. The sum 'short in his Accompt of Cash' appears to have been Rs. 818, of which Rs. 150 had been recovered by August, 1673.

Matthias Vincent, who became Chief at Kasimbazar at the end of the year 1671, had made repeated demands for the settlement of the Company's claim. Finding these of no avail, he placed Raghu, his son, and one of his partners, under surveillance, summoned them frequently before him, and, on one occasion, caused the son to be 'beaten with a Chabuck [whip]

half a dozen or few blowes.' Raghu was, however, subjected to no such violence on account of his age and infirmity. The old man tried to temporise by saying he would pay the sum due if his 'true accompt' were made up, and also by asserting that 'he had not soe much money, but if Mr. Vincent would put him in imployment it would help his Creditt, and by little and little hee would pay it.' This was the state of the affair up to August, 1673.

Vincent, taught by the experience of the Dutch, who had recently been mulcted in a large sum of money as compensation for the death of one of their servants' wives, had a wholesome fear of rousing the animosity or cupidity of the local governor. He 'feared to use any extremity' against Raghu, 'an old man, least he should dye,' but was endeavouring to get his favourite son into his hands, by severity towards whom he hoped to bring the father to submission. Meanwhile, he instructed Anant Rām, then house broker, to collect the debt, and apparently gave only general orders on the subject.

Early in the morning of the 21st August, 1673, Vincent, with his second in authority, John Marshall, accompanied by Richard Edwards, left Kasimbazar for the day, and journeyed to Mohola. George Knipe, factor, and John Naylor and Richard Mosely, both silk dyers, appear to have been the only representatives of the Company left in the factory. After the departure of the chief, Raghu either came or was summoned from his house at Murshidābād to Kasimbazar. On arrival, he was asked by Knipe to test the value of two 'sorts of gold,' which Anant Rām had brought for sale as 'of one Alloy.' Raghu stated that 'there was two rupees [or 12½ per cent.] difference per tola of the two sorts of Gold, whereupon the said Broker was very angry with the said Shroff miscalling [him].'

Anant Rām, who had possibly only intended to make a formal demand on Raghu for his debt to the Company, now took the opportunity of satisfying his grudge against the *poddār*. Claiming that he was acting under orders, he caused Raghu to be seized 'about eleven of the clock in the morning' and bound. Further, by Anant Rām's directions, Raghu, 'with

a small switch of about half an inche in circumference, received some blowes on the soles of his feet, but so few and with such small force that . . . it is impossible it could much prejudice a Child.' After the chastisement the old man was left bound for 'neer an hour.' Then, 'about midday, the same day, hee walked away very well . . . not halting, nor shewing any sign of prejudice he had received,' but he must have been intensely hurt in mind at the indignity. When Vincent and his party returned in the evening, Raghu and his partners are said to have been among those who received them at the factory gate. The *poddār* then retired to his shop at Kasimbazar. Early in the morning of the 22nd August, Vincent and Marshall were aroused by the news that he had died at 3 a.m. The general opinion was that Raghu was poisoned, either by himself or by his partners, in accordance with a well-known Hindu custom, to revenge his family on Anant Rām for the indignity he had caused the old man to suffer. It is, however, quite possible that the effect on his mind of the gross insult to which he had been subjected caused or accelerated his death. But whatever the actual cause, a clamour, which supports the idea of revengeful suicide, was immediately raised after a manner still common in Bengal, and Raghu's relatives accused the English of compassing his death, although they had previously admitted that Raghu himself had declared his end to be due to poison given him by his partner, Murād Chand, 'in a bowle of Sherbett.' While the 'tumult' raged round the factory and Anant Rām's house, the Company's *vakīl*, or legal agent, communicated the affair to Bāl Chand, the governor of Murshidābād, and he, eager to extort money on any pretence, sent for Raghu's body, in order that it might be examined. No marks of violence were found, but, in spite of this, the governor maintained that the English were liable for the death. The people demanded the delivery of Anant Rām by the English, and he was eventually taken before Bāl Chand, who then declined to punish him, saying, 'the Master must answer for his fault.'

The governor had no intention of allowing the English to escape without payment. The affair of the Dutch and the gain ensuing therefrom were too fresh in his mind. The

incident in which the Dutch were involved occurred in 1672, and is thus described in a letter from Hugli to Fort St. George, dated 20th August, 1673:[1] 'The Dutch, notwithstanding the Kings Phirmaund which they have few years since procured, are in the same predicament with us in Pattana and have bin worse in Bengala. Their cheife Banian some months since dying in their debt to a Considerable Vallue, they imprisoned, and as tis reported, drubd his wife, who so much resented her shame, that she took poison thereupon and died. Upon which the Governour of Hugly procured such a Mohazer [*mahẓar*, attested public document] and sent it to Decca that their whole business was neer five months stopped, their servants taken from them, and provisions at one time here forbidden them. The Second, five months attending at Decca, at last Concluded the busines for 150000 rups. and, with the charges extraordinary, and what bribed particularly that we have no notice of, it cannot amount to less than two lack of rupees, for which they have obtained nothing but that the Governour is turned out of his place and a new one come in his roome, by which are in hopes we shall receive equall advantage with them.'

Vincent was thus in a grave predicament. He did everything possible to mollify Bāl Chand, but without avail. He applied to Balasor and to Dacca for advice, and was answered from both places that it would be much better to end the matter at Kasimbazar than to appeal to the Nawāb's Court at Dacca, where the case would probably drag on for months, and, 'comeing soe soone after the Dutch business,' would probably cost much more. Also, if the affair should 'proceed to Decca, it would prove a generall stop upon all our Busines,' and the English would be forced to 'fee all the officers of the Nabobs Durbar, over and above what must be given in the name of the Nabob.' To hand over Anant Rām, the chief offender, to justice at Dacca was deemed inadvisable, for it was considered likely that he would, 'to avoid Drubing and it may be torments, have been forced to declare that he was Set on by us to doe what he did.' So there seemed to be no

[1] *O.C.*, No. 3671.

way out of the difficulty but to pay the Rs. 10,000 demanded by Bāl Chand in order to compromise the business. That wily officer had prepared a 'Morton's Fork,' which left the English no means of escape. He declared that, should he overlook the episode of the *poddār's* death, he was still entitled to the amount demanded, since he had received no yearly gift from the English during his governorship. After three months of haggling, Vincent gave way, and the 'Podaurs busines' was settled for Rs. 13,000, of which 10,000 was paid to Bāl Chand and 3,000 in money and goods to the minor officials.

Walter Clavell, head of affairs in the Bay of Bengal, 'thought not convenient to write concerning' the *poddār's* death to the Company until the whole affair was at an end. This was unwise, as Joseph Hall, who was in bitter antagonism to his superiors in rank, took the opportunity of making capital out of the unfortunate accident by sending home a prejudiced account, containing grave accusations against Vincent. This reached England either before or at the same time as Clavell's letter of December, 1674. The Government at Fort St. George had meanwhile disclaimed responsibility for the business, and would not sanction the payment of the Rs. 13,000 by the Company. The Court of Committees was naturally averse to losing so large a sum for what appeared a trivial affair, and were only too anxious to find a scapegoat who could be made to pay the fine. The accounts they received of the incident were conflicting. They therefore deemed a strict examination into the case to be necessary, and Streynsham Master was instructed to find out whether Vincent was implicated in Raghu's death, and 'to Sift out the truth of this Matter without favour or affection to any interessed therein.' This order led to the official inquiry of September-October, 1676, in some respects one of the most interesting of the many examinations conducted by Master during his stay in Bengal.

Major Puckle, who had reached Kasimbazar with powers of inspection about four months before Master, had not interfered in the *poddār's* business. Writing to Fort St. George on the 19th August, 1676,[1] he remarked, 'The Chiefe &ca. cannot return

[1] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 61.

with Mr. Masters, whose presence at examination of the death of Rogao Padaw will be needful. You see Mr. Vincent is rendred a Murderer by the Narrator [Joseph Hall], and the 13,000 Rupees payed upon accompt [are] ordered per Company to be repaied by him. I have no Instructions about it, but suppose Mr. Masters hath, whose coming we greatly desire may be hastned.' Master arrived at Kasimbazar on the 23rd September. Four days later the examination of the case of Raghu was begun. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th September the Council sat both morning and afternoon, and also on the 3rd and 4th of October. The decision with regard to Anant Rām was given on the 6th, and the verdict in favour of Matthias Vincent on the 13th October.

The procedure adopted in this case is of some interest, as an instance of the method of conducting public inquiries in the seventeenth century. The accused was ordered to withdraw, and was permitted to hear no evidence except that of Anant Rām. The witnesses were examined on oath, and their evidence, either as eye-witnesses or from hearsay, was taken, each being interrogated in precisely the same manner. The 'opinions' of the Council as to whether Vincent could be forced to pay the Rs. 13,000 demanded of him were taken in writing. 'The Councell did all draw up their answers in papers seperately, not communicating their opinions till they were Publickely read.' On the 4th October, when a statement by the *vakīl* that Anant Rām actually accompanied him to Bāl Chand was favourably commented upon, Vincent offered to swear to the truth of the assertion, but the Council did not think fit to 'receed' from their resolution (of the 27th September) that the accused should not be 'examined upon oath.'

In the examination of Hall's charge against Messrs. March and Vincent, an issue which arose out of the *poddār's* case, the procedure was different. The accused, as before, withdrew. Hall, who refused to take the oath or to put any questions on the case, was also ordered to withdraw. The witnesses were then sworn, and after each had been examined and further questioned by the Council, he signed his deposition, as had been done in the case of Raghu the *poddār*. After the signing of the depositions, Hall was sent for to hear them read, and

was then allowed to put further questions, the answers to which were entered on the depositions and signed. Moreover, in this instance, Vincent himself was sworn and gave evidence.

A quaint point in procedure was that Master began his examination by demanding of Vincent the Rs. 13,000 paid out of the Company's funds in 1674, and, on his refusal, inquired whether he could be forced to refund that sum. Major Puckle alone realized the impropriety of such a method. He gave as his opinion that 'should any course be taken to force payment, before his case be examined, it would justifie the practice of the heathen which God abhors, to hang a man upon an accusation and then try whether he be guilty of the Fact charged on him.' A special clause inserted by the Court of Committees in their letter of the 24th December, 1675, to Fort St. George, requiring the Rs. 13,000 to 'be made good to our cash by Mr. Vincent,' may have influenced Master in his premature demand. Of course, if Vincent had consented to be mulcted in the amount, he would tacitly have confessed his guilt and the examination would have been simplified. As it was, he declined to pay, both because 'he had not the money,' and because he had done nothing in the affair of 1674 without the consent and authority of the 'Chiefe and Councell of the Bay.' He further remarked that, should he eventually be condemned, he had given sufficient security in England to satisfy the claim against him.

After this, Master, having perused the letters confirming Vincent's statement that he received his orders from his superiors at Balasor, proceeded to take the opinions of the Council as to whether and how he could be forced to pay the sum demanded. The general opinion was that Vincent could not be compelled to refund the money, should he refuse to do so willingly. 'The Result or Summe of the opinions of the Councell' was that, since they had no power to use force, the question should be referred to Fort St. George and the matter should rest until further orders could be received either from Madras or from England.

A 'Forme of the Oathe,' which the Council were 'of opinion is not Repugnant to the Lawes of England,' was agreed

upon, and then Master proceeded to examine the witnesses called in the case. These were thirteen in number, only four of whom were present when Raghu was maltreated by Anant Rām. The evidence of the real complainant, Joseph Hall, and a so-called 'Confession' by Anant Rām produced by him, were palpably false. Hall was in direct antagonism to Vincent, and in his endeavour to blacken his rival went much too far, and showed his animus. He could not substantiate his accusations, and professed to have forgotten the names of those from whom he received information against Vincent. The 'Confession,' too, was diametrically opposed to the evidence of all the English witnesses, and to Anant Rām's own statement made before the Council.

Master's examination was confined to four main points. (1) Vincent's treatment of the *poddār*. All the witnesses agreed that the Chief had behaved with consistent mildness to the old man. They stated that Vincent had never allowed the *poddār* to be beaten in his presence, nor ordered such punishment in his absence. Neither had he kept him in strict confinement. (2) Vincent's extortion of money from Raghu and his partners for his private use, as alleged by Hall. This was denied by the other witnesses. (3) Anant Rām's authority to beat the *poddār* without orders. The evidence was unanimous that he had no such authority. (4) The wisdom of settling the case at Kasimbazar. With the exception of Hall and Smith, the witnesses agreed that Vincent had taken the wisest course in coming to terms with Bāl Chand, in preference to delivering Anant Rām to justice and referring the affair to Dacca. No more evidence being forthcoming, Master required the Council to testify whether he had obeyed the Company's orders, and 'proceeded in the examination of this business of the Podaurs death, without favour or affection therein . . . they all answered in the Affirmative that they did beleive he had not shewed any favour or affection to any in his proceeding therein.'

The inquiry into the case of Raghu's death was complicated by several side-issues, all separately inquired into before a final verdict was given on Vincent's conduct. On the 5th October, by desire of Joseph Hall, an additional charge against Vincent,

arising out of the *poddār's* business, was examined. This charge, contained in the 'Confession' obtained from Anant Rām by Hall, was that Vincent had attempted to extort Rs. 5,000 from Gopāl Bhāi and other native writers, on pretence that they had 'cheated him and his Predecessors' by taking money of the weavers. The 'Confession' further stated that these men were imprisoned by Vincent, that Gopāl Bhāi escaped and fled to Bāl Chand for protection, and that, after Raghu's death, Vincent relinquished his claim, released the prisoners, and gave the *poddār's* son Rs. 1,000 out of a sum said to have been paid to Bāl Chand. Anant Rām's evidence, as given before the Council, taken with that of John Marshall, showed that Vincent had discovered a fraud on the Company by the native writers, who ultimately made a written confession of their fault with a promise not to repeat the offence. Vincent endeavoured to recover a part of the sum of which the Company had been defrauded, and imprisoned Gopāl Bhāi, 'the principall of them,' to that end. But he 'escapeing out of prison, and the others being poore,' nothing was obtained. The signed confessions of the native writers, dated 30th March and 13th April, 1673, were produced by Vincent for the inspection of the Council.

A further charge by Joseph Hall against Vincent and his predecessor, John March, was examined on the 10th, 11th, and 12th October. They were accused by Hall of appropriating to their own use a percentage on the money given out to the silk merchants and weavers. An inquiry had already been held into this matter by Major Puckle, in the previous August, but had proved abortive, because Hall would not be sworn in the usual way. Hall now again refused to take the oath agreed upon, and was, upon this ground, adjudged 'unfaithfull to his trust.' The witnesses called by Master were unanimous in denying knowledge of any unauthorized percentage or commission being taken by Matthias Vincent or by the late John March. Hall was then invited to produce further evidence to support his charge, but could not do so, and took refuge in a second accusation against Vincent—namely, that he had extorted from Sibpāl, 'the Present Podaur,' the latter's commission

of one anna in Rs. 100. It was objected by the Council that this was a 'new accusation,' but it was eventually agreed to examine it. The *poddār* was summoned and questioned, and it was found that his commission was one cowry in the rupee, but there was no suggestion that Vincent had defrauded him of his rights.

Hall's original charge in this instance is of some interest as showing his powers of perverting facts. He seems to have known that there were entries in the Kasimbazar books, showing that something beyond the actual sums in wages was noted in them whenever money was paid out, and he used this fact to bring a false charge of misfeasance against Vincent and March, by calling this extra payment an illegal commission taken by them. But the evidence went to show that the extra payment was in reality the current premium on the rupees used, and that the term employed for it in the books—*viz.*, *bhaṭṭa*—meant the difference in exchange—*i.e.*, premium or discount, according to the context in which it was used. There seems to have been charged in the books a premium of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the Rs. paid out, because they were 'new,' and a commission of $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. to the *poddār*, or weigher, besides an unstated commission from the merchants, perhaps amounting in all to about $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. It was these sums that Hall said Vincent and March had appropriated, but the evidence showed that they were charged in the ordinary course of business. All this accounts for Hall's shiftiness in his evidence, and for the fact that the charge was summarily dropped.

There was still another charge against Vincent, which had been made to the Court of Committees in England, and appears also to have emanated from Hall. It was to the effect that Vincent's house was a resort of Papists, a grave offence in the Company's eyes in those days. On the 13th October, Master examined those of the Company's servants who had been at Kasimbazar during Vincent's residence. The evidence of six witnesses showed that, since Vincent's appointment as Chief, in 1671, but one priest had been seen in Kasimbazar, a Franciscan friar, who had passed through the town in 1675. It was further elicited that the only one of Vincent's children

'Capable of Education' 'comes dayly to prayers with the Factory.' This charge therefore fell through.

The Council adjudicated also on Anant Rām's share in Raghu's case before giving their verdict on Vincent's liability. It was decided that he had beaten the *poddār* 'without order or direction from the Cheife of the Factory,' and in view of the 'stirr that hath now binn made in the Factory upon examineing the business of the Podaurs death,' it was determined to make a public example of his assailant. The two obvious penalties, fine and corporal chastisement, were impracticable, the first because the broker was insolvent, and the second because the wrath of the local governor might again be roused. It was therefore decided, on the 6th October, that Anant Rām should be ejected from the factory with ignominy, and forbidden henceforth to be employed in the service of the Company or of any Englishman whatsoever.

After settling all these side issues, on the afternoon of the 13th October, 1676, the decision with regard to Vincent was made known. The Council found that, from the evidence adduced, Vincent had had no 'hand in the death of Rugo Podaur or binn accessary thereunto,' that he had not 'binn unfaithfull in his trust,' that there was no reason for his dismissal from the Company's service, but that he should be 'incouraged in his imployment . . . as a good and faithfull servant.' To this verdict Hall 'excepted.' He considered Vincent 'accessary' to the *poddār's* death and 'unfaithfull in his trust.' John Smith was also 'unsatisfied' as to Vincent's 'faithfullness.' The rest of the Council were unanimous in their acquittal.

On the question of Vincent's moral guilt in the matter, Yule[1] inclines to the opinion that the orders given to Anant Rām with regard to the *poddār* were probably more explicit than appears in the evidence. He also thinks that the members of the Council, as a whole, were prejudiced against Hall. This is quite likely, but they had much reason. Ever since Hall's arrival in Bengal, and, indeed, on the voyage thither, he had shown himself a malcontent and disturber of

[1] *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii., pp. 234, 290.

the peace. He had fallen foul of everyone with whom he came in contact, and was repeatedly bringing accusations against his colleagues. Had it not been for the patronage of Nathaniel Herne, a member of the Court of Committees, it is doubtful if Hall's turbulent conduct would have been looked upon so leniently as it was at home. If there had been any truth in the statements procured by him from Anant Rām, there should have been some confirmation of them forthcoming in the evidence of the other eleven witnesses, who could not all have been the creatures of the accused. The evidence, again, of John Smith, another malcontent and avowed antagonist of Vincent and Clavell, was only slightly unfavourable. Three witnesses, Mosely and Naylor, the dyers, and Knipe, who was only a junior servant, may have thought it to their interest to keep in with Vincent, but this could not have been the case with Reade, Hervy, and Littleton, who had all a position of some standing in the service.

On the whole, assuming the evidence to have been honestly recorded, there was no real case against Vincent, even if one sets aside the evidence given in his favour by Richard Edwards as to a personal visit to the *poddār* during the evening after the beating. Edwards was clearly a time-server, and he probably manufactured his statement to ingratiate himself with his superiors. His story was that he went to the door of the *poddār's* shop on the evening of the 21st August, 1673, and heard someone inside the *poddār's* house say, 'Mr. Edwards, it is noe fault of the Englishes,' and that the words seemed 'to be spoaken by a man sick and in paine.' If Raghu and his partners met Vincent and his entourage on their return from Mohola, as stated by Anant Rām, it seems hardly likely that Edwards would think it necessary to call and inquire for him immediately afterwards.

In England, the verdict did not meet with unqualified approbation. Writing to 'the Bay' on the 12th December, 1677, the Court remarked: 'Wee note you have acquitted Mr. Vincent from any guilt both as to Mr. Hall's charge and Rugo Podars death. Wee at any time had rather finde our servants innocent then guilty, but one passage in Mr. Vincent's proceedings wee cannot pass by without noteing it, and that was that,

dureing the time of the Tryall, he sent to Annuntram, warning him to be sure to speak the truth, which if he did, he should have employment and livelihood, and if he did not, he should spoil himself and his livelihood and all should be lost, which persons concerned ought not to have done.' However, since there is no actual proof on record of the alleged action which roused the Company's ire, it cannot affect our judgment on the case one way or the other.

With regard to Hall's charges of peculation against Vincent, there may well have been some ground for them. Such practices were by no means uncommon. Indeed, the constant bickerings, which had prevailed among the Company's servants in Bengal from 1669 to the date of the inquiry, arose chiefly from their endeavours to outvie each other in lining their own pockets. When they failed, they lodged a complaint with the Company against their successful rivals.

The main interest at the present time in this Indian *cause célèbre* of the seventeenth century is the clearness with which it brings out the fact that both the local native government on the one side, and the Company's servants on the other, were inclined to use the circumstances connected with the death of an obscure person for their personal gain or private revenge.

THE CHARGE OF WALTER CLAVELL AGAINST JOHN SMITH

JOHN SMITH entered the Company's service in October, 1667, and sailed to India with the shipping of 1668. Early in 1669 he arrived at Balasor, and was thence sent to Hugli and entrusted with the charge of the warehouse there. In April, 1669, he accompanied John March to Dacca, and, on March's departure for Kasimbazar, in September of the same year, he became head of the Dacca factory. In January, 1673, Clavell, then chief of affairs in 'the Bay,' being dissatisfied with Smith's conduct of his post, sent orders for his dismissal, and replaced him by Robert Elwes, who reached Dacca in March following. Smith refused to leave the place until June, and from that time was in bitter antagonism to Clavell, against whose actions he appealed both to the Council at Fort St. George and to the Company at home. In June, 1676, Smith brought formal accusations against Clavell, which were examined before Major Puckle and refuted. Clavell then promised to produce 'a paper apart' of Smith's 'Miscarriadges.' These were embodied in seventeen counts, and formed the 'Charge of Walter Clavell against John Smith.' This charge was handed to Major Puckle in Kasimbazar on the 1st September, 1676, but the examination of the case was deferred until the arrival of Streynsham Master. Meanwhile, Smith, who was supplied with a copy of the accusation, prepared his defence. On the 19th October, 1676, Master decided to 'proceed upon the takeing the proofes of Mr. Clavells charge against Mr. John Smith.'

It is worth while going into this long and, as recorded, tedious case, which occupied Master and his colleagues six sitting days between the 19th and 26th October, 1676, and

ended in Smith's dismissal from the Company's service. The seventeen counts illustrate the nature of the frauds which the Company's servants used to perpetrate on their employers, and the uncomfortable lives that the small communities they constituted must have led—hating and watching each other, ever ready to believe evil of one another and to collect any kind of evidence they could in support of charges against close acquaintances and colleagues. In Smith's case the allegations of 'miscarraidges' covered six years, from his appointment to the charge of the Company's warehouse at Hugli in 1669 to the middle of 1675, when it was said that he left for Fort St. George without leave. As to the truth of the frauds here disclosed, I fear there is little doubt, as they, or others of a cognate nature, are usually to be found in all the 'charges' that have come down to us from that time.

I have examined the case from the contemporary documents that still exist, with a view to testing the evidence and ascertaining its nature, and also to forming an opinion on modern judicial lines on each point, and comparing what I think would be the findings of a commission appointed at the present day with those of Master and his colleagues. The divergence is of interest.

Before investigating the various counts of the charge against Smith, a word is necessary as to the procedure adopted by Master in inquiring into them. First, Clavell 'nominated for wittnesses Mr. Read, Mr. Hervy and himselfe, besides some papers under Mr. Smithes owne hand for further evidence,' and then there was the usual discussion on the oath, and it was agreed that it should be the same as that administered in the cases previously tried by Master. After this, Clavell desired a day's respite in order that he and his 'wittnesses might have time . . . to recollect themselves . . . To which the Councell agreed,' and accordingly adjourned.

On the following day, the 20th October, when the case came on, a resolution was put that the accused should absent himself during the examination of the witnesses, as had been done in the previous inquiries of 1676. Master, however, being doubtful of the legality of such procedure, refused to enforce it, and

Smith declined to withdraw voluntarily. Thereupon Clavell, Vincent and Reade, the accused in the former trials, 'thought themselves hardly dealt withall that they had not had the same priveleidge,' and consequently recorded 'their resentments.' The hearing consisted in reading the several counts of Clavell's charge and Smith's replies categorically, and in receiving the oral and documentary evidence tendered.

I think the best way to present the case, so as to get a clear idea of it, is to separate the counts into three groups, *viz.*, those that seem to me to be proved, those as to which the accused appears to be entitled to the benefit of the doubt, and those that, in my opinion, were not proved. The figure preceding each count in the following remarks refers to its number in the charge.

The six counts which to my mind were proved against Smith disclose malpractices serious enough in all conscience on the part of a factor acting for an English Company in a distant land. They are: (9) Entering debts due to himself as being due to the Company in the Company's books; (11) charging to the Company all the loss occasioned by the bankruptcy of a dealer, who had been dealing both with himself and with the Company; (12) dismissing James Price, an agent sent to Dacca by his chief, Clavell, to look after his doings there and to represent the Company at the Nawāb's Court; (13) taking a 20 per cent. commission from the purchasers of some goods sold on the Company's account; (14) absence without leave on several occasions; (15) making false entries in the Company's books to the Company's disadvantage.

Two counts were proved against him in part only: (1) Selling some Company's goods to his own advantage; (6) concealing discounts on the Company's purchases. And on two counts he should, I think, be given the benefit of the doubt: (3) Taking a commission when making investments for the Company; and (4) charging his private commission to the Company.

This leaves seven counts which were not proved in my judgment: (2) Appropriating money from the Company's cash; (5) making a profit out of the rate of the Company's goods by a trick; (7) borrowing money for the Company without authority;

(8) using both the Company's stock and name for private trade; (10) appropriating a quantity of lead belonging to the Company; (16) risking the privileges obtained by the Company from the Mogul Court by paying in the Company's name dues demanded contrary to the terms of the privileges; (17) overcharging packing accounts.

In regard to the counts that seem to me proved, the evidence in the first of them—(9) entering debts due to himself as being due to the Company in the Company's books—is as follows: Hervy deposed that one Rājā Rām owed Smith Rs. 3,401 for goods bought from him. Smith assigned the transaction to the Company, and debited it with the loss. All Smith could reply was that, owing to 'the Chiefes malicious way of removeing' him from Dacca, he was unable to collect his debts and goods. But it was shown that he had remained there three months after his 'removeall,' and had 'had all freindly usage and assistance' in collecting what was due to him, and lost in fact only Rs. 16. 5 as. by bad debts.

As to the count (11) that he had charged to the Company all the loss occasioned by the bankruptcy of a dealer (Tilok Chand), who had been dealing both with himself and the Company, Smith's reply was a '*tu quoque*,' *viz.*, that the dealings in question had been partly on the Company's and partly on Clavell's account. He could not, however, substantiate this, and it was shown by correspondence and books that Smith had been dealing with Tilok Chand on his own account.

The next count, (12) as to his dismissal of James Price, discloses a somewhat amusing incident, characteristic of the time. Smith had been 'defficient in his Correspondence,' and was besides suspected of taking an illicit commission of Rs. 600 when making his first investment for the Company at Dacca. Clavell deputed James Price to find out what was going on as regards the Nawāb's Court there, and also to see what Smith was doing. Smith, however, dismissed Price on the ground that he had been sent to assist in settling the troubles caused by Malik Kāsim, 'which being ended before James Price's arrivall,' he therefore 'returned the said Price . . . to the Cheife.' Clavell then sent John Vickers, who, however, had

done business with Smith, and was probably loath to report against him. At any rate, he did nothing, and finally started for England, but died on the voyage. Hervy was next sent, and Smith tried to prevent his coming by asking for a 'Blew coate Boy' instead. There is, besides, independent evidence,[1] not given at the inquiry, that Richard Edwards had warned Smith of the deputation of Price, and Smith had replied, thanking Edwards for the warning, and adding that he 'had never imployed him [Price] in a Cowryworth of service.' Forcibly getting rid of an inconvenient inspector was a line of action not infrequently adopted by factors, chiefs, and even governors in the seventeenth century and later.

On the count (13) of receiving a 20 per cent. commission from the purchasers of goods sold on the Company's account, it was shown that Jāirām Malik held an acknowledgment from Smith of 400 mds. of lead, received by him out of 2,000 mds. bought by Jāirām's firm from the Company at Hugli.

As to (14) absence without leave, Smith seems to have had lordly ideas on the subject of discipline. In 1674 he was at Balasor employed in packing the Company's goods for England, but he 'deserted that imployment' and secretly sailed to Fort St. George, where he complained about his treatment at Dacca in the previous year. Next, on his return to Balasor, he went off to Hugli without leave for 'about two monethes upon his owne occasions,' and finally, in 1675, he followed Clavell, without permission, to Fort St. George, as he admits himself, 'to know the result' of Clavell's reports about him. It is in itself a commentary on the government of the Company in those days that, after all this, Clavell had to put up with Smith as a colleague on the Council at Hugli in 1676.

The last count proved is the very serious one (15) of making false entries in the Company's books to the Company's disadvantage. Hervy produced the Dacca books handed over to him by Smith, which showed that Smith had balanced the accounts on 15th March, 1672-3, by entering certain 'scarlett' (*i.e.*, broadcloth), valued at Rs. 4, as being in store, and certain debts, amounting to Rs. 86, as being due from certain

[1] *O.C.*, No. 3652.

dealers; whereas no such 'scarlett' existed in the store and there was no proof forthcoming of the debts. In effect the charge was that Smith was Rs. 90 short in his accounts, and made it up by false entries. Smith had no reply, except that he had never 'practiced any such thing.'

Now as to the counts partly proved: (1) selling the Company's goods to his own advantage. In support of one part of this accusation, Clavell produced a 'wast entry' of the Hugli accounts, showing that a parcel of piece-goods was sold at Rs. 6½ per yard, and that invoices had been made out by Smith himself to Mr. Haselwood at Patna for the same goods, at prices averaging about Rs. 7⅛ per yard. The profit amounted to Rs. 150. 7 as. Smith admitted the transaction, but denied that he had made a profit.

On the count (6) of concealing discounts on the Company's purchases, Hervy deposed that it was impossible that all the cloth brought in could come up to the standard of the samples, 'and therefore, as they come out worse, abatements are made.' No 'abatements,' credited as such, could be found in Smith's books, whereupon 'Mr. John Smith produced the first drafft of his bookes, agreeing in date and summe with the others, by which it appeared that abatements were Gennerally made, It being a neglect not to enter the Contracts in the fair bookes as he ought to have done.' This, to my mind, was no defence to the charge, because it would be only the books as finally made up, that would be sent home for the Company's inspection.

The two counts on which there is a doubt are: (3) taking a commission when making investments for the Company. There is no doubt that the Council had grounds for believing that Smith had appropriated a *dastūr* (commission) of Rs. 600 on making his first investment at Dacca, but when the evidence comes to be sifted, it boils down to a qualified admission by Smith himself and a statement made by the firm of Jāirām and Anand Malik, hardly enough for conviction. Then there is the count (4) of charging his private commission to the Company. This would infer that he got a commission from the purchasers on the sale of the Company's goods and included it in the purchase price he credited to the Company—*i.e.*, he took this com-

mission twice over—both transactions constituting what is now known as 'secret profit.' Hervy deposed that Smith had owned to him that he 'had taken three rupees upon a hundred Dustore, but never by the name of Dustoor but Batta'—*i.e.*, not as commission, but as extra allowance, which is an ingenious excuse, to say the least of it, and was probably really made, but no proof of the fact was offered beyond Hervy's statement.

It is hardly necessary to go into the charges not proved, except where they throw light on the commercial ways of the time. In count No. 5, that of making a profit out of the sale of the Company's goods by a trick, the 'trick' seems to have been a common one. Factors at a distance kept a native 'servant' at Hugli, who bought goods from the Company in his own name, and sent them to his master to sell at a profit as private property, the 'servant' and master doubtless sharing in the illicit gain thus secured. Smith's 'servant' was one Parshād Datt, but there is no doubt that the charge in this case was not proved by the evidence produced.

Count No. 16 affords a curious illustration of the conditions of the day. The Company had acquired certain privileges, of which their representatives were very tenacious, because they had lately been frequently disputed by the native government. Among them was freedom of the Company's goods from customs duties within a certain area. Smith had a 'servant' named Bhawānī, who was said to have paid 'juncan'—*i.e.*, customs duty—between Dhaniakhālī and Hugli (a privileged district) to clear some Company's goods. This was not, however, actually proved against him. There is nothing of interest in the other counts not proved. Of these, in my opinion, No. 7 was made in error; No. 8 is supported by only hearsay evidence; No. 17 is not supported at all; and the evidence for the remainder, Nos. 2 and 10, is insufficient for conviction.

It is now interesting to note what Master and the Council thought of it all. In the first place, before arriving at a decision on the case, Master went through the Dacca accounts and found several entries 'wherewith he was dissatisfied . . . to which Perticulers Mr. Master desired Mr. Smithes answer.' Smith accordingly gave an explanation of the items against

which objection had been taken, but whether this explanation was considered satisfactory does not appear. Next, on the 26th October, Smith 'moved the Councell to give their result and opinions upon the examinations and Depositions taken upon the charge exhibited against him by Mr. Walter Clavell.' After some debate, in Smith's absence, the Council found the charge proved against him, especially in the 3rd, 4th, 8th, 9th, 11th, and 15th articles, which constituted the gravest of the accusations. Joseph Hall agreed 'only to the three per Cent. upon the fourth article and to the Eleaventh Article.' As to the 14th article, absenting himself from Balasor and going to Madras without leave, 'all the Councell agreed it was an unfaithfull action, but how far the Agent and Councell [at the Fort] have acquitted him of it, it is left to them and the Honourable Company, as is the whole Charge.'

One can hardly pay serious attention to any judgment by one so prejudiced as Joseph Hall in all matters connected with 'the Bay,' but it will be seen that his colleagues convicted Smith on six counts, on only three of which (9, 11, and 15) I have above pronounced against him, having considered the evidence as to two of the others (3 and 4) to be doubtful; while as to the remaining one (8), the evidence deduced was purely hearsay. They also found Smith guilty of (14) absence without leave, but these lapses from duty seemed to them to have been condoned by the Council at Fort St. George. As to two counts (12 and 13) on which I would convict Smith, they found him not guilty.

What private information, which was not disclosed at the inquiry, or what private feelings (perhaps a consciousness of their own want of rectitude) guided the various members of the Council in their findings, it is not now possible to ascertain, but the conclusion of the whole affair was at first peculiarly lame and ineffective. When the Council had arrived at their decision, Smith was sent for and the proceedings during his absence were read to him. That was all that came, at the time, out of the long inquiry into his conduct. No definite verdict was arrived at, nor any judgment given, and Smith was left to occupy an anomalous position, neither in nor out of the Company's

service, though he continued to act as a member of the Council. On the 2nd November, however, the Council seemed to awaken to their responsibilities and dismissed Smith from the Company's service. This course was due to a wholesome fear of consequences to themselves if they acted otherwise, as appears from the quaint wording of their decision: 'If hereafter any charge or trust shall be committed unto him untill orders or directions from the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George, The Councell are not satisfied that they discharge their trust to the Honourable Company, and may alsoe make themselves responsible for what Dammage may accrew thereby. Did [? They do] therefore thinke fitt that the said Mr. John Smith have noe charge or trust committed to him in the Honourable Companyes affaires, nor that he be admitted to Councell untill farther orders or directions from the Agent and Councell of Fort St. George.'

The action of the Council in 'the Bay' was finally approved of by the Company on December 12th, 1677, when the Court wrote as follows: 'Wee observe the result of the Examination of the charge against Mr. Hall and Mr. Smith and approve of your proceedings therein. Their Sallaries are to cease on the arrivall of these ships, and send home their Accompts, but if they desire to remaine in the Countrey, and will remove to and reside at the Fort, and be conformable to our Orders there, you may permit them for one yeer for the recovery of their Estates and Debts . . . provided They comport themselves so as to give no disturbance to our affaires, and conforme to our Rules. Butt if after the Triall for one yeer Our Agent and Councell shall find their longer abode there to be prejuduciall to our affaires you are then to send them home. And if they do not desire to remaine at the Fort, but persist to continue in the Bay, you are to send them for England by these ships to render us an accompt of their transactions according to their Covenants.' Later on, in 1679, Smith was summoned to Madras, but escaped on board a 'country' ship, and met with a violent death, 'which is another story.'

THE CHARGE OF MATTHIAS VINCENT AGAINST JOSEPH HALL

THE case of Joseph Hall, the third inquiry which Master held during his visit of inspection in Bengal in 1676, was remarkable for the intense rancour displayed by the contending parties.

A careful examination of the records extant from the time when Hall set foot in India, in August, 1668, until the date of Vincent's charge against him, eight years later, reveals him as a most unamiable character. His irascible temper was apparently notorious even before his departure from England, for when he took his leave of the Court, after his election as 'Factor and one of the Councell at the Coast and Bay,' he 'was admonished to carry himselfe peaceablie towards all.'[1] In spite of this caution, Hall fell foul of Richard Goodlad, Captain of the *Rainbow*, the ship in which he sailed to India, and, after he had landed at Madras, he greatly overrated his powers as one of those commissioned 'to reduce Fort St. George,' then in the hands of Sir Edward Winter. In fact, he so conducted himself that Foxcroft, the Agent whom Winter had imprisoned, was no sooner at liberty and at the head of affairs once more, than he sent Hall to Bengal, veiling his desire to be rid of him by recommending him as 'a Person brought up in business.'[2]

It was this very business capacity that was at the bottom of many of the troubles that followed. Hall was, most probably, better fitted to conduct the Company's investments than those whom he found at the head of the Balasor and Kasimbazar factories, but his wholesale condemnation of the methods of

[1] *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., pp. 67, 98.
[2] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xvi., 26th August, 1668.

his superiors was, as a newcomer, quite unjustifiable, and naturally rendered him extremely unpopular. Hence, he became the victim of many petty acts of injustice, which, though unquestionably against the Company's rules, are quite intelligible, in view of his intemperate conduct.

On his arrival in Bengal, Hall was ordered to go to Patna as third in that factory. He refused, on the ground that the Company's appointment gave him a superior position. Much recrimination followed between him and Shem Bridges, the 'Chief in the Bay,' and violent expressions were used by both. Then Hall was directed to proceed to Hugli to take over the management of that factory. After some prevarication, he again refused to obey the order, and consequently, the war of words with Bridges waxed fiercer than before. On the 12th May, 1669, Hall, 'to our great comfort,' as John Vickers, also a newcomer, remarked, was turned out of the factory at Balasor.[1] Both parties appealed to Fort St. George, Bridges and his followers requesting that Hall might be removed to Madras, and Hall beseeching that justice might be done and a position given him in accordance with the Company's orders and his own abilities. The Council at Fort St. George had no intention of allowing such a source of disquiet to return to their midst, and they promptly forbade Hall to leave Bengal. At the same time, they espoused his cause, reproved Bridges for expelling him from the factory, and ordered his readmission with a place on the Council.[2]

Then ensued more wrangling. Hall declined to return to the factory unless Bridges would accede to various stipulations, sanction his claim for expenses, and give him his 'right place of settlement.'[3] The Chief naturally resented such dictation, and Hall sent another representation to Fort St. George, accusing Bridges of grossly mismanaging the Company's affairs. This address was followed by one from the 'Bay' Council, giving their version of the matter and begging for the recall of that 'malevolent and tergiversatious person, Joseph

[1] *O.C.*, No. 3280.
[2] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xvi., 18th June and 16th August, 1669.
[3] *O.C.*, No. 3321.

Hall.'[1] By their answer, the Council at Fort St. George showed they had begun to realise the effect of upholding disobedience to authority. They wrote that they disapproved of Hall's refusal to repair to the posts to which he was appointed, for, should such actions be allowed, 'every man might take the same liberty to decline such Service which they have no minde to.'[2] They rightly added that Hall's proper course was to have appealed to the Company, and not to have set the orders of his superiors at defiance. They still declined to have him at Madras, but gave permission for him to return to England if he were dissatisfied with his treatment in India.

All through September and October of 1669 a heated correspondence went on between Hall and the Council at Balasor, until at last Bridges declined to answer any more of his letters, and lodged formal 'Objections' against his conduct from the time of his arrival in 'the Bay.' On the 8th December he was once more ordered to set out for his post at Patna, but again declined.[3] Then, for a time, Bridges gave up the struggle and went to Hugli, leaving Hall at Balasor, where we hear nothing further of him until May, 1670, when he, as before, defied authority, and refused to obey an injunction to repair to Hugli, his object being to 'intercept the advices from the Coast.'[4] These 'advices' contained the Company's letter of the 2nd December, 1669, by which Hall was appointed second at Kasimbazar factory. He, however, delayed taking up the appointment, although consonant with the position he claimed, until it suited his convenience. For the purposes of his own private trade he lingered in Balasor, and the end of the year 1670 had arrived before he betook himself to Kasimbazar. Then, for nearly twelve months, the records are silent concerning Hall, and there is no hint among the letters in existence to show whether he was at last carrying himself 'peaceablie,' or whether, as at Balasor, he was in open hostility to his fellow factors. A year after his appointment to Kasimbazar, John March, chief of that factory, died, and Hall, who expected to succeed him, was superseded by Matthias

[1] *O.C.*, No. 3344.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 3350.
[3] *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. i.
[4] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii.

Vincent. His fury was great. He opposed Vincent in every possible way, refused to deliver up the books of the factory, and fiercely attacked his actions and those of his predecessor.

Clavell was now at the head of affairs in Bengal, and in a long complaint to him on the 4th November, 1671,[1] Hall accused Vincent and March of fraud, and extolled his own 'Insight in fine goods.' He declared that neither Clavell nor Vincent knew anything of 'cloth' before coming to India, the one being 'Imployed in Fish' and the other 'only in bookes,' but that they and their friends were making themselves 'fatt in a little time' by defrauding the Company. At the same time he wrote to Sir William Thomson, a member of the Court of Committees, in a similar strain. He, no doubt, considered that his connection with Sir Nathaniel Hearne,[2] President of the Court, to whom he owed his appointment in the Company's service, would influence the authorities at home in his favour. However, before Hall's letter reached his friends, a report of his conduct in 1669 had been received, and orders were despatched to Bengal for him to go to Fort St. George to answer for his 'misdemeanours,' or to sail for England. These instructions did not arrive until the autumn of 1672, and, meanwhile, Hall was again stirring up strife and rendering himself unpopular at Balasor. He quarrelled with Nurse and Reade, inflicting bodily injury on the former, and accusing the latter of illicit trade. He would brook no interference whatever, and therefore it was, with great relief, that, in December, 1672, Clavell complied with the Company's orders, and sent the recalcitrant factor to Madras.[3]

A month later, in January, 1673, Hall was at Madapollam, the sanatorium of the Coromandel coast, whence he penned a long incoherent 'Narrative' of his grievances, containing grave accusations against March, Clavell, Vincent, and Reade. There is no record of what took place between Hall and the Agent and Council at Madras, but, at the end of March, the unwelcome news reached Balasor that 'Mr. Hall is not gon

[1] *O.C.*, No. 3592.
[2] Hall had married Sarah Hearne, Sir Nathaniel's sister.
[3] *O.C.*, No. 3771.

home and is acomming from the Fort to Metchlepatam if not here.'[1] Clavell and Vincent were both indignant at the prospective return of Hall, of whom Clavell remarked that he exemplified the proverb, 'Some men may better steale a horse [than] another may looke over the hedge.' Clavell justly felt that 'the Chief and Council at the Bay are rendered contemptable,' and that 'henceforth little obedience can be expected to their orders.'[2] He commented bitterly on the way in which Hall had kept the Company's books, and looked forward with apprehension to his resumption of the office of accountant. On the 30th July, 1673, Hall, who assuredly did not bring his welcome with him, arrived at Balasor, whither, after communicating with Clavell at Hugli, he returned as acting chief of the factory, although no definite orders about his position had been received.

Hall had here an accidental opportunity for revenge on his rival at Kasimbazar. The death of Raghu the *poddār*, as already related, had placed Vincent in a very awkward position. Hall took advantage of this to put the case before the Company in the worst light possible. His 'Needfull Advices' held Vincent directly responsible for the unlucky affair, and, not content with this, he also lodged a charge against Vincent and his friends with the Agent at Fort St. George. The direct result of the papers sent to the Company was the inquiry into the *poddār's* death conducted by Master in September and October, 1676, an inquiry which turned out very differently from the hopes and expectations of the informer.

Meanwhile, Hall's conduct of affairs at Balasor was such as to rouse Clavell and his colleagues to action. In December, 1674, they drew up a 'protest' against him for several 'misdemeanours' and despatched it to Fort St. George, requesting that some means might be adopted to enforce the regular keeping of the Company's books in his care, and that orders might be sent to them concerning him. The Council at the Fort made light of the charges, reproved Clavell for displacing Hall from his post as second at Hugli and Balasor, and ordered that, in Clavell's absence, he should act as chief

[1] *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv. [2] *Ibid.*

in those places. Hall was naturally much elated at this decision. He plumed himself on his new authority and issued orders in a lordly fashion. No one, however, except Smith and Nurse, who were both at variance with Clavell, would obey him. The commanders of the Company's ships refused to acknowledge him as chief, and he had a violent struggle with Bugden, his subordinate, for possession of the Company's despatches. Then he appealed to his supporters at Fort St. George, declaring that he was the victim of much persecution, and that his liberty was threatened by Clavell.

The foregoing acccount of Hall's life in India, until the end of the year 1675, is necessary to enable us to understand his position with regard to his colleagues at the time of Major Puckle's and Streynsham Master's arrival in Bengal. From December, 1675, until May, 1676, when Puckle began his inquiries, we have no record of Hall's doings, though, from the number of charges then brought by him against March, Vincent, and Reade, he must have been busily occupied in compiling evidence, which, however, Puckle found to be very 'slender.' By this time Hall had lost the sympathy of his friends at Fort St. George. On the 12th July, 1676, Langhorne, the Agent, wrote exhorting him to 'Second' all that had been done for him by 'friendly advices' to the Company and by his supporters in the Court of Committees in England, and 'by the moderation and inoffensiveness of your behaviour to settle your selfe in peace and quietness.'[1] 'Peace and quietness' were, however, foreign to Hall's nature. He must, of necessity, be in opposition to those in power, and so he wrangled both with Puckle and with Master about the taking of the oath and other matters of detail. But the time had now come when a practised administrator was at the head of affairs at Kasimbazar, and Hall had to stand or fall on his own merits. The charge brought against him by Vincent, in retaliation for the accusations examined and found groundless by Puckle in the previous August, was laid before Master on the 20th October, 1676. Six days later Hall produced his answers, and the case was then proceeded with.

The 'forme of the Oath' was agreed upon in the usual way,

[1] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii.

and then, for the third time, under Master's jurisdiction, a discussion took place as to whether the accused should withdraw while the evidence was being taken. This question was subsequently decided by the Company in their letter to Fort St. George of the 12th December, 1677:[1] 'Touching Examination of persons. Wee observe the method of your proceedings in examineing the severall parties at the Bay, and for the further direction wee hold it convenient on all such occasions that, whilest examination of witnesses is takeing in writeing, the parties concerned should withdraw, but first to give in any Interrogatories upon which they desire to have the said witnesses cross examined. And as to your quere whither you may take the Oath of the Parties themselves, if any will freely offer it, in order to their own vindication, you may admitt it, but in such cases you are to draw up the Forme. But if you have good and cleer evidence as to matter of Fact, there [? then] you are not to admitt the parties own Oath against it.' When Hall's case was reached, however, Master had had no definite orders on the subject, and so he declined to enforce the withdrawal of the accused, and, as Hall 'would not willingly submitt himselfe thereto,' he remained throughout the inquiry.

Vincent's charge consisted of twenty-six counts, to which Hall, as Smith had done, answered categorically. Each count, with its answer, was read separately, and then the evidence, both oral and written, was taken. One short sitting, on the 26th October, 1676, was occupied in hearing the charge and the answers, and three whole-day sittings with the examination of the evidence. The verdict was not given until three days later, on the 2nd November.

The long series of counts all turn on points that may be expected to be exhibited by the class of temperament Hall's life in India shows him to have possessed. He was clearly a clever, domineering, quarrelsome, unscrupulous rascal. Five of the counts relate solely to insubordination and three more directly predicate it. One relates to a fight. Two more denote a mean character behind all the quarrelsomeness—denying protection to an Englishman in trouble, and a direct act of disloyalty to his

[1] *Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 503.

country. These prepare us for what follows. Twelve counts are concerned with fraud of sorts—tampering with the Company's books, cheating or attempting to cheat his employers, appropriating money, inciting others to such acts. Then we find three relating to false accusations, one of them in order to cover his own misfeasance. Two of the other counts are of suborning, or attempting to suborn, evidence, and there is one of perjury. Truly a fine collection of misdeeds in eight years!

Out of the total of twenty-six counts, it seems to me, on a careful examination of each, that Hall was undoubtedly guilty of fifteen,[1] that he ought to be acquitted of ten,[2] and that one[3] was irrelevant, insomuch as it concerned his actions in relation to a third party and not to the Company. No doubt the intense dislike that he aroused in his colleagues led them to enter more counts than could be fairly proved. Of the fifteen counts that are to my mind proved against Hall, from evidence that has come down to us, all but one contain references to insubordination, directly or indirectly. The exception is that in which he showed disloyalty to his country to an extent that amounted to treason. The remainder comprise one case of tampering with the Company's books, three of attempts at cheating the Company, two of appropriating money, two of instances of making false accusations, including that which was intended to cover his own misdeeds, and the charge relating to perjury—quite enough to condemn him. This case is not nearly so interesting as Smith's, because it is that of a bad character of a sort to be found in all countries and at all times, and so it hardly throws much light on the life and manners of commercial men of the period in India.

The instances of direct insubordination are characteristic. (1) Hall refused to leave for Patna when ordered, and (11) he returned to Hugli without permission, in both instances for private objects. In the last case he practically admitted ill-treating a native clerk of the Company for not attending to his personal business. He ran away from Hugli (9) in order to avoid being

[1] Counts No. 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 26.
[2] Counts No. 2, 4, 7, 10, 12, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23.
[3] Count No. 5.

inspected, and (14) he removed books from Kasimbazar to Balasor with the same object. He openly abused (15) his superiors, and showed (26) persistent contempt of authority and insubordination, inciting others to behave likewise. And lastly (25), he refused to take the oath, when directed to do so, in order to substantiate his charges against others.

The case of disloyalty (6) was particularly mean, as it was shown that Hall supplied the Dutch with provisions and a transport vessel while they were at war with the English. He professed innocence on the ground that the 'freeman of Batavia' whom he supplied was a Scotchman! Instances of fraud proved against Hall were of the ordinary vulgar kind—(3) He tampered with the books; (1, 13, 14) he overcharged the Company with his private expenses; (17, 18) he appropriated money belonging to March's posthumous estate.

It is characteristic of men, who are dishonest and possess at the same time an overbearing temperament, to charge others with offences such as they themselves are conscious of being capable of committing. Hall was no exception to this rule. He brought charges (8, 24) against Reade, Vincent, and March, which he failed to substantiate; in some of the cases, indeed, he did not attempt to do so. And to wind it all up, he was caught, on his own reference to Puckle's examination (21), perjuring himself in his evidence against Vincent.

It is hardly worth while to go into the ten counts not proved, as they are of no general interest, excepting one (23) which relates to an alleged attempt to extort money from Gopāl Bhāi, a weaver of Kasimbazar, by pretending to powers of divination. Hall treated this accusation with contempt, saying 'such practyces rather belong to those in this Factory that are better acquainted with the starrs then I am.' Gopāl Bhāi stated that Hall had told him he could find money by means of a divining rod, but evidence was lacking of any money having been actually demanded by Hall, and Master rightly declined to take this count seriously. In Hall's time, of course, a charge of witchcraft in any form was a very grave matter indeed. The count of fighting (5), which has been already taken as irrelevant, related to an unprovoked assault on Valentine Nurse, arising

apparently out of long-standing bad blood between them at Balasor. Hall's answers to the various charges were throughout truculent and ill-tempered, showing him to be a man of not at all a nice nature, and no doubt impossible as a colleague.

I have the same difficulty in Hall's case as I had in Smith's in reconciling the findings of the Council with the evidence that has come down to us. They seem to have been afraid of Hall, or more likely of his friends at Court, for, while finding him guilty of ten[1] of the counts, they ignored seven[2] others, on which the evidence recorded against him was apparently conclusive. They gave him, in fact, every chance. But while they did not find him guilty of all the counts proved, they so found him of one (16) as to which there was no proper evidence against him, and of one (20) in which the evidence is not of a satisfactory character. What induced them to do this, it is not now possible to ascertain.[3]

On the 2nd November, 1676, after a debate, it was decided that Hall was unfit to hold any place of trust under the Company or to sit in Council until definite orders should be received from Fort St. George, whither a copy of the entire proceedings connected with the case was despatched. The chiefship of Dacca, to which he had been appointed by Puckle in April, 1676, was left vacant until the reply from Madras should come to hand. Meanwhile, Hall was allowed board and lodging at the Company's expense, but he and Smith were bidden to repair to Hugli, and were refused permission to go from factory to factory on their own business.

From this date Hall's name disappears from the Council in 'the Bay,' and he was never again employed in the Company's service. Definite orders for his dismissal were received in the following year, and though he remained in India till his death, in 1684, he ceased to trouble the Company's authorities any longer.

[1] Counts, No. 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 25.

[2] Counts, No. 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, 18, 26.

[3] Yule's finding in this case, without having seen all the papers available to me, is not in accordance with mine (see *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii., p. 235).

THE STORY OF THE *MAYFLOWER* AND HER CARGO

AND THE CLAIM OF DE SOITO ON THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

THE great 'De Soito Business,' which intermittently agitated the factories in Bengal for nearly a quarter of a century, arose out of the voyage of a small vessel, named the *Mayflower*, from Balasor to Persia in 1652. It proved to be a source of much discord for many years and a costly venture for the Company. The dispute had been practically settled at Dacca in June, 1676, before Master's arrival in Bengal, and he had no personal concern in the matter beyond sanctioning the payment of a large sum of money to compound it. This he naturally refused to do, until he had been fully informed of all the details of the affair. And so, when the Dacca accounts were perused at Kasimbazar on the 5th October, 1676, and a sum of 'neare' Rs. 10,000 was found to have been paid to the native government in connection with the De Soito case, Master at once instituted inquiries. He found that, by a letter of the 15th May, 1676, Major Puckle, with Clavell and the rest of the Council, had given Samuel Hervy, then at Dacca, a free hand to deal with the affair to the best of his ability. Hervy was therefore ordered to draw up the 'state of that business,' and lay it before the Council. Some seven weeks later, after Master had returned to Hugli, the papers were produced.

In the interim, Master must have gained further information, for, when writing to the Company from Kasimbazar on the 28th October, he brought forward the conduct of the Dutch in the De Soito case as an additional reason why the English should procure a *farmān* as quickly as possible. The Dutch, it appears,

had supported the native witnesses against the English, and had done all in their power to render the authorities at Dacca antagonistic to Hervy and his assistants. Again, on the 31st October, Richard Mosely petitioned for a sum of money said to be due to his wife, as the widow of Gabriel Boughton and part owner of the cargo of the *Mayflower*; and on the 23rd November Master was informed, after his arrival at Hugli, that De Soito's mother had gone to Dacca to 'renew her suit' and to endeavour to get a revision of the Nawāb's order for the settlement of the affair at Balasor.

On the 25th November, Hervy's 'State and Relation of De Soito's business' was 'read and approved to be a true relation of that affair,' and ordered to be sent to England. But to understand Hervy's account, it is necessary to preface it with information gleaned from the records of the time. The story of the voyage, out of which all the trouble arose, is as follows: In January, 1652, two small vessels, one of which was called the *Mayflower*, were sent from Balasor to Persia under the command of Henry Cherry. Cherry, finding himself 'belated,' put into Goa, where 'he received much favour.' From Goa he wrote to Surat, desiring letters of recommendation to the Portuguese Governor 'to assist him in settling a Claim by a More passenger on his jounck for damage that his goods had sustained aboard.' In his application he stated that 'his business concerned the Company,' but it afterwards transpired that 'nearly all his goods belonged to private traders in the Bay,' though they had been shipped in the name of James Bridgeman, the Company's agent at Balasor. On ascertaining this, the Surat Council wrote to Persia ordering the factors there, on the arrival of Cherry's ship, to detain goods to the amount of Rs. 200 in return for the letters of recommendation to Goa, and to 'take custom' on the cargo, it 'being private trade.'[1] On the 11th November, 1652, the *Mayflower* anchored 'in the road of Gombroon' (Bandar Abbās), when Cherry paid two *tomāns* (or about £6 13s. 4d.) in return 'for favours received at Goa,' and was permitted to land his goods 'in the Company's house,' though he had not paid the customs.[2] The second

[1] *O.C.*, No. 2285. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 2292.

(unnamed) ship must have followed, for, in February, 1653, we read that 'The two Bengall Vessells are still rideing in the Roade, the Sugar being not yet sold, but when it is, the Company's right of Customes shalbe duly Collected.'[1]

While the *Mayflower* and her consort were still in the Persian Gulf, there was a good deal of inquiry as to their ownership, with results so unsatisfactory to the Company that strong measures were taken to secure its rights. In December, 1652, the Surat Council wrote to Gombroon that there was no mention of the two vessels in any Balasor letter, neither could they ascertain who the responsible owners were; therefore 'what is due to the Company from them you will doe well to secure.'[2] On the 5th February, 1653, a statement was received at Surat from Fort St. George that though it was not positively known to whom the 'two Jounks that wintered at Goa' belonged, they were certainly 'Private Traders, for the most part (if not altogeather) Laden, as wee have heard, by Mr. Bridgman and Edward Stephens in the Bay.' The Surat Council was further informed that a great part of the money for the lading of the two ships had been borrowed by Stephens, 'since dead, of some of the Country people in the Company's name.'[3] Meanwhile, Cherry had gone on to Shiraz, whither orders were sent from Surat to seize any money that might be found in his possession belonging to factors in Bengal. Cherry, who was 'then very sick,' declared that most of the money had been sent to Lar, but the factors at Shiraz took measures to 'secure it for the Company, which was done, the amount 400 Tomaunds.'[4]

In August, 1653, Paul Waldegrave, then chief at Balasor, wrote to the President of Surat, saying news had reached Bengal that the goods laden on the two vessels, 'which left Ballasore for Persia neare two yeares since,' had been sold, but that no money had so far been received on their account. He stated that Gabriel Boughton, Edward Stephens, and James Bridgeman were the persons chiefly concerned in the two ships, and added that Cherry was reported to be dangerously ill at Gombroon. Boughton had died 'in debt to a shroff who clamours for pay-

[1] *O.C.*, No. 2314.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 2298.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 2311.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 2332.

ment.' Stephens had also died in debt, and Bridgeman, who had gone to Europe, had 'left a writing' for his accounts to be 'settled from the Company's stock.' Cherry, too, was 'indebted to Moors at Hughly.' Waldegrave therefore begged that the proceeds of the sale of the cargoes entrusted to Cherry might be remitted to Surat and thence to Balasor.[1] A month later, the factors at Ispahan wrote to Surat that Cherry declared that the 400 *tomāns* already secured for the Company was all he had, 'the rest belonging to various other men.' They further reported that Cherry had been permitted to go to Lar for his health, and had subsequently returned to Ispahan, where he died intestate on the 25th September, 1653. On examination, his papers were found to be 'confused,' and though a sum of 367½ *tomāns* was owing to him 'by several persons who have paid a small quantity,' the Ispahan factors were of opinion that Cherry's 'employers stand very little chance of getting much.'[2] However, they caused inquiries to be made at Lar and at Gombroon as to what effects Cherry had left (apparently without any result), and discharged the 'black sailors,' who were still aboard the *Mayflower* 'riding under Hurmoze Castle.'[3] And by way of helping matters towards a settlement, they forwarded to Surat a copy of Bridgeman's instructions to Cherry and also the 'Governor of Hughly's account.'[4] In February, 1654, the *Mayflower* was sold for 80 *tomāns*, the highest price offered for her.[5] The 'confused' state of Cherry's papers rendered the settling of his affairs very difficult. He had 'spent much in Goa in wrangling with merchants who had freighted goods in his vessels, repairs, wages, etc., also much sugar was lost by getting wet in the hold.'[6]

For the next three years Cherry and his ill-fated voyage drop out of the Records. Then, in May 1657, the factors at Fort St. George wrote to the Company at home: 'Your servants in the Bay are much troubled by one William Pitts, who having married a Mogullana [Mughalānī], or Morish woman, the relict of Gabriel Boughton, becomes thereby interessed in the Adventure hee sent on those Junckes that went under Bridgmans

[1] *O.C.*, No. 2336. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 2339. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 2344.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 2345. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 2366. [6] *Ibid.*, No. 2408.

name and were seized on by the Surrat President, which said Adventure was provided with monies taken up at Interest of the Moores, who are very Importunate for Justice against us, and tis to bee feared will force a payment, as they did formerly for Mr. Edward Steevens Debt, and all that our friends could alleadge to deferre present satisfaction was that Ditto Pitts had written to England about it, and twas not reason hee should demaund it in both places.'[1] Meanwhile, in England, the administrator of the estate of Henry Cherry had petitioned the Company to pay what 'our Agent in Persia gott in his possession as parte of the proceede of the Cargoe sent on the two Vessels from the Bay,' and the Court of Committees decided to 'detain the amount' until they heard 'what our sufferings may be in relation hereunto.'[2]

At the end of the year 1657, Juan Gomez de Soito, one of the owners of the *Mayflower's* cargo, took forcible measures to secure his rights. Having made several ineffectual demands on the Company's servants in Bengal for the payment of a consignment of cinnamon sold by Cherry in Persia on his account, he had the factors at Hugli summarily seized and imprisoned. William Isaacson, chaplain at Fort St. George, was at Balasor at the time. He intervened between the irate merchant and the Company's representatives, and persuaded De Soito to accept Rs. 500 and to release the prisoners. It was this tacit acknowledgment of the justice of De Soito's claim that led to all the trouble that arose some eighteen years later.

We now come to Hervy's account, and the bearing of the doings of Henry Cherry and the voyage of the *Mayflower* on the De Soito case. In September, 1675, the son of Juan Gomez de Soito went to Dacca to complain to the Nawāb of injustice done by the English to his father, who was alleged to have sent a large quantity of cinnamon to Persia in the *Mayflower*. The goods were said to have realised Rs. 6,000, whereas De Soito senior had only received Rs. 500. While the younger De Soito was occupied in collecting and suborning his witnesses, Robert Elwes and Samuel Hervy, then chief and second at Dacca, inquired into the case and 'gott a sight of some of his

[1] *O.C.*, No. 2610. [2] *Letter Book*, vol. i., p. 372.

papers.' Among these was one signed by Thomas Billedge and William Blake, stating that Rs. 500 had been paid to De Soito's account at Balasor. This document must have been dated before March, 1659, when the death of Billedge is noted in the Records;[1] possibly it was signed between 1657 and 1659. Both Billedge and Blake served the Company in Balasor, where the latter acted as chief from 1661 to 1668.

On the 12th November, De Soito junior lodged a formal complaint against the English to the Nawāb, who referred the matter to his Dīwān, Rāī Nanda Lāl. In the inquiry which followed, Elwes and Hervy, who were summoned to answer the charge, did all in their power to temporise and to obtain permission to have the case examined at Balasor, 'where wee knew our Freinds greater and power greater and Durbar less.' Meanwhile, frequent reports of the proceedings at Dacca were despatched to Clavell and the rest of the Council at Hugli and Balasor. On the 4th December, 1675, Elwes died, and in January, 1676, Clavell went to Fort St. George, leaving Vincent in charge of affairs at 'the Bay,' and to him Hervy continued to report on De Soito's proceedings at Dacca. The affair had thus dragged on into February, but De Soito was as anxious to conclude the case at Dacca as Hervy was to transfer it to Balasor. To this end he bribed the Dīwān's secretary, enlisted the support of a Portuguese who farmed 'the Nabobs customes,' and was so far successful as to obtain a promise from the Nawāb that his cause should be concluded at Dacca.

Hervy, who had hitherto been sanguine that he would carry his point, now realised that the Dīwān was determined to make personal capital out of De Soito's claim, for he had stopped three of the Company's boats 'to shew he was in earnest.' A small bribe, however, to the 'Duans mussuddies' (*mutaṣaddī*, clerk) procured the release of the boats, and then Hervy had recourse to the *kāẓī*, who, 'upon expectation to be gratified,' ordered De Soito to produce the papers on which he 'grounded his demands.' These were four in number: 1. A document signed by Henry Cherry, dated at Hugli in December, 1651, acknowledging the receipt of twenty maunds of cinnamon,

[1] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., pp. 51, 52.

shipped on the *Mayflower* on behalf of De Soito senior, to whom the proceeds, less cost of freight, were to be returned. 2. A statement, by one Gaspar de Breu, a passenger in the *Mayflower*, to the effect that the cinnamon belonging to De Soito was sold in Persia at a good price. This was dated at Pipli on the 1st October, 1653. 3. A 'Dutch attestation' of the maund of Persia as compared with that of Bengal, dated 1st October, 1657. 4. A copy of a letter from William Isaacson, the Company's chaplain at Fort St. George, to De Soito senior, dated Balasor 23rd November, 1657, offering Rs. 500 as part compensation for the delay in handing over the proceeds of the cinnamon shipped on the *Mayflower*, if, in return, De Soito would order the release of the factors, whose imprisonment he had procured to enforce his claim.

Of these documents, Hervy, acting under Vincent's orders, rightly considered the last to be the most important, and he therefore 'laid the stress of the matter on Isaacson's being or not being our Cheife in Ballasore,' and immediately took steps to prove that Isaacson never had 'binn Cheife.' On the 16th March he received a statement from Hugli to that effect. This was useless because not properly attested, and, two days later, De Soito, who had bribed the *kāẓī* to oppose the English, produced witnesses to swear that Isaacson had represented the Company at Balasor at the time when the letter in question was written. This statement presents great difficulties, but is quite possibly true. Isaacson had no official standing in Bengal as far as can be now ascertained, and in Fort St. George, where he was stationed, he held the post of the Company's chaplain. The Rev. Frank Penny, who in his *Church in Madras*[1] traces Isaacson's career from 1644, when he entered the Company's service, until 1661, the date of his return to England, states that he was chaplain at Fort St. George in 1647-48, again in 1654, and finally from 1658 to 1661. Mr. Penny, however, does not account for Isaacson between 1655 and 1658, and the presumption is that he was in Bengal in 1656-57. It is possible that he may, while there, have assumed civil authority in the absence

[1] See pp. 20-33, 37, 38, 661. See also *O.C.*, No. 2228, and *Letter Book*, vol. i. ('General' to Surat of 1st April, 1653).

of other responsible servants of the Company in the following circumstances. Paul Waldegrave, who succeeded Bridgeman as head of affairs in 1653, left Bengal for Fort St. George at the end of the year 1656,[1] and T. Stevenson, W. Taylor, and T. Cartwright, factors, 'sent into the Bay,' were 'visited with sicknesse.'

At the end of March, 1676, Hervy received a correctly attested statement from Balasor to the effect that Isaacson had never held the office of chief there. This, however, had very little effect on the *kāẓī*, and so Hervy applied himself to inducing De Soito's witnesses to repudiate their oath, which they did a few days later. De Soito, who had entirely gained over the *kāẓī* 'with large promises,' at once procured other witnesses, all of whom claimed a share in the cargo of the *Mayflower*. Matters had now dragged on for more than six months, and Hervy began to fear that 'our Extreame and only remedy would be to buy justice of the Nabob himselfe.' However, warned by Vincent's experience in the case of Raghu the *poddār*,[2] he hesitated to expend the Company's money in compounding the affair until he received 'positive and ample orders thereof from the Cheife &ca.' On the 31st May, 1676, he got what he wanted, and by a 'Generall' from Balasor, signed jointly by Puckle and Clavell, who was once more at the head of affairs, he was allowed *carte blanche* to act as he thought fit, nor was he 'stinted to any summe' that he might consider necessary to end the matter. Nevertheless, the Council was of opinion that no hush-money should be given to De Soito, even though it should cost more to gain the complaisance of the native government.

Hervy began with the *kāẓī*, because 'it lay in his power to represent the business as he pleased,' but this official 'cherished soe large hopes of gaine from De Soito' that he turned a deaf ear to Hervy's offers, and 'speedyly the cause was brought to a hearing before the Nabob.' The *kāẓī*, representing De Soito, maintained that Isaacson had been 'Cheife' in Balasor, that De Soito was a poor man, and that the English had 'kept him out of his money many yeares.' The *vakīl*, who defended the case, replied that the English were only answerable for their own debts, that the Company had never received goods from

[1] *O.C.*, Nos. 2579, 2610.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 120, 144-150.

De Soito, and therefore owed him nothing, 'nor was Isaacson our Cheife at any time,' as was proved by attested documents then produced. The *kāẓī* disregarded the attestation on the ground that 'negative Mahazars [*mahẓar*, attested document] import nothing according to Sherah [*shara*] or the law of Mahomet.' The Nawāb thereupon ordered the payment of the sum adjudged due by the *kāẓī*. The *vakīl* tried to evade a definite answer, but at last, 'often pressed thereto by the Nabob,' he emphatically declined to pay the sum 'unjustly demanded of us,' *viz.*, Rs. 5,300. On his refusal, he was 'much beaten and disgracefully used,' and it was ordered that the amount 'should speedily be paid.' Hervy, finding matters progressing so badly, concluded that it would be wiser to 'bribe the Nabob and other great persons near him' rather than submit to De Soito's exactions, for should he do so, other claimants would promptly spring up, and there would be no end to the demands made on the Company. Before opening negotiations, Hervy decided to make a personal appeal to the Nawāb, and, taking James Price, who had had great experience in the methods of the Mogul Courts of Justice, he presented himself at the *darbār*. They had much difficulty in procuring access to the Nawāb's reception-room, De Soito's 'large promises' having gained over all the officials. When at last they were admitted into the great man's presence, he refused them a hearing, peremptorily ordered the payment of the sum demanded by De Soito, and, in default, consigned Hervy 'to the Catwall' (*koṭwāl*), or police magistrate, 'and other ministers of justice for execution thereof.'

There was now no alternative but to fight De Soito with his own weapons. Hervy commenced a course of wholesale bribery, and, backed up by Malik Kāsim, governor of Hugli and Balasor, who was 'then in Dacca,' his methods quickly caused the complainants' supporters to melt away. The gifts were judiciously graduated from Rs. 2,000, paid to the Nawāb and his wife, down to Rs. 20 to his minor servants and mace-bearers. Even the *kāẓī* and 'his officers were likewise presented,' and 'of our enemyes made our Freinds.' Thus, at the cost of Rs. 9,130, the incident was apparently closed on the

17th June, 1676, De Soito was, however, only temporarily suppressed. In March, 1677, he gained the ear of the Nawāb, who compelled the English to pay him Rs. 1,000.[1] After this we hear nothing further of him or of his demands.

It is probable that Master's approval of the conduct of the affair by Hervy at Dacca had much to do with the Company's acquiescence in the payment of so large a sum to settle a private claim. In their letter to Bengal of the 12th December, 1677,[2] they wrote: 'As to the business of De Soito, wee approve of what you have done therein, although it hath been very chargeable, and doe recommend it to you to put an issue to all those old pretences the best you can and hope that by your prudent management wee shall hear no further of it.'

On reviewing the papers in the case, as preserved in the East India Company's Records, the truth of the matter appears to have been that Cherry had 20 Bengal mds. of De Soito's cinnamon in his ship, on which the freight was to be Rs. 160 and respondentia charges Rs. 26. He sold the cinnamon in Persia for 45 abassis (Rs. 25) per Persian md. (20 Bengal mds. equal 216 Persian mds.)—*i.e.*, for Rs. 5,400 less freight and charges, Rs. 200. So that De Soito had a claim for that amount against Cherry or his heirs. Isaacson seems to have known this, and offered him Rs. 500 on account to procure the release of the imprisoned factors, because of the known habit of the native governors of making the Company responsible for any deceased Englishman's debts. If the Company had constituted themselves the heirs of Cherry by taking all his effects, then De Soito had a good case, but it would appear that Cherry had died before he had recovered the debts due to him on the sales he had effected in Persia. In any case, the Company felt themselves precluded from treating the matter as a trumped-up claim. The *Mayflower* was no doubt freighted by private individuals, and the Company had, strictly speaking, no responsibility as to her cargo, but there must have been some such reason as that just explained to give De Soito a hold over the factors in Bengal. Otherwise it is incredible that Stevenson and his colleagues should have been imprisoned at

[1] *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. i. [2] *Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 520.

the instigation of a mere Portuguese merchant, such as De Soito was, or that Isaacson should have given him hush-money to procure their release, and that Billedge and Blake should have admitted the fact.

It is easy to understand why, in 1676, the Council in Bengal were anxious to compound the matter at any cost. The affair of the Dutch *baniya* was fresh in their minds, as was also the case of Raghu the *poddār*. In each instance the native government had extorted large sums, and both Dutch and English were still smarting from the indignities then suffered. And further, the English, who had no *farmān* for trade in Bengal, and were hoping to secure one in the coming year, could not afford to quarrel with the Nawāb, on whom so much depended. Hence it was that an obscure individual was able to pose before the Company as a formidable adversary whose suppression must be procured at any cost.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE APPOINTMENT OF STREYNSHAM MASTER AS AGENT AND GOVERNOR AT FORT ST. GEORGE, 1675

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE SERVICES DONE FOR THE EAST INDIA COMPANY BY STREYNSHAM MASTER. *Master Papers*, No. 10.

THE Company, in the year 1675, were pleased to Encourage me to undertake another Voyage to India, which, upon the assurances some of the most active of the Committees gave me of their constant friendship and soe that I should have a good Imploy, I promised to serve them, whereupon they proposed to me to be Agent of the Coast and Bay, which I accepted, and was Elected by the Committees the 10th September 1675 to succeed Sir William Langhorne in January 1677 [1677-8] at the Salary of £300 per annum.

A FIT PERSON TO BE SECOND AT FORT ST. GEORGE. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 154.

10*th September*, 1675.—Resolved that a fit and able person be sent by this years Shipping to the Coast, with sufficient instructions and power in order to the setling of matters in the several factories of Metchelepatam and the Bay, and to take place as Second in Council at the Fort, and to succeed Sir Wm. Langhorne as Agent in January 1677 [1677-8], English stile, upon Sir Wm. Langhorne's coming for England, in case Sir Wm. Shall desire to stay so long, and to have the same

encouragement that Major Puckle now hath,[1] till he enter upon the Agency.

MR. STREYNSHAM MASTER TO SUCCEED AGENT AT THE FORT. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 154.

10th September, 1675.—The Court being fully satisfied of the abilities and faithfulness of Mr. Streynsham Master, were now pleased to elect him to serve in the said employment as Second at Fort St. George, and to succeed as Agent upon Sir Wm. Langhorne's coming away, upon the terms of encouragement abovementioned.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SERVICES DONE FOR THE EAST INDIA COMPANY BY STREYNSHAM MASTER, 1659-1678. *Master Papers*, No. 10.

1656. *I went to India.*—First, Note That I went to Surratt with my Unckle, Mr. George Oxinden, in the year 1656 upon a Private Stocke which Imployed three Shipps, the Trade being then open.

1658. *The Company United.*—This present Company and Joynt Stocke was United by Oliver Cromwell the then Protectors Letters Patent in 1657-58. The first ships upon this Companys Accompt arrived at Surratt in September, 1658. The January following Mr. George Oxinden, my Unckle, returned to England, leaving me with his Brother, Mr. Christopher Oxinden (then Second to the President at Surratt), who, in March 1658-59, sent me Supra Cargo of a Shipp to Mocha in the Red Sea, and from thence I went to Gombroone, Congo [Kung] and Bussora in the Gulph of Persia.

1659. *I entered into the Companys Service at Surratt.*—Returning to Surratt in December, 1659, I found the President, Mr. Nathaniell Wyche, and my Unckle, Mr. Christopher Oxinden, were both dead. Mr. Matthew Andrewes, since Sir Matthew Andrewes, then President, finding a want of Factors for the Companys busynes, tooke me into the Service, January, 1659-60.[2]

[1] *I.e.*, a salary of £100 per annum.

[2] The appointment of Streynsham Master as factor was confirmed by a Court of Committees on the 18th December, 1661 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv.).

I continued at Surratt for above two yeares, writeing in the office all the Letters sent and received in the Presidency, which before was allways the worke of two Writers.

1662. *Went to Ahmadavad.*—In the Month of May, 1662, I was sent to Ahmadavad second to Mr. Rolt, now Sir Thomas Rolt.

Returned to Surratt. Wrott under the Accomptant.—The following December we both returned to Surratt, Sir George Oxinden being arived to withdrawe that Factory. I was then apointed to assist the Second, Mr. [John] Goodier, in keeping the Generall Bookes of Accompts which were found in great disorder and tooke up many Folios to set to rights for the four years past, as appears in Surratt Journall Letter E. In this Station and Imploy I continued untill the yeare 1668. The Services which I did therein being soe well known to the President and Councill, they recommended me to the Company and they aproved them soe as to raise my Salary.

1668. *One of the Commissioners that received Bombay.*—Bombay being now made over to the Company by the King, I was sent one of the four Commissioners to take possession of that island for the Company in September, 1668. At my returne thence to Surratt, the President and Councill sent me downe the Coast of India and Mallabar to take up Mr. Randolph Taylors Commission (who dyed there) and settle the Factorys at Carwarr and Callecutt after the Dutch War. This Voyage (praised be God) I performed with good Success tho with great hazard of my Life by a Tumult of the Rabble Moplaes[1] upon an unlucky accident at Callecut. Having, notwithstanding, settled said Factorys, I returned and met the President at Sea in the Ships bound for England, between Surratt and Bombay, with whome I returned to Bombay and unloaded all the *Bantam* Pinkes Pepper, about 80,000 lb., on board the *Returne* and *Rebecca* bound for England.

1668. *Warehousekeeper at Surratt.*—Returning with the President to Surratt, arrived there the 8th February. Mr. Goodier being removed from Second at Surratt to be Governor of Bombay and

[1] Indigenous Muhammadans of Malabar. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Moplah.

thence went to England, Mr. Aungier was now second and Accomptant, and Mr. Matthew Gray goeing Chief to Atchein, Mr. [Henry] Young Deputy Governor of Bombay, it fell to me to be Warehousekeeper at Surratt.

July, 1669. *Kept the Generall Accompts.*—Sir George Oxinden dyed [14th July] President at Surratt. Mr. [Gerald] Aungier succeeding him, the Generall Bookes of Accompts fell to my Charge, and then I first put them into the Method since followed and altered the time for Ballancing them from the 30th day of November to the 31st day of July, and made other Reformations therein, which were afterwards observed all over India.

The beginning of October, 1670. *Defended the house against Sevagee* [*Shīvajī*].—Sevagee came a second time to plunder the Towne of Surratt. The President and Councill being then at Swally Marine sent me up to Surratt with only 30 Men out of the Shipps to defend the house, which (praised be God), I did, whereby the Nation gained honour, the Company saved a year's Customes, and they presented me with a gold Medall after my returne into England.[1]

1671-2. *Returned home.*—I returned from Surratt for England upon the ship *Antelope*, January, 1671-72, arrived in England June, 1672, the third Warr with the Dutch then Begun. The *Falcon*, which came in our Company from Bombay, was taken and carryed into Bergin.

Mr. Streynsham Master elected for the Fort and made free. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 178.

13*th October*, 1675.—Mr. Streynsham Master coming into Court, was made acquainted that the Company, having experience of his long and faithful service in India, had elected him to be Second at Fort St. George, and to succeed as Agent upon Sir Wm. Langhorne's coming away, at a salary of 300 *li.* per annum, to commence from his arrival on the Coast. To

[1] The medal was presented at a Court of Committees on the 10th December, 1673. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxviii.; Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii., pp. 255, 256; and J. H. Mayo, *Medals and Decorations*, pp. xxxvii, 44-49, 55, for the later history of this medal.

which he returned answer that he thankfully accepted the employment, and would endeavour to discharge the trust committed to him with diligence and faithfulnes, and desired to take his freedom, onely he offered some objections to the oath,[1] *viz.*, That in the last clause prohibiting trade in such commodities as are or shall be declared by the Court to be reserved to the Joint Stock exclusive to ANY others, the word ANY might be made ALL. And, secondly, that by the oath he might not be restrained from trading in such commodities as the Court shall give permission or indulgence for the Factors. On consideration whereof had, the Court declared, that the word ANY in that clause was of the same import as the word ALL, and was so understood by them; and that persons taking this oath are not debarred from trading in such commodities as the Company shall give indulgence or permission to their Factors. Whereupon he was admitted into the freedom of this Company gratis.

MR. STREYNSHAM MASTER'S SECURITY. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 192.

26th November, 1675.—Sir James Oxinden[2] and Dr. Edward Masters[3] were now approved of to be security for Mr. Streynsham Masters in 2000*£*.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SERVICES DONE FOR THE EAST INDIA COMPANY BY STREYNSHAM MASTER. *Master Papers*, No. 10.

The beginning of December, 1675, I presented to the Court of Committees a Paper of Proposalls for the Regulating and new Methodiseing their Factorys and Accounts upon the Coast and

[1] The following is a copy of the 'Freeman's Oath' drawn up on the 8th December, 1657: 'I, A..... B....., doe in the presence of Allmighty God sweare, that I wilbe true and faithfull to the Governour and Company of Merchaunts of London trading to and from the EAST INDIES, in the Management of the Trade to be carried on by the New subscribed Joynt Stocke, by virtue of his Highnesse Charter to them graunted, or the Graunte of any former Charter ratified, graunted and confirmed by his said Highnesse. And that I will not directly or indirectly have or use any private or particular Trade to or from East India, by my selfe or any other' (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv., fol. 10).

[2] Eldest son of Sir Henry Oxenden, Bart., and cousin of Streynsham Master.

[3] Third son of Richard Master of East Langdon, brother of Streynsham Master, and 'Doctor of Civil Law.'

Bay, which were debated in the Court,[1] and by Mr. [Thomas] Papillon drawne up into my Commission &ca. Allsoe I proposed my goeing to Metchlepatam and the Bay to settle those Factorys and rightly to inform myselfe of the Companys busynes before I was Agent.

MR. STREYNSHAM MASTER, INSTRUCTIONS TO BE DRAWN FOR HIM—RESOLVES UPON HIS PROPOSALS. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 194 *et seq.*

3rd December, 1675.—It is ordered that it be referred to the Committees for the Coast and Bay to draw up Instructions for Mr. Streynsham Master, suitable to the employment for which he is chosen, and report the same.

On reading the proposals of Mr. Streynsham Master now presented in Court, It was Resolved as followeth.[2]

MR. STREYNSHAM MASTERS SEVERALL PRIVILEDGES. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 197.

8th December, 1675.—On reading a paper of Mr. Streynsham Master, the Court upon debate and consideration thereof, Resolved as followeth, *vizt.*

1. That liberty be granted him to lade on board the Ship *Eagle*, now outward bound, ten or twelve tons of liquors or other goods not prohibited.[3]

A MEMORANDUM OF THE GOOD SERVICES DONE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY BY STREYNSHAM MASTER DURING HIS IMPLOYMENT OF THREE YEARS AGENT UPON THE COAST OF CHOROMANDELL AND IN THE BAY OF BENGALE AND ONE YEAR BEFORE.[4] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

December, 1675.—At my coming out of England, I contrived and proposed the Regulating of all their Factorys and Busynes

[1] *Viz.*, on the 3rd December, 1675. See *infra*.

[2] These 'resolves' are embodied in paragraphs 33, 52, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George of the 24th December, 1675. See the copy, given *infra* after the Consultation at Masulipatam of the 7th August, 1676 (pp. 246 *et seq.*).

[3] The rest of the 'priviledges' are given at length in paragraph 49 of Master's Commission, for which see *infra*, pp. 215-16.

[4] *Author's Note.*—'Thes Memoranda was kept in India and concluded in England.'

in a new Method, which they soe well did aprove of, that they ordered the same to be settled upon the Coast and in the Bay, and drew it up in a forme as in my Commission and Instructions.

I proposed my goeinge downe from the Fort to Metchlepatam and the Bay to settle all those Factorys, by which means those confused affairs were settled in order, though with much trouble to myselfe and noe small advantage to the Company.

RATE OF TONNAGE FROM THE FORT TO THE BAY AND BACK.
Court Minutes, vol. xxix., fol. 197.

8th December, 1675.—Resolved that for all goods that shalbe laden on the Companys shipping at the Fort for the Bay by any of their Factors or other persons whatsoever, there be paid 30*s.* per ton, and for all goods from the Bay to the Coast 3*li.* per ton.

Mr. Master moving the Court, that the Factors at the Fort might enjoy the like privileges of trading to all places to the Northward of the Æquator as is granted to the Freemen at Bombay, It is ordered that it be referred to the Committees for the Coast and Bay to consider of the liberty granted in that particular, and of the Companys last Indulgence,[1] as also of the said proposal of Mr. Master, and to report their opinion what is fit to be done therein.

INDULGENCE OF TRADE TO FACTORS AT FORT ST. GEORGE.
Court Minutes, vol. xxix., fol. 199 *et seq.*

15th December, 1675.—On reading a Report from the Committees for the Coast and Bay touching liberty of trade in India to be granted to the Companys Factors &c. at Fort St. George to the Northward of the Equator, as is given to those at Bombay, which followed in *hec verba:*

The Committees for the Coast and Bay, in pursuance of several orders of Court touching the Indulgence granted to them of Bombay, doe find that those of Bombay by order of the 10th

[1] A list of 'Indulgences to Factors and Mariners' was approved at a Court of Committees on the 19th February, 1674. This list was founded on the 'Indulgences' granted in December, 1667, and November, 1670. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fols. 79, 80; vol. xxvii., fols. 67, 68; vol. xxviii., fols. 185, 199, 200.

February, 1674-5,[1] have liberty to trade in any commodities to or from any ports or places in the East Indies to the Northward of the Equator; And the said Committees offer it as their opinion that the same liberty be given to all their Factors and servants at Fort St. George and under that Agency to trade in any comodities to or from Fort St. George to any ports or places in the East Indies to the Northward of the Equator, except to Tonquin or Formosa, They conforming in all other matters to the rules and directions appointed by the Company by their Indulgence of the 16 November 1674, and registering their goods from time to time according thereunto.

The said Committees humbly propose, whether the Court by the next Ships to Bombay will not explain their permission for trade granted to them with the like exception.

The said Committees having read and approved of a draught of a Comission for Streynsham Master Esq., to be passed under the common seal of the Company, offer it as their opinion that it may be ingrossed and sealed with the Companys Seal accordingly.

The said Committees having also agreed of (*sic*) a draught of another Commission and Instructions for Streynsham Master Esq. doe offer the same to the Court and their opinion that it may be approved, fairly written, and signed by the Governor and Committees and delivered to [the] said Mr. Master.

Upon reading the said Instructions, a debate arose touching the Factors residing in the Companys several factories (except in the Fort and Town which is in their own government), whether they ought not all to inhabit together in the Companys houses and not elsewhere, and that the words in the Instructions 'if it can be with convenience' may be left out, Some apprehending it was so much the Companys interest that they ought to be at the charge to make accommodations; But in regard the order of Court was with that limitation, the Committees thought themselves not empowered to debate the matter further, but offer it to the consideration of the Court.[2]

Another debate arising, whether it might not be convenient

[1] *Court Minutes*, vol. xxviii., fol. 94.

[2] The words were eventually expunged. See paragraph 30 of the Commission and Instructions which follow.

and the Companys interest, as the matter might be, sometimes and in some places to farm or rent Towns of the King of Golcondah or Great Mogul in those Countries, thereby to have the greater power and influence on the people as wel as to raise a profit to the Company, some urgeing it is the practise of the Dutch so to doe. But this matter not being referred to the Committees from the Court, they did not further debate it, but offer the consideration thereof to the Court.[1]

The Secretary proposing to the Committees what covenants he should make for Mr. Masters, and offering the Covenants of Mr. George Foxcroft for precedent,[2] which being perused, the Committees were of opinion that he draw up the said Indentures, expressing the choice and quality of Mr. Master according to his Commission, expressing his time to be five years from his arrival in India.

That, touching trade to and from England and India, it be exprest suitable to the Companys establishment, and the like for trade in India according to the Report, and offer it as our opinion, that the Secretary may have order to draw up the said Covenants accordingly. *Dated the 14th December*, 1675.

15th December, 1675 (*Afternoon*).—The draught of a Commission was now read, appointing Streynsham Master Esq. to be Agent for the Companys affairs on the Coast of Choromandel and Bay of Bengala, and also Governor of Fort St. George and Town of Madraspatam, which after some amendments was approved and ordered to be ingrossed.[3]

MR. STREYNSHAM MASTER HIS COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 201.

16th December, 1675.—A draught of a Commission and Instructions for Streynsham Master Esq., elected to succeed Sir William Langhorne in the Agency of Fort St. George, was now read, and, upon a long and serious debate and several amendments therein made, was approved, and ordered to be ingrossed.[4]

[1] See pararaph 32 of the Commission and Instructions.
[2] I have been unable to trace these 'Covenants.'
[3] See *infra*, Commission to Mr. Streinsham Master.
[4] The Commission and Instructions are given below after the official document of appointment.

Mr. Master moving the Court for an allowance for his fresh provisions in his intended voyage; on consideration thereof had, in regard he is chosen to succeed in the Agency at Fort St. George in January, 1677 [1677-78], and in the mean time to voiage to Mechlepatam and the Bay of Bengal, to superintend the Companys affairs in the several factories, they were pleased to allow him 100£ for his fresh provisions in his voyage and for his necessary accomodation to succeed in the Agency.

It is ordered that Mr. Streynsham Master be permitted to ship out 182 oz. & ½ of foreign Gold, and 162 pieces of 8/8, paying one per Cent. freight and permission, he affirming the same to be for the account of the Lady Dawes, Mr. Christopher Oxinden and Mr. Henry Carpenter. He is also permitted to ship out 300 oz. of foreign gold and 1,000 pieces of 8/8 for his own account, free of freight and permission.

COMMISSION[1] TO MR. STREINSHAM MASTER. *Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 283 *et seq.*

THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF MARCHANTS of London tradeing to the East Indies. To all to whome theis Presents shall come greeting. KNOW Yee that by virtue of the CHARTER of Our Soveraigne Lord CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of of God KING of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &ca., given and granted unto Us the said Governor and Company bearing date the third day of Aprill Anno Domini One thousand Six hundred Sixty and One, And in the thirteenth Yeare of his said Majesties Raigne, Wee the said Governor and Companie reposing especiall trust and confidence in the fidelitie, prudence, justice and provident circumspection of Streinsham Master Esqr. have made constituted and ordayned, and by theis Presents doe make constitute and ordeyne the said Streinsham Master Esqr. to be AGENT of (*sic*), and of all Our Affaires on the Coast of Choromandell and Bay Bengala in the East Indies, and also to be Our Governour and Commander in Chief of Our Fort St. George and Towne of Madraspatam in the East Indies, and of all and singular the Forts, Territoryes and Jurisdictions

[1] The official document of appointment.

thereof and of all the Forces which now are, or hereafter shall be imployed for the service of Us the said Governor and Company in the said Fort and towne and the Jurisdictions thereof. The said Streinsham Master to enter upon the Agency and Government aforesaid at the coming away of Our Ships from the said Fort and towne, in the Month of January which shall be in the yeare of Our Lord God One thousand six hundred seaventy and seaven [1677-78]. Or in case Sir William Langhorne the present AGENT and Governor of Our said Fort shall depart this Life before the said Month of January 1677 [1677-78] or otherwise remoove from Our said Fort and towne, That then in such case the said Streinsham Master doe immediatly upon the Death or remooval of the said Sir William Langhorn Enter upon the execution of the said Office of Agent and Governor and of all the powers and Authorities thereunto appertayning, And to continue in the Exercise of the same during Our pleasure and untill the contrary thereof shall be signified under the seale of the said Governor and Companie. And to the end the said Streinsham Master may be the better enabled to manage And order all Our Affaires, Wee doe by these presents constitute and ordaine that the persons who are at present or hereafter shall be in the Places or Offices of Our Bookeper, Warehouse keeper, Choutry[1] Justice, Master of the Mint, Pay Master or Purser generall in Our said Fort and Towne and such other person or persons as shall hereafter be appointed by Us or any three or more of them shall from time to time be a standing Councell to the said Streinsham Master Our said AGENT and Governor for managing all Our Affaires on the Coast of Choromandell and Bay of Bengala and Governing the said Fort St. George and towne of Madrassapatam. And Wee doe hereby give and grant unto Our said Agent and Governor Streinsham Master Esqr. and to Our said Councell or the more part of them (whereof the said Streinsham Master to be Allwaies One) the whole Councell being duly summoned, full power and authority from time to time to rule and Governe all and every Our Factors

[1] The Choultry or Court House at Fort St. George. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Choultry.

and Servants under the said Agency, and all the Souldiers and Inhabitants of Our said Fort St. George and towne of Madraspatam, to administer Lawfull Oathes as occasion shall require, and to doe and performe all such other Acts and thinges, and to use and exercise all such other power and Authorityes as by his Majesties Royall CHARTER aforesaide Our Agent and Governor and his Councell, in their severall respective places, where We the said Governor and Companie have any Factoryes or places of trade, are authorized to doe, according to such instructions and directions as he the said Streinsham Master Our said Agent and Governor and Our Councell aforesaid, shall from time to time receave under the hands of thirteene or more of the Court of Comittees of the said Companie for the time being, whereof the Governor or his Deputy for the time being to be One. And Wee the said Governor and Companie doe hereby Order and require all Our Factors, Servants, Officers and Souldiers within the said Agency and all the People and Inhabitants of Our said Fort St. George and Towne of Madraspatam to conforme, submitt and yeild obedience to him the said Streinsham Master Our said Agent and Governor accordingly. IN WITNESS whereof We have hereunto Caused the seale of Us the said Governor and Company to be putt, this 16th Day of December Anno Domini 1675 and in the 27th yeare of the Raigne of Our said Soveraigne Lord CHARLES the Second By the Grace of God KING of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &ca.

COMMISSION[1] AND INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY US THE GOVERNOUR AND COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF LONDON TRADEING INTO THE EAST INDIES UNTO STREINSHAM MASTER OF LONDON ESQUIRE, ELECTED TO SUCCEED SIR WILLIAM LANGHORN IN OUR AGENCY OF FORT ST. GEORGE. *Letter Book*, vol. v., pp. 285-96.

1. Wee the said Governour and Company Reposing Speciall trust and confidence in you Streinsham Master Esquire have

[1] Master's special Commission for the information of the Factories on 'The Coast' and in 'the Bay.'

chosen and Constituted you according to a Commission under Our Common Seale bearing even date with theis presents to be Agent and Governour at Fort St. George, and to enter on the said imployment January, 1677 [1677-8] or immediately from and after the Death or Removall of Sir William Langhorne Our present Agent there,[1] and untill such times as you shall enter upon the said Agency and Government, Wee doe appoint you to be Second in Councell at Fort St. George, and in order to the manadgement of Our Affaires in that Agency, Wee have thought fitt to give you for the present the following Instructions.

2. *First.* You are carefully your selfe to observe all such orders, rules and directions as has bin heretofore, or as shall hereafter from time to time be transmitted from Us and under the hands of thirteene or more of the Court of Committees of the East India Company (whereof the Governour or his deputy for the time being to be one), or to your Self in perticuler, or to Our Agent and Councell, And you are also to take care that all other in their severall places doe observe and conforme to the same, And in the manadgement of all Our Affaires and the Government and disposition of all Our Factory and Servants, you are to mind, observe and act impartially, according to Our directions in Our generall Letters, and as may be most for Our service, without favour, feare or other respect, on account of any private or perticuler recommendations or advices from any whomsoever perticulerly recomended to your Selfe.

(*a*). 1st. That the printed directions made the 18th December, 1667[2] (herewith delivered you) for the Christian and sober

[1] Sir William Langhorne (1629-1715) succeeded George Foxcroft as agent in 1670. See the account of his life in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] These 'Printed Rules and Directions,' to which frequent reference is made in Master's Diary, do not appear to exist. There is, however, a record of their compilation. In a paragraph entitled 'Regulations' (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxv*a*., p. 42), we find: 'Att a Committee for Regulateing Affaires in India the 12th November, 1667. A Paper being now read conteining severall matters to remaine as standing Rules and Orders for the Severall Factories in India. As also one other in Refference to the religious port, Dutie and Comportment to be observed by the several Factors and others the Companys Servants in India were both now approved of, and thought fitt to be presented to the Court for their Concurrence theirin, withall desireing them to make such further additions as they shall see cause to Dyrect in Order to the perfecting of the former.'

comportment of all Our Factors and Servants may be carefully observed, and that whosever shall contemne or refuze to conforme to the said Orders may be notified to Us.

(*b*). 2dly. That the printed Rules and Orders for the manadgment of Our Affaires and keeping Our Bookes herewith also deliver'd unto you, be carefully observed *and a due Account rendered to Us of any that shall be Negligent therein.*

3. *Secondly.* If at your arrivall at the Fort you shall find Sir William Langhorne there, Living, as We hope, Then Wee thinke it convenient that you Voyadge on Our Ships to Metchlepatam and the Bay to take an inspection into all Our Affaires and to regulate and set in Order what you shall find amiss.

4. During your stay at Metchlepatam and the Bay and in all places in any of the said Factoryes, We doe appoint you to be chief and to have the first place in Councell, that soe you may, according to his Majesties Charter, be impowered to administer an Oath to all or any Our Factors and Servants for the better examination of Matters relating to Our Service. And Wee declare that this is not intended any way to discharge Our Chiefs or Factors in any of the said Factorys from that care and trust committed to them for the conduct of Our affaires, or for responding to Us for the same.

Again, at a Court of Committees, held on the 18th December, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 80), there is the entry: 'Generall rules, orders and instructions for the due regulating and management of the Companies affairs in India, with particular directions for their President, Agents and Cheifes and for the Bookekeepers were now reade and approved of, and it is referred to the Committees that brought the same in to make such further additions thereunto touching the warehousekeepers, &c., as they shall see cause, and to report the same. Also certaine orders and rules for promoting of sobrietie and pietie in the severall Factories were now reade and approved of.' These were 'ordered to bee printed and transmitted to the severall Factories.'

In a letter from Master, written just before he left Surat, in January, 1671-72, he thus alludes to the Company's 'Printed Directions' (Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii., p. 206): 'The Honble. Company in the yeare 1668 sent out a Printed Paper of Rules and orders to which they required Strickt observance and due Compliance, which therefore some called the Company's Commandements, because there are just 10 of them; this Paper is Publikely affixed in the house for the information of all Persons, which indeed are good and Pious directions, but there is noe Penalty sett upon the Breach of them, except in the greatest offences of open Debauchery and Prophanes, from which there is no hope of amendment in the Party guilty, and then such are by these orders required to be sent for ENGLAND, as unworthy to reside in a Christian Plantation.'

5. In case Mr. William Puckle, whom Wee have appointed Chief at Metchlepatam,[1] be not at your arrivall at Metchlepatam or the Fort, Then you are, with such of Our Factors as are of Councell there, or that shall be appointed by Our Agent or Councell from the Fort, to take care to settle affaires at Metchlepatam for the disposall of Our Europe Goods and treasure to Our most advantage, and to provide for the making such Investments of India Goods as Wee have ordred to be made from thence in the best way you can during Our ships stay there, That they may be ready against Our ships retorne from the Bay.

6. And in case Mr. William Puckle should be dead, Then We direct Our Agent and Councell to direct such person to be chief and such others to be of Councell there *pro tempore*, as they shall judge most proper for Our Service, Reserving to Our Selves the Settlement of all Our Councells in their severall places 'till We receave a retorne from you of all Our Marchants, Factors and Servants as We have herein after directed. And whether Mr. William Puckle be living or dead, you are to voyage to Metchlepatam and, during your stay there, to be Chief and to act as above directed.

7. After you have setled Our Affaires in some order at Metchlepatam, you are to saile with the Ships to the Bay, and to retorne back with Our said Ships to Metchlepatam and the Fort.

8. For your security and assistance in the said voyadge, We have directed Our Agent and Councell at the Fort to permitt you to take with you from the Fort or Metchlepatam two of Our Factors that are not of the Councell and four or five Souldiers.

9. In your voyage to Metchlepatam and the Bay

(*a*). You are to inspect the manner of keeping Our bookes and accompts in those Severall Factoryes and to give directions

[1] The instructions to Major William Puckle to inspect the Company's affairs on the Coast of Coromandel, and in the Bay of Bengal, were dated 23rd December, 1674. While holding the office of supervisor he was ordered to rank as third of Council at 'the Fort,' and second at 'the Bay' (see *Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 156). His appointment as 'Chief' at Masulipatam was confirmed on the 10th September, 1675 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 154).

where you find necessary for the altering the same, to reduce them to such a plaine and cleare method as is Practized in Our Presidency of Surat with which you are well acquainted.

(*b*) You are carefully to observe the manner of the disposing of Our Europe goods and Bullion, and of the Contracting for and providing the India goods to be retorned for England, that if any abuse be in either, or that a more advantageous way may be introduced for one or the other sorts of goods found out proper for Europe, you may advize with our Chiefs and Councell toutching the same, and write Us your observations therein. Perticulerly We recommend to you to informe your Selfe touching the buying of raw silke in the Bay, what sorts there is, what the best season for buying, by what weights and in what manner they are bought and how that trade may be best carryed on; also concerning the Manner of providing Our Taffetyes and the Dying of them and advize us thereof, and of the best and cheapest way and time of buying and providing all sorts of goods in those parts.

(*c*) You are also to informe your Selfe concerning our Severall Factors, Writers and Servants in those respective places, both as to their abillityes for Our Service and their behaviour in Conversation, and you are to take a List of all their Names, Sallaryes, Imployments and time of residence in Our Service, which you are to transmitt to Us, as is hereafter directed, and you are also to inquire into the Causes of the Quarrells and differences among any of them, and to exhort them to peaceable and quiet comportment amongst themselves that So Our Affaires may not be prejudiced by their Divisions.

(*d*) You are to make enquiry into the business of Rugo Podar [Raghu the *poddār*], who was beaten by the house broaker at Casambazar and dyed presently after [in 1673], upon which occasion vast charges have bin expended; you are perticularly to examine whether there was any direction or order publique or private given or intimated to the said house Broker for his so doing, whither, according to the Custome there, the said house Broker might take on him to doe such a thing without Order or direction from the Chief, and whether, if the house Broker did the same without order,

it had not bin the Companies Interest and most proper and reasonable to have delivered him to Justice, as in such case he well deserved and was formerly done in Mr Sheldons time.[1] You are to Sift out the truth of this Matter without favour or affection to any interessed therein and you may examine such persons as you think fitt upon Oath in order thereunto.

(*e*) You are to take downe with you to Metchlepatam and the Bay the chests with locks and keyes for the keeping the Companies Seale, in that so no writing may be sealed with the Companies Seale but in the presence or with the Consent of the Chief, Second and third in the said Factoryes, according as the Company have directed in their generall Letters.

(*f*) You are to make enquiry by what priviledges Wee enjoy Our trade in the said Severall Factoryes and places, and by what Phirmaunds the same have bin obteyned and what may be further necessary for the Advance of Our trade in those parts and advize Us thereof and send Us copy of what graunts or Phirmaunds are there.

(*g*) You are also to consult with Our Chief and Councell, Factors, Commanders and the ablest Pilotts at the Bay touching ships going up the River Ganges, and how and in what season the same may be best effected, and write to Us what you can collect materiall to Our Service, from all their advizes and informations.

10. *Thirdly.* Whereas tho it hath bin Our resolution that Such of Our Factors and Servants as were found faithfull and capable should, from time to time, by degrees be advanced in Our imploy according to Senioritye, and that none should be sent out from hence to step over the Heads of others, Yet Wee have bin oftentimes necessitated to proceed otherwaies, partly occasioned from the extraordinary irreguler actings of Some, partly from the differences and divisions of our Factors themselves, and Chiefly because Our Agent and Councell and Chiefs and Councell have not observed every yeare to send Us a true and perfect List of all Our Factors and Servants in due order

[1]Daniel Sheldon was at Kasimbazar as second, and, later, as chief from 1658 1665. He returned to England in 1666.

and Method with an account of their Comportment and Behaviours.

11. To the intent that for the future a due course of Succession may be established, We doe intend that all our Factors and Servants imployed in the manadgement of Our trade be reduced under Severall denominations, *Vizt.*

1st. Apprentices, whose allowance for the first five Yeares after their arrivall in India is setled at £5 Per annum to be paid all in India.

2nd. Writers, whose allowance for the first five yeares after their arrivall in India is setled at £10 per annum to be paid all in India.

3rd. Factors, whose allowance for the first five Yeares after their arrivall in India is setled at £20 per annum to be paid halfe in India.

4th. Marchants, whose allowance for the first five yeares after their arrivall in India is setled at £30 per annum to be paid halfe in India.

5ly. Marchants next the Councell, or Senior Marchants, whose allowance for the first five yeares after their arrivall in India is for the future setled at £40 per annum to be paid halfe in India.

6ly. Those that are of the Councell in their Severall places to be distinguished by 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th.

12. After the first five yeares, every degree is to advance to the next superior degree, and to the Sallary of that degree for three yeares, and soe every three yeares to advance to the next degree, untill they come to be Senior marchants at the Sallary of £40 per annum, in which degree and Sallary they are to remayne till, by Death or remoovall of Some in Councell, they be called to further advancement.

13. When any that went out apprentices or Writers come to be in the degree of a factor, they are then to Seale new Covenants with a bond in the Penalty of £2000, which the Agent and Councell at the Fort, and Chief and Councell at the other Factoryes are to take care of and to transmitt the Same into England; also they are to advize the Names of their friends in England that may give Security here

according to Custome, And in Case any should Come to that degree before he be of the full age of twenty-one years, Care is to be taken by the said Agents and Chiefs that his Covenants be renewed when he shall have attayned that Age.

14. We think it not Convenient that any person should be of Our Councell att the Fort or other Factoryes, but such as are in places of trust, And We intend Our Councell at the Fort should consist of six persons, *vizt.*, The Agent first, the Booke keeper second, the Warehouse keeper third, the Choutry Justice fourth, the Mint Master fifth, and the Purser generall or pay Master Sixt.

15. Our Councell at Metchlepatam and Huglie We intend should consist of four persons, *Vizt.*, The Chief first, the booke keeper second, the Warehouse keeper third, Purser Generall or pay master fourth.

16. Our Councell at the Subordinate Factories to Consist of three, *Vizt.*, The Chief first, the Booke keeper second, the Warehouse keeper third.

17. The Chiefs of Metchlepatam and the Bay, when they shall be at the Fort, are to take the fourth place in Councell, and when they shall be both there together, then to take place of one another according to their Seniority in Degree.

18. The Chief of Medapollam when at Metchlepatam to have the third place in Councell.

19. The Chiefs of Cassambazar, Pattana and Decca when at Huglie to have place in Councell next the Second and of one another according to their Seniority in degrees.

20. In case of the Death of the Agent at the Fort, the Second there is to succeed unless there be perticuler order from Us to the Contrary.

21. In case of the death of the Chiefs of Metchlepatam or the Bay, the fourth, fifth or sixth in Councell at the Fort, which of them the Agent and Councell shall find most fitt and Capacitated for Our Service in the said place, shall be sent downe and Succeede in the place of the deceased.

22. When there is a want of any person to be of Councell at the Fort by Death or Removeall, then the second at Metchlepatam or the Bay, whose it is by Seniority, shall be

called to the Fort and take his place youngest of the Councell.

23. When by death or remooveall there is a vacancy of a Second att Metchlepatam, then the Chief of Medapollam to have the place of Second att Metchlepatam and the third at Metchlepatam to be Chief of Medapollam, the fourth at Metchlepatam to rise to be third, and the next Senior Marchant or Factor that shall be amongst theis at the Fort or Metchlepatam to be appointed to be fourth of Councell in Metchlepatam, and soe from time to time on any vacancy, the Senior Marchant or Factor at the Fort and Metchlepatam to succeed in Councell at Metchlepatam.

24. When by death or remoovall of the second at Huglie there is a vacancy, then One of the Chiefs of Casambazar Pattana, or Dacca, he of them who is the Senior in degree, shall be second at Huglie, and he that was third at Huglie to be Chief in his roome, and the fourth at Huglie to be third, and the vacant place in the Councell at Huglie to be filled up by the Senior in degree or Factory that shall be found at the Fort or the Bay.

25. You are to take a perfect List of all Our Apprentices, Writers, Factors and Merchants, reducing them under their Severall degrees in their due Seniority, expressing their present imployments, the time when they arrived in India in Our Service, the present Sallaryes they stand at, and send the said List to Us with a perticuler account of their abilityes and capacityes for Our Service and of their deportment in their Lives and conversations, as also your opinion which of them may be the fittest persons to Settle for our Councell in the Several Factories, and then We shall take resolution and settle Our said Councells, which being once well setled, for the future they are to be Supplyed in their Succession by the Rules before Specified, unless any person shall misbehave himselfe and so render himselfe unworthy of advancement.

26. You are to inquire what care is taken for the getting in of the Estates of Such of Our Servants as dye within the precincts of your Agency, and by what rule or Authority and on what reason and ground Our Purser Generall or paymaster

takes upon him to deduct five per cent. or any other Sume out of such Estates for the getting in or Registring the same, and whether the same is taken on the whole Estate or only on the Nett Estate after debts and charges deducted, as alsoe whether it hath not bin Customary that some part of what was so taken for registring was usually appropriated to the Poore of the Hospitall of Poplar, and to advise us the perticulers.

27. Though Wee have not thought fitt to Authorize Our Agent and councell to putt any person out of Councell that We have appointed of the Councell, Yet in case any of our Councell should prove unfaithfull to Us, either in discovering of Our Affaires to Our Enemies, or otherwise conspire against Us to defraud or betray Us, or become guilty of any fact accounted criminall, as Murder, theft, Rape, Blasphemy, or the like, In such cases the matter plainely appearing to Our Agent and Councell, or the most part of them, they may and ought to suspend such person from the Councell, or put him in Prison according to the Nature of the Offence.

28. All Transactions of buying and selling and all other Our Affaires are to be resolved and concluded in Councell, to which purpose you are to keepe dayly or frequent consultations and to take care that the Secretary do dayly and truely register all things in the Booke of Consultations, the Copy whereof is every yeare to be transmitted to Us.

29. Our Marchants, Factors, Writers and Apprentizes are to be imployed in Our Affaires as the Agent and Councell shall direct (unless they receave other speciall directions from Us), And they are not to be debarred or kept from the sight of Our Bookes and affaires in the severall Offices and places unto which they shall be appointed, But are to be imployed in the transactions of all affaires, thereby to trayne them up and to render them more capable of Our service, unless any of them shall be found unfaithfull or debauced; In such case Our Agent and Councell may deale with them according to the nature of their Offence or otherwise suspend them.

30. All Our Marchants, Factors, Writers and apprentices are, with the severall Factories (*sic*), to Live within the Companies house or Factorie, Save only at the Fort, where We have a

garrison and the Towne under Our Government, the Agent and Councell there may permitt such as they shall thinke fitt to reside in Our Towne of Madraspatam. But not else where.[1]

31. No English men but such as are in the Companies Service are to be permitted to reside in any part of India under your Agency, But only at Our Fort St. George and towne of Madraspatam.

32. Wee conceive it inconvenient for Our Service that any of our Factors or Servants should take farmes or rent any dutyes of the Great Mogull, King of Golcundah, or any other Prince in those Countreys or their Ministers, whereby they may be subjected to those arbitrary powers and Our Estate under their managdement hazarded.

33. Therefore you are to inquire if any such thing be, and Our Agent and Councell, or Our Chiefs and Councell where such reside, are to send for such person or persons and admonish them as soone as they can to discharge themselves of such ingagements, and for the future not to intermeddle in that Nature.

34. All possible care is to be taken to prevent any English out of Our Ships or otherwise from entring into the Service of the King of Golcundah or any other Prince in those Countreys, in regard when they are once entred, it is difficult for them to gett off and thereby they become Lost as to the Nation.

35. No English man, whether Freeman or in Our Service, are to be permitted to build or buy houses but only where We have a Garrison and the Sole Government.

36. *Fourthly.* You are with care and industry to endeavor by all waies and meanes to promote the vending of Europe comodities in the parts of India, Especially of Our English manufactures, and you are with like care and industry to indeavour the procuring of Callicoes and other India goods on the best and cheapest terms; in order whereto, We think it no

[1] On the 28th November, 1671, at a Court of Committees, it was 'Resolved that 15 Rupees a month be allowed to such of the Companies Factors on the Coast, whose wives are with them, for their board wages, they being neither to lodge nor diet at the Companys house: And that the rest of the Factors that are unmarried doe diet at the Companys table, and have noe board wages allowed them.' *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 192.

way convenient that Verona[1] or any other one Man should be the sole Marchant to Sell, buy and provide, for from thence many inconveniences may arise, as Wee have found by experience; therefore you are to seeke out Such able and fitt Marchants from time to time to buy Our Europe Goods and to contract withall for Callicoes and other Indian Goods, that you may with greater advantage and most Security vend the One and procure the other, by making them to emulate and vye one upon another.

37. *Fifthly.* When you shall make any Contract for Callicoes (which is allwaies to be done by Councell), the following Rules are to be observed:

1st. That two peeces be taken for Musters [samples] of every sort of Goods contracted for, and that the same be sealed with the Companies Seale, and that one of theis peeces so sealed be annually sent for England, with Labells annexed, expressing the price contracted for, and the Quantity of peeces bought, and what Number the Bales are wherein each sort is packed.

2dly. That when the Callicoes that are brought unto the Companies warehouse are to be passed according to Musters and Contract, that there be at Least three of the Councell present, whereof the Agent or Chief, or Warehousekeeper, to be one, to veiwe that they be according to Samples, and that under their hands a Retorne be made to the Booke keeper for his justification in entring the same, that is to say, at what price to enter them, whether at the price contracted for, if they be as good or better then the samples, or at a Lower price in proportion to what they are worse then the Samples.

3dly. That the Agent or Chiefs take Care that at such time of generall veiwe all Our Marchants, Factors, as well as Writers, or as many as can with convenience, be called to veiwe the goods bought, that thereby they may gaine Knowledge in the Companies concerns and skill in the goods.

38. You are also to endeavour by all meanes so to order it that our Callicoes be carefully packed. That all in a bale be of one sort, as neere of a goodness as is possible.

39. *Sixthly.* You are perticulerly to take care that such fitt

[1] Kāsi Vīranna, the Company's chief merchant at Madras.

and sortable goods be sent for Bantam as shall from time to time be advised you from Our Agent and Councell there.

40. And that the said goods be well bought and not overrated, We have ordred Our Auditor to give you extracts of some of the Letters from Bantam complayning of what hath bin formerly sent. And We hope you will by your care in that Affaire prevent the like complaints for the future, and thereby render that trade more profitable to Us.

41. *Seventhly.* In order to the advance of the trade of Our Towne of Madraspatam, We recomend unto you:—

1st. To cause Justice impartially to be administred to all, thereby to induce people to Inhabite Our said Towne.

2dly. To countenance and incourage all Marchants that shall come there to trade from other parts of India, by permitting them a free Markett and a Civill treatment, they paying the Customes and dutyes established. It hath bin a very great hindrance to the Trade of Our said Towne that some have heretofore ingrossed the trade to themselves and not permitted any but what hath passed through their owne hands.

3dly. To consider whether the Trade of Our said Towne may not be further advanced by Lesning the Customs, and yet the Revenue Maintayned and encreased by Laying Some Small or Moderate imposition of (*sic*) Liquors, Tobacco or other Comoditys, on the Consumption or otherwaies, So as may not be burdensome to the People.

4thly. To examine the Title by which We hold the said Towne, and whether all the houses therein ought not to pay some small rent by way of acknowledgment to Us, as Lords of the place, and if so, that Our Agent and Councell do, upon Serious Considerations, Sett such a Small Quitt Rent as may not disgust or discontent the Inhabitants thereof.

5thly. To take Care that the Customes and dutyes setled there and [? are] duely and indifferently Levied and a due account and Register kept thereof, in which account is to be expressed at what rate and vallew the same is taken.

6thly. To take a perticuler inspection into the Mint to find out any abuses therein, and to settle the same in Such a way as may be most for Our advantage. And so as We may have

a just account thereof, you may examine if there be not a greater advantage in Coyning Fanams then in Coyning of Pagodes, and if so, that as many of that Sort, as is agreeable to Justice and Equity, be coyned, Keeping a due proportion with others.

7thly. To consider whether it would not be a great advantage to Us and Our said Towne if a Phirmaund [*farmān*] could be procured from the King of Golcondah to authorise Us to Coyne Rupees and Pice, and in Case it shall by Our Agent and Councell on examination be judged soe, and that it may be obteyned without too great a charge, We have written to Our Agent and Councell to endeavour to effect the same.

8thly. To inquire what the Revenue of the Towne hath bin to Us for theis Last seven yeares, and what it is now, and send Us a perticuler thereof, and you may propose to Us what other wayes and meanes may be used to encrease the same.

9thly. Touching private trade, which Wee indulge to Our Factors and Servants, which We deliver you herewith Our printed paper of Rules of the 16 November, 1674,[1] and upon your desire Wee have further enlarged the same, giving Liberty to all Our Factors and Servants at the Fort and under your Agency to trade in any Commodity to or from Fort St. George to any port or places in the East Indies to the Northward of the Equator, except to Tonqueene and Formosa, they conforming in other matters to the Rules and directions appointed by Our printed Indulgence of the 16 November aforesaid, and Registring their goods from time to time accordingly.

42. We having thus given so great a Liberty, We hope that all our Factors and Servants will keepe within the Rules, and not be so disingenious and unfaithfull as to intermeddle with any trade We have prohibited. We expect from you and all of Our Servants that you use all endeavors to prevent and discover any private trade that is beyond or contrary to the Indulgence by Us granted, and to advize Us the perticulers of what you shall discover, with the names of the persons so tradeing Contrary to Our Rules.

43. Wee herewith also deliver you the Printed Indulgence

[1] See *ante*, p. 195.

made the 2d of October, 1675, granted to such of the Owners, Comanders and Seamen of the Ships that are entertayned in Our Service,[1] and do require you, as much as in you Lyes, to hinder, prevent and discourage all private [trade] by them contrary to Our Said Indulgence, and to advize Us from time to time what you discover and to send Us the best proofes you can thereof.

44. *Eighthly.* Though the Chiefs and Councell at the Bay are ordred to Correspond with Us directly, yet Wee have also required them to send duplicates of all to Our Agent and Councell at the Fort, And Wee do expect from and require you carefully from time to time to peruse and examine the same, and to write to Us what they [? you] doe observe therein to bee transacted prejuditiall to Our Service, and how they [? you] Conceave Our Affaires might have bin acted more to Our advantage. Our Agent and Councell are also to write unto them their thoughts thereupon for their better proceedings in future.

45. *Ninthly.* We have setled a Freight of thirty shillings per Tonn for all goods that shall be carryed on Our Ships from the Fort or Metchlepatam to the Bay, and £3 per tonn for all goods that shall be brought on Our Ships from the Bay to Metchlepatam or the Fort,[2] which freight you are to take care may be duely receaved, and an Account thereof transmitted unto Us; and you are not to permitt the Comanders or Ships Company to carry up and downe and from the Bay more then their allowed proportion of five tonnes per hundred tonns, according to Charterparty, without paying the aforesaid freight or advizing Us thereof, that We may put it to their account.

46. Notwithstanding Wee have setled this Freight, yet Wee perticulerly recommend to you that by no meanes Our Ships may be deteyned or hindred from proceeding on their Voyage, on pretence of taking in any goods on freight, for that might be more prejuditiall to Our concerns then ten times the freight

[1] The 'Indulgence to be given to the Commanders and Mariners' was approved at a Court of Committees, held on the 1st October, 1675. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 172.

[2] See *ante*, p. 195.

might amount unto; And we do expect from you, that Our interest and advantage be principally and in the first place minded, and not hazarded for any private concerne Whatever.

47. Wee have, on the apprehension of your abillityes and confidence of your sincere actings for Our Service, given you the Encouragement to settle your Sallary att £300 per annum, to commence from your arrivall in India, untill such time as you shall enter on the Agency, in January, 1677 [1678], or sooner, if it shall soe happen by the Death or removeall of Sir William Langhorne; And Wee have setled on you the same Sallary, from your commencement as Agent, that Wee gave to Sir William Langhorne, *vizt.*, £200 per ann. Sallary and £100 per annum gratuity.

48. And Wee have entertayned Nathaniell Wetham in the degree of a Writer for five yeares, at £10 per annum Sallary, Whom We designe to bee under you for your assistance in your perticuler concerns, so he may in his time, as he shall behave himselfe, rise in degree, according as others in Our Service,[1] and Wee have also entertayned John Lodge, who is to attend your person and is to be accounted as a Souldier and to receave Souldiers pay.

49. And for your further incouragement, upon your request, Wee have granted you permission[2] to Lade fifteen Tonns of goods for your owne account on Ships from the Fort or Metchlepatam downe to the Bay, and from the Bay back to Metchlepatam without paying any Freight for the same; provided that the Lading of the said Goods at One or the other place do not in the Least hinder or detard Our Ships from proceeding on their voyages, as We have recommended

[1] On the 3rd November, 1675, 'Mr. Streynsham Master moving the Court for leave to carry out with him one Nathaniel Whetham in quality of a writer, and also another as a serving-man; It is ordered that the said Nathaniel Whetham be entertained in the Companys service as a writer at the salary of 10 *li.* per annum, and to take place after the writers already in the Companys service in India, and that he attend the particular directions and employment of Mr. Master. And it is also ordered, that it be written to the Agent and Councel at the Fort that Mr. Master have leave to choose any one of the Soldiers to attend him as a serving-man.' *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 183.

[2] The 'priviledges' detailed in this paragraph were granted on the 8th December, 1675. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 197.

unto you in the preceding Paragraph. Wee have also, at your request, granted you to send home upon Our Ships for England yearely, consigned to Us, the quantity of two Tonns of India Goods not prohibited, you paying the same freight as We are to doe by Charterparty; The reason you gave us to induce Us to grant you this priviledge was that you intended to improve it by finding out such goods in India as have not bin usually heretofore sent for England, that Wee might, by the tryall of them on your hazard, if they prooved proffitable, make them Our owne Commodityes. And this gives Us incouragement to expect a benefitt in the future upon your endeavors therein, as Wee doe upon Our whole trade, from your Experience, Industry and faithfullness, if it shall please the Lord to preserve you in health, and Vouchsafe his blessing to your Indeavors, without which nothing can succeed; And therefore to his gracious Protection and guidance Wee committ you and all your Affaires.

50. And this our Commission and Instructions, you are to produce to Our Agent and Councell at Fort St. George, and also to our Chiefs and Councell at other Factories, as soone as you shall arrive at the said Fort and Factories, to the end the same may forthwith be publiquely read at the said Fort and other Factories, according as We have written to Our Agent and Councell in Our Generall Letter. *Dated at the East India house this 16th day of December*, 1675.

NATHANIELL HERNE, GOVR. ROBERT THOMSON, DEPTY. SAM. BERNARDISTON. JOHN MOORE. THO. PAPILLON. JOHN MORDEN. CHRISTOPHER BOONE. JNO. JOLLYFFE. NATH. LETTON. JOHN BATHURST. SAM. MOYER. JOHN BANKES. BERKELY. JOHN LAURENCE. JA. EDWARDS. ARTHUR INGRAM. JNO. LETHULIER. JOSIAH CHILDE. RICH. HUTCHINSON. MICH. DAVISON.

MR. STREYNSHAM MASTER, DECLARATION TOUCHING HIS SERVICE. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 203.

22th December, 1675.—Upon the desire of Mr. Streynsham Master, who was formerly employed as the Companys Factor

at Surratt in the East Indies, The Court were pleased to declare, That they have received good satisfaction of his just and upright dealing in the management of their affairs during his continuance in the Companys service, And that, having adjusted his accompts, they have ordered his Covenants and bonds to be delivered up to be cancelled.

The Committees for the treasury were desired to affix the Companys large seal to the Commission that is ingrossed for Streynsham Master Esq. to be Agent and Governor at Fort St. George.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN MATHEW CROVER[1] OF THE *MARY* AND THE COMMANDERS OF THE *EAGLE*, *FALCON*, *SURATT MERCHANT* AND *JOHANNA*. *Letter Book*, vol. v., pp. 240-242.

London, 24th December, 1675.—Captain Mathew Crover, We having freighted your ship the *Mary*, which We have designed for the Coast and Bantam,[2] as also the *Eagle*, Captain Boneele,[3] the *Falcon*, Captain Stafford, the *Suratt Marchant*, Captain Johnson and the *Johanna*, Captain Bendall, for the Coast and Bay, We therefore order that you use your utmost endeavor for the getting your Ship into the Downes and from thence with the first oppertunity, as Wind and weather will permitt, of Saileing together as far as the Island of St. Jago (steering at the least 30 Leagues to the Westward of the Maderaes to avoide Turks and other Pirates that usually Lye about those Islands and had like to have Surprized one of Our Ships the Last yeare). And if you shall obteyne a quick passage to St. Jago,[4] so as you judge you may timely gaine the Coast of Chormandell, that then you keepe Company together, and if it shall be So early as that you thinke it Safe to goe within Madagascar and through the eight degree Channell,[5] that then you Saile together to the Coast [of Coromandel], but in Case you shall be delayed

[1] In 1668 Matthew Crover had commanded the *Castle Friggatt*, sent by the Company to Fort St. George. *Letter Book*, vol. iv., p. 193.

[2] On the north-east of Java, where the Company had a factory.

[3] Elsewhere the name is given as Bonnell.

[4] Santo Jago or Santiago, chief island of the Cape Verd group.

[5] The passage between the Maldive Islands and Minicoy.

by Contrary Windes on the Coast of England, so as you judge the Sayling together may retard your Voyadge and hinder your timely arrival at the Fort, so as to proceed to Bantam Seasonably, Then you are to make the best of your Way, although you Saile by your Selfe; and if you doe find, when you are beyond the Cape, that the time of the yeare is so farr Spent that it will be too Late to go within St. Lawrence,[1] that then you doe Sayle without all, which We have observed in such cases at that Season to be the most Certayne and shortest passage, and So, by the best of your endeavors, to gaine the Coast as Soone as you can, and being there arrived, Deliver Our Packquett to, and follow such Orders and Directions for your Dispatch to Bantam as you shall receave from, our Agent and Councell.

And in regard Mr. Master is entertayned by Us in a Considerable imployment and intended to be Our Agent, embarqued on the *Eagle*, We order that she weare the Flagg, Captain John Stafford, Vice admirall, and you, Captain Crover, Reere Admirall, being the Senior Commander. But if Mr. Master shall upon any occasion change his ship, that Ship is to weare the Flagg, and in all Consultations he is to Preside in Councell; And in regard of theis troublesome times, as We would have you in perticuler to keepe your Ship in a good posture of defence during the whole Voyage, So also that you agree together for your mutuall defence in Case you should be attackqued by an Enemy; for, take notice, though We have given you directions to Saile Singly, if belated, for gayning your Passage, yet We would much rather have you keepe Company together to the Fort.

When you are dispatched from the Fort, if, upon Consultation with your officers, you shall find it most Convenient for the Safety of your Ship and Goods and health of your men in your Voyadge to Bantam to pass through the streights of Malacca, We permitt it, but expressly forbid you to touch at Jambe,[2] Palimban[3] or any other port betweene the Fort and Bantam.

We desire you to keepe up the Worship of God aboard your ship, good Orders amongst your men, that Our Rules be observed

[1] The Portuguese name for Madagascar.
[2] Jambi, on the east of Sumatra. [3] Palambang, on the same island.

by you and your Company, and that you use your utmost endeavors as to your Speedy passage Outward, So for your Quick Dispatch both at [the] Coast and Bantam for your retorne for England. And when you shall come back to St. Helena, We require you to keepe Company with as many of Our Ships as you Can, staying ten Dayes there to encrease your Number, and if Any shall arrive in that time, to stay while they are fitted; and for your better defence to associate your Selves together, and agree how to governe your Selves, in Case you should meete with an Enimy, rancking your Selves in Squadrons according to the Seniority of Comanders. So, commending you to the Protection of the Almighty, praying for a prosperous Voyadge and happy Retorne, We remaine, Your loving friends, NATH: HEARNE, GOVR. [&ca.]

Letters of the like Contents were sent to the rest of the five Comanders, except what related to Bantam.

THE DIARY OF STREYNSHAM MASTER

ILLUSTRATED BY CONTEMPORARY PAPERS

[AUTHOR'S TITLE]

A DIARY KEPT BY STREYNSHAM MASTER

IN HIS INSPECTION OF THE FACTORYES OF METCHLEPATAM AND THE BAY OF BENGALE, AND REGULATING THE SAME

BEGUN IN LONDON, DECEMBER 24, 1675
CLOSED IN FORT ST. GEORGE, JANUARY 27, 1676-77

A DIARY[1] KEPT BY STREYNSHAM MASTER IN THE EXECUTION OF COMMISSIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN UNTO HIM BY THE HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF LONDON TRADEING TO THE EAST INDIES, TO REGULATE THEIR AFFAIRS IN THE FACTORYS OF METCHLEPATAM, AND IN THE BAY OF BENGALA, AND TO SUCCEED SIR WILLIAM LANGHORN IN THEIR AGENCY ATT FORT ST. GEORGE

The Voyage to India.

London, Anno Domini 1675.

December 24, *Fryday.*—I Received the Commission, ingrossed in Parchment under the Large Seale, from the hands of Sir Nathaniel Herne,[2] the Governour, in the Court of Committee, who was pleased, among other matters he spake to me, to mind me of the favours and respects the Court had obliged me with, and in returne thereof expected that I should be more then ordinary Zealous in their service. In my Reply, I acknowledged myself highly obliged to the honourable Court for many signal favours, and that I was bound by Covenants to serve them truely and faithfully, and, which was more, by the sacred obligation of an Oath, which by Gods blessing and assistance I would performe, But Requested this favour, that if, during my Imployment, there should come any Informations against me, The Honourable Court would be pleased to suspend their

[1] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xiv. (*India Office Records*). Preceding the Diary is the Author's Index (eleven pages) and his 'List of Writings entered at the end of the Diary.'

[2] Deputy-Governor of the Court of the East India Company, 1672-74; Governor, 1674-76.

Judgment, and not Censure me untill they should allsoe receive my defence or answer thereunto. To which the Governour was pleased to Reply, That the Court in such cases did use to send such Informations back to India to the partys concerned there to be examined.

This Evening I received from the Secretary[1] the other Commission and Instructions, which are signed by the Governour and Committee, together with all the Papers Relating thereunto, and other papers from the Auditor.

December 27, *Monday*.—I tooke Coach at London to go to Canterbury.

AT LANGDON,[2] DEALE, 1675-6.

January 2.—I Received the Honourable Companys Packett for the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George by Mr. John Bonnell,[3] Purser of the *Loyall Eagle*, which was directed to myselfe, with the following letter from Mr. John Ken,[4] *vizt.*

Sir, Herewith goes the Companys Packett for the Fort St. George, sent open, by the Governours order, for your perusall. Soe, Committing you and your affaires to the guidance and protection of the Almity, I am, Sir, your humble Servant to Command, JOHN KEN. *London*, 30 *December*, 1675.

List of Writings by the Ship Eagle for Fort St. George. Letter Book, vol. v., p. 207.

1. Copie of the Article [treaty] with the Dutch in Latin and English.
2. Auditors objections to the Fort Accounts.
3. Perticuler of Wine, mum [beer made from malt of wheat], &ca. sent on the five ships by permission.
4. Perticuler of Bullyon sent on the five ships by permission.
5. Mate Woolters affidavit [about goods purchased by John Davis].
6. Directions about the Goods now laden.

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[1] Robert Blackborne, elected 23rd April, 1674, at a salary of £200 per annum. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix.

[2] East Langdon was the family residence of the Master family. Richard Master, the father of Streynsham, died in 1669.

[3] John Bonnell, only son of James Bonnell, Captain of the *Loyall Eagle*, became commander of the *Chandos*, on the death of his father, in 1685.

[4] First Assistant to the Auditor, elected in March, 1674, at a salary of £50 per annum. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxviii., fol. 209.

7. Copie of the Companys last Overland Letter to the Fort.
8. Companys Generall Letter to the Agent and Councell.
9. Invoyce of goods now laden.
10. Bill of Loading.
11. List of passengers and Souldiers.
12. Covenant for English freemen in India.
13. Copie of Charterparty.
14. A paper of Freights to be taken in India.
15. Companys Generall Letter to the Bay.
16. Mr. [Robert] Coles account.
17. List of Goods wanting in Bales and Chests from the Bay.
18. Copie of the Captains dispatch.
19. List of the Companys Tonnadge.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

January 5.—The four Ships following arrived in the Downs, *vizt.*, 1 the *Loyall Eagle*, Captain James Bonnell Commander.[1] 2 the *Falcon*, Captain John Stafford, Commander.[2] 3 the *Surratt Merchant*, Captain Francis Johnson, Commander.[3] 4 the *Johanna*, Captain Hope-for Bendall, Commander.[4]

January 7, Fryday.—Upon a letter from Captain Bonnell that

[1] Captain James Bonnell returned from a voyage to Bantam in the *Loyall Eagle* in March, 1675, and his ship was immediately tendered 'to the Companies further service.' She was re-entertained on the 20th August, 1675, 'for the Coast and Bay.' In 1684 Captain James Bonnell commanded the *Chandos*, sent by the Company to Madras and Bengal. He arrived at Balasor in August, 1685, and died there on the 3rd October following. *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 113; vol. xxxiv., fols. 63, 248; *O.C.*, No. 5407; *Factory Records, Balasor*, vol. i.

[2] The *Falcon*, under Captain Seaman, was sent to Surat in 1670, and on her homeward voyage in May, 1672, was captured by a Dutch privateer off the Lizard (see *ante*, pp. 2, 192). In 1673, the vessel was purchased from the Dutch, and again tendered to the Company, who sent her to Surat in 1674 under Captain John Stafford. On his return from the voyage related in the text, Captain Stafford again took the *Falcon* to Madras and Bengal, and in August, 1678, successfully navigated the Hugli River, and anchored 'before the factory.' *Court Minutes*, vol. xxv*a*., fol. 90; vol. xxviii., fols. 32-37, 51, 134; *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. i.

[3] Captain Francis Johnson had already made two voyages for the Company in the *Suratt Merchant*, in 1671, and again in 1674. In February, 1674, he was 'admonished' by the Court 'for his high and Imperious Carriadge to his Men.' *Court Minutes*, vol. xxv*a*., fols. 91, 119.

[4] The *Johanna*, under Captain Hope-for Bendall, had sailed to Madras and Bengal in 1672. She was re-entertained for the Company's service on the 25th August, 1675. She returned to England in August, 1677, and in 1680 was sent to Surat. After 1681 I have failed to trace the ship or her commander. *O.C.*, Nos. 3671, 4714; *Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 444; vol. vi., p. 186; *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 148.

the wind was faire and inclined to hold so, I returned answer that I would be at Deale to morrow in the forenoone, and therefore desired that the Captains of the other Ships might be together with him, that wee might there advise about our Saileing without the *Mary*.[1]

January 8.—Upon an express, which this day came from the Honourable Company, with orders to the Captains of the four Ships in the Downes to Saile immediately without the *Mary*, the said Captains went on board their respective Ships and myselfe aboard the *Eagle*, and this evening sett Saile.

Wee heard the *Mary* was in Margett Road.

January 10.—Captain Bonnell invited the other three Commanders on board the *Eagle*, where they together (as he told me) agreed upon the signes for their sailing in Consortship.

January 19.—Haveing this day had very foule weather in the Bay of Bisca, about ten a Clock at night the *Eagles* maineyard broke, whereupon the Captain fired some gunns for the other Ships to stay for us.

January 28.—Wee came in sight of the Iland Porto Santo[2] and sailed to the eastward of it.

January 29.—Wee came in sight of the Maderas and sailed to the eastward therof.

January 31.—This day by accompt wee passed by the Cannary Islands, but were soe far to the eastward of them that wee made them not.

February 3, *Thursday*.—Wee passed the Tropick of Cancer.

February 6.—Wee came in sight of the St. Mayo[3] and Lay by all night.

February 8.—This morneing (God be praised), all the four Ships arrived in St. Jago, the *Falcon* and the *Surratt Merchant* haveing in their passage hither lost a man over board out of each ship, and in the bad wheather the *Falcon* crackt her foretopmast. In this place wee found rideing a small Vessell belonging to the Barbadoes, and a great Dutch Ship called the *Armes of the*

[1] The *Mary*, Captain Crover, was 'designed for the Coast and Bantam.' See *ante*, p. 217.

[2] The island lies twenty-six miles north-east of Madeira.

[3] Mayo or Maio, one of the Cape Verd Islands.

Province of Utricht,[1] bound to East India, who saluted every one of our Ships as they passed by.

February 9.—The said Dutch Ship, bound for India, sett Saile.

February 10, *Thursday*.—A Dutch Fly-boate [fast sailing vessel] came in, bound to Surynam.

February 11.—Captaine Bonnell called the Commanders of the other Ships on board the *Eagle*, where they, together with myselfe, consulted and concluded as followeth :—

1st. That the Ships should stay in this place untill Munday the 14th instant, the better to refresh our men, and in hope that the *Mary*[2] may by that time arrive and goe hence in our Company.

2d. That wee should write a Gennerall Letter to the Honourable Company, therein advising of what hath passed hitherto, and that wee resolved from hence to keep Company, and to goe within St. Lawrance, finding [it] most agreeable to the Companys orders in the Captains dispatches, which were now read.

3dly. If it should soe happen that the ships should be parted in the Tornadoes and one should arrive at Johanna[3] before another, that the first comes there should stay a fortnight for the others.

February 12.—This day came in a small English Pinck,[4] called the *little Edward*, from Terseras,[5] with wine, Brandy, Biskett and flower, out of which wee furnished our selves with some Fyall[6] wine.

February 14. This eveneing, about Sunsett, all the four Ships

[1] This must be the ship which De Graaf calls the *Evêché d'Utrecht*. She separated from the rest of the Dutch fleet, and put in at the Cape Verd Islands to refresh her invalids in February, 1676. *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, p. 81.

[2] The *Mary* was detained in the Downs by contrary winds until the end of January, 1676. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1675-76, pp. 526, 527.

[3] One of the Comoro Islands, famous as a resort of pirates in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[4] A small sea-going ship. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the term was applied to ships of considerable size, especially war-ships. See Murray, *Oxford English Dictionary*, *s.v.* Pink.

[5] Terceira, one of the Azores.

[6] Fayal Island, the westernmost of the central group of the Azores, gave its name to the wine which was principally produced on Pico Island. See Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, vol. ii., p. 579.

sett saile from St Jago, haveing had refreshment of water, fruite, hens at 12d. a piece, Hoggs at 2 and 2½ marked dollars, and Cattle,[1] which are but small, at 7 marked[2] dollars a peice.

The Letter to the Company was wrote in Duplicates, one whereof was delivered aboard the *Little Edward* to goe to the Maderaes, the other on board the Dutch Flyboate to Surynam. A Coppy of which Letter followeth:—May it Please your Honours, After our due respects in all submissive manner tendred. These are to tender an account of our passage from England to this Island St. Jago. In obedience to your Commands, received by your express on Sunday the 8th of January, for these four ships to saile without the *Mary* (which wee heard was in Margett Roade, but came not into the Downs whilest wee were there), Wee repaired on board our respective ships, and that eveneing came to saile with that faire and fresh gale of wind which continued not long with us, for that wee had much to doe to gett cleare of the Channell, and being out, mett with very hard and Contrary winds and bad wheather, by which some of our ships suffered dammage, soe that the *Falcon* cracked her foretopmast, and the 19th January at night the *Eagle* broke her maineyard, but all is very sufficiently repaired againe, and it pleased God that the wind came about favourablely for us, soe that the 28th January wee came in sight of Porto Santo, and the 29th of the Maderas, but passed by to the eastward of them, the winds hanging soe westwardly that we could not comply with that part of your orders of sailing to the westward of those Islands. From thence it pleased God to send us a faire wind, which continued with us untill we came to these Cape Verde Islands, sailing to the westward of the Cannarys soe far that wee made none of them, which wee passed, by account, the 31 January. The 3 February we passed the Tropick of Cancer. The 6 wee came in Sight of the Ile of Mayo, when our fair wind left us, and the 8th, by Gods blessing, wee arrived in safety and all in Company to this place, where wee

[1] 'Cattle must be paid for in Spanish Dollars [at St. Jago].' Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 17.

[2] *Viz.*, marked with the value: 8 R. = 8 reals, 'pieces of eight,' 'reals of eight.'

found a small Barbadoes man rideing, and a great Dutch Ship, the *Armes of the Province of Utrecht*, bound for East India, who arrived here the 5th Instant, and sayes he was of the Fleet that sailed from the Downes the day before us, but lost Company with his consorts in the bad wheather of Cape Finisterra, excepting one who parted with him amonge these Islands.[1] This Ship sailed hence the 9th Instant, and the 10th came in a Dutch Flyboate bound to Surinam. The 12th came in an English Pinck, called the *Little Edward*, from Terseras, intended hence to Maderas, and soe to Barbadoes and Jamaica, by which, and the Dutch Flyboate to Surynam, wee send these our advices. And yesterday, being the 13th Instant, came in a Dutch boate with twelve men. The Skipper, by name Cornelious Swarver, gave us an account that he was in a flyboate called the *St. Lawrence*, of about 400 Tonns, 48 men (of which 25 souldiers), bound to Cape Bona Esperanca, Laden with Stores and Provisions, as Brick, Lime, Cables, Anchors, wine, oyle &c., and came out with the rest of the Fleet bound for India, and the 12th Instant, new Stile, being in Company with the *Breill*, one of the said Fleet, they judging themselves neare to these Islands, it being night, lay by, and were set soe neare to the shoare of Bonavista,[2] that, though they spyed it, yett could not claw it off, soe were cast away, five men lost. Eleven went from that place bound to Barbadoes in a Bristow [Bristol] Ship, and twenty he left there on the Island, the Inhabitants being very courteous to them after they came on shoare, but saved little that was in the ship. The other ship, the *Briell*, that was in his Company, gott off safe, but with some difficulty.[3] He sayes this Fleet consisted of ten saile, of which eight great ships, one small Pinck, and this Fly-boate, which was freighted only to the Cape; the others were all on the Companyes proper accompt.

Wee have spent the more time in this place, in Expectation

[1] According to De Graaf, the *Asia* was the 'Admiral' of the Dutch fleet, and the *Makassar* was the ship which put into the Cape Verd Islands, with the *Evêché d'Utrecht*, for refreshment. *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, pp. 81, 83.

[2] One of the Cape Verd Islands.

[3] The *Brille* arrived at the Cape on the 5th May, and the *Utrecht* on the previous day. De Graaf, *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, pp. 81, 83.

that our Consort, the *Mary*, might come in and accompany us from hence; but hitherto she doth not appeare, and wee think it not convenient to stay longer, but intend to saile this day, and by Gods permission resolve to keep Company together, and to goe within St. Lawrance, finding it most sutable to your Orders soe to doe, now that we are soe forward in the yeare, unlesse, at our comeing to the Cape, wee shall think fitt to alter our present Resolutions, our Ships sailing soe equally, that, by our observations hitherto, wee shall not loose soe much time in keeping Company as may incline us to seperate.

Commending your Honours, your Affaires, and ourselves to the Allmightyes protection, wee subscribe, Your most humble Servants, STRYNSHAM (*sic*) MASTER; JAMES BONNELL; JOHN STAFFORD; FRANCIS JOHNSON; HOPEFOR BENDALL. *On board the ship Eagle in St. Jago Roade, February* 14*th*, 1675-6.

February 26.—Wee passed the Equinoctiall line.

March 21.—Passed the Tropick of Capricorne, haveing small winds ever since wee crost the line.

March 23.—Wee lost a youth over board.

Aprill 3.—The *Johanna* lost a man over board out of her fortopp.

Aprill 13.—Being 35 degrees South Latitude, wee had bad weather last night, and this day missed the *Falcon*, and fell in Company with a Dutch ship.

Aprill 15.—Wee lost Company of the Dutch Ship the last night, and this day mett with the *Falcon* againe.

Aprill 20, *Thursday*.—Wee mett with a Ship just come about the Cape homeward bound, but she would not Speake with us nor shew any Collours.

Aprill 22.—Wee made the Cape land, but had noe Soundings.

Aprill 24.—Wee Sailed over the Banck,[1] but did not sound upon it.

May 1.—being in 30 degrees South latitude, and haveing very faire winds from the Cape to this time, the wind now came

[1] The Cape Bank or Bank of Agulhas. See Horsburgh, *East India Directory*, ed. 1841, vol. i., p. 98.

about to the East and blew soe hard, that for 48 hours we lay atry[1] with our maine Course.

May 6, *Saturday*.—Wee mett with the *Massingbird*, Captain Peter Westlack,[2] homeward bound from Surratt; he came thence the 3rd of February. Wee were now in 34 degrees South latitude and 15 degrees east from the Cape.

May 11.—This evening wee saw a Ship to the westward of us.

May 12.—This day wee could not see the Ship againe.

May 19.—Wee passed the Tropick of Capricorne.

May 20.—Wee made the Island of St. Lawrence before noone, and by night wee reckoned wee passed the rock[3] between it and the maine, haveing a fresh gale of wind. This day one of our men fell overboard, but was taken up againe by the boate, he swimming well. The *Surratt Merchant* and the *Johanna* each of them lost a man overboard this day.

May 22.—Wee saw the Island of St. Christophers[4] in the afternoone.

May 25.—This morneing wee saw the Iland of Mayota and Johanna, and, in the eveneing, the Islands of Commoro and Mohilla, and this night lay by.[5]

ON BOARD THE *LOYALL EAGLE* AT JOHANNA, 1676.

May 26.—About noone, Praysed be God, all four Ships came to an anchor at Johanna.

June 1.—The Queen haveing presented me with a Cow and Goate, I returned her a present of three yards of Broad Cloth, a Pallampose[6] and a Metchlepatam [Masulipatam] Sheet. The Commanders were made Freinds.

June 3.—This day all the four Ships sett saile; haveing small winds they towed out to sea. Att this place we had very good

[1] A term used of a ship in a gale, kept by a judicious balance of canvas with her bows to the sea. See Murray, *Oxford English Dictionary*, *s.v.* atry.

[2] In *Letter Book*, vol. v., this name is given as Wislake and Wislack.

[3] Apparently the Chesterfield Shoal or Bank, with a black rock in the middle. See Horsburgh, *East India Directory*, ed. 1841, vol. i., pp. 218, 219.

[4] Juan de Nova or St. Christopher.

[5] Of the four islands of the Comoro group, Comoro is the largest, Mohilla the smallest, Mayotta the westernmost. Johanna, or Anzuan, was the usual port of call for European ships up to the middle of the nineteenth century.

[6] *Palangposh*, a quilt. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Palempore.

refreshment. Cowes at 2 Rs. of eight [Spanish dollars] each, Goates from halfe to one and halfe pieces of eight, Hens 12 for a piece of eight, Rice 4 mesures for a piece of eight, Cocco nutts 100 for a piece of eight, and wood, water, oranges &c. in the valleys for fetching. All Mexico Dollars pase here. One of our men that broke his thigh a wooding dyed here.

The Commanders and myselfe wrote a Letter in a booke which wee left with Mhynea Shaw [? Mu'ainu'ddīn Shāh], the Prince, the contents of which is entred hereafter. The said Mhynea Shaw shewed us the Coppy of a Letter which he sent to England by his brother in Law, about four monthes since,[1] upon an English Ship, and he now desired that wee would give him a writeing to signifie to all strangers that he had put the Iland under the King of Englands protection, which was not thought Convenient, in respect wee had noe Direction soe to doe; and it is alsoe doubted that such a thing may rather expose these Innocent and naked people to the affronts and abuses of the European nations then answer those ends they propose to themselves.

Coppy of a Letter wrote to the King of England by Mhynea Shaw, the Prince of Johanna.

To the great King Charles the Second, King of Great Britaine, Scottland, France and Ireland, King of Kings and Defender of the Faith.

I looke on your Majesty as my father. Therefore haveing received an abuse from a Danish Ship named *Hope*, Corpen Crimson Writter Commander, the abuse being as followeth: In the yeare 1675 arrived here at the Island of Johanna a French man of war, with whome I made an agreement for to reduce the Island Mohilla to the Government of Johanna, which formerly it was, to the which the Commander of the Frenchman agreed with me for 700 Dollars, that was to say, 400 Dollars in

[1] 'Abdu'llah Shāh, the emissary of the ruler of Johanna, arrived in England in June, 1676. On the 28th of the month, the Court of Committees made a grant of £10 to provide clothes, etc., for 'Abdella Shaw and his two servants.' *Court Minutes*, vol. xxx., fol. 17.

money and 300 dollars in provisions, but, before hee could fitt his ship, in comes another French ship, being a Companys shipp, which did informe the Captain of the Kings ship that he was to make what hast he could and goe for Surratt to convey the merchant men, and soe could not comply with his obligation that he had with me for; soe, in the interim, comes in a Danes ship as above mentioned, belonging to the Danes East India Company, with whome I was forced to make an agreement with him (*sic*), That is to say, the Captain of the Danes ship, and soe was to give him a thousand dollars to goe and reduce the Island of Mohilla to her former Goverment, that was to say, moneys 700 Dollars and 300 Dollars in provisions. Whereupon, he, namely the Danes Captain, did agree. But after some time, the Danes Commander, Commanding all in his power, as he thought he might doe by the greatness of his ship, he then presumed upon higher termes, that was to say, 700 Dollars money, 50 Cowes, 50 Slaves, and 600 measures of rice. To the which I replyed I would not give. Some time after he seized on one of my People, Abdall Shaw ['Abdu'llah Shāh], which man I continually imployed about my bussiness. So the Danes Captain, haveing possession of him, he made mee to pay 800 Dollars in money and 200 in provisions before he would deliver this man Abdall Shaw. Yett, neverthelesse, he would not proceed on his voyage to Mohilla, although he rode in the Roade four monthes after, because it was not the time to goe about the Cape Bona Esperancia. Soe I hope your Majesty will take it into Consideration and give me justice for the great abuse I have received.

In the yeare 1663, my father, being King of this Island, sent then a Letter to your Majesty, that if your Majesty thought fitt to accept of the Iland Johanna, it should be at your Disposall; but since I understand that Letter never came to your Majestys hands, which now, if your Majesty Pleaseth, I doe wholly and will deliver the Islands of Johanna and Mohilla to your Majesty; therefore I hope your Majesty will send to fortifie it against other nations. Soe wishing your Majesty a long and happy reigne &c.

Under it is written as followeth: To all my Countrymen that

shall peruse these lines to incourage them in what you see here written; for this I did write by his order, as likewise carryed one of his men for England on the same account. Sirs, Your Servant,

PHILLIP VARLO, Commander of the Coast.

Letter from the Court of Committees to the Sultan of Johanna, 26th December, 1676. Letter Book, vol. v., p. 394.

The Governour and Company of Merchants of London tradeing to the East Indies, Persia, &c. To the Lord of the Island of Johannah, Sultan Shaw haw Aloharan [? Shāh Ḥāwī Al-Baḥrain], Sęnd Greeting.

Abdella Shaw being sent by you into England, arrived at the Citty of London, the place where wee inhabit, from whome wee did understand that some wrongs had been offered unto you and your People by the Comander of a Danish ship and also from Captain South.[1] Wee have therefore, as one related unto you, assisted him the best wee could; and procured the Danish Agent resideing here to write into Denmark to make knowne the Complaints there, hopeing that some satisfaction might have been made by them, But nothing is returned or directed but an answer of the said Commander in the Danish Language, and a translate thereof in English, which wee send herewith.[2] Wee also procured Captain South to be summoned before our Soveraigne Lord the Kings Majestie, who was graciously pleased himself to hear Abdella Shaw accuse the said Captain South,[3] And his Majestie did very much dislike the proceedings of the said South, ordering him to pay 40£ sterling towards the redemtion of those Persons he took away from your Island. But South presently after went to Sea, and hath not yet paid the Money. But if, at his returne, wee receive it from him, wee shall imploy it for to procure the liberty of those it will obtein.[4] And wee, finding that Abdella Shaw was in some Streights for money, did take care to accommodate him with lodging, Diet and Clothing while he was here in our Countrey,[5] and have appointed him and his two Men to take passage on one of our Ships[6] now intending to touch at your Island of Johannah. By which ship also wee send unto your

[1] Captain South, in 1670, had carried off six men from Johanna, and had sold them at Barbadoes and Jamaica. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxx., fol. 101.

[2] No trace has been found of these documents.

[3] For the detailed allegations against Captain South, see *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*, vol. xxxiii., No. 105.

[4] The fine was paid by Mr. Eyles, on behalf of Captain South, on the 9th March, 1677, and the money was applied for the liberation of one or more of the captives. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxx., fol. 101.

[5] See *ante*, note on p. 234.

[6] The *New London*, Captain George Erwyn. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxx., fol. 64.

courteous reception a Present of Broad Cloth &c,[1] not doubting of your kinde acceptance, nor of the continuance of your Friendship, as hath been alwaies practised by you and your People towards our Commanders and Men, as they have occasion to refresh at your Island, which civillity will cause us to esteem of you as our good Friend, praying to Almighty God for your health and Prosperity in your affaires, unto whose protection wee comitt you, being Your very Loveing Friends, Wm. THOMSON, Governour &c. &c.

Post Script.—Abdella Shaw hath made us a present in your name of a peece of ground, called and knowne by the Name of Capt. Brown's Garden, with the Coco Nutt Trees growing thereon &c., and in regard it is convenient for the accommodation of our Commanders and Men for their landing and refreshing,[2] Wee doe accept of the same, with our thanks rendered for it unto you, as acknowledging the guift from you by his meanes, whome wee have appointed to take the care of it in our behalf. The Danish paper and translate is delivered to Abdella Shaw. *London, 26th December*, 1676.

Commission to Abdella Shawe By the Governor and Company of Merchants of London tradeing into the East Indies, Persia, &c. Letter Book, vol. v., p. 395.

Whereas there is a Parcell of ground upon the Island of Johannah, aunciently known and called by the Name of Captain Brownes Garden, being scituate near the Common landing place there, granted unto us by Abdella Shaw in the name and behalf of the Sultan of the said Island, Now know all Men by these presents, That wee the said Governour and Company doe appoint and authorise Abdella Shaw to be the Keeper and Overseer of the said ground, with the Coco nutt Trees and all other trees and fruits now growing, or which hereafter shall be and grow thereon, and to render us an account of the profitts thereof, And wee doe therefore require all Commanders of our Ships and their officers and Seamen to give respect unto the said Abdella Shaw accordingly; And in case of the said Abdella's absence or mortality, Then wee doe appoint Hommadie [? Hāmid 'Alī] to the same Office in his roome, and require the same respect from our Commanders and others to be shown unto him. *Given under our Seale, the 4th day of January*, 1676-7.

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[1] On the 18th December, 1676, the Court 'Resolved that there be disbursed from 25 *li.* to 30 *li.* in Scarlet and other rarities for a present for the Sultan of Johannah, and Abdella Shaw to have the value of 5 *li.* thereof.' *Court Minutes*, vol. xxx., fol. 84.

[2] 'The best anchorage [at Johanna] is about three miles to the westward of the town, abreast of a range of cocoanut trees, called Brown's garden, near the sea.' Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 76 *et seq.*; see also Horsburgh, *East India Directory*, ed. 1841, vol. i., p. 233.

Present to the Sultan of Johanna. Letter Book, vol. v., p. 395.

One parcell containing half a [Ps.] fine Scarlet Cloth. One Box containing Seven Rheames of good Paper. One Barrell of powder put up in Canvas. Two Iron bound Cask[s] containing Pitch. One Box containing seven Looking Glasses. One Chest containing six Fire Lock Musketts, six pare of Bandeleers,[1] Two neat Semiters and a parcell of Knives.

ON BOARD THE *LOYALL EAGLE* AT JOHANNA, 1676.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

Coppy of a Letter wrote in the Booke left at Johanna—To our loveing Freinds and Countrymen, Captaine Mathew Crower [Crover], Captaine Robert Fisher,[2] or any other Commanders of English Ships. Gentlemen, These are to Signifie to you, that our foure Ships in Company sailed from St. Jago the 14th February, and the 22d of Aprill wee made the Cape. The 6th of May, about 300 Leagues east from the Cape, wee mett with Captain Peter Westlack in the *Massingbird*, who came from Surratt the 3rd of February. He gave us an account that the *Golden Fleece* and *Rainbow* had touched at this Island and put into Mombas,[3] and in May 1675 arrived at Bombay, where they wintered and lost many men. Captain Price[4] and Captain Goodlad[5] both dyed at Swally, the ships being then dispatched for England in November last. Captain North commanded the *Fleece* and Mr Cooke[6] the *Rainbow*, Mr Cooke the Purser being dead. The *Ann*, *London*, and *East India Merchant* went for England in January, and the *Unicorne* for Bantam in December, the Commanders all well. The President and all the Councell were well att Surratt. Mr Phillip Gyffard, Deputy Governour,

[1] A soldier's belt. See Murray, *Oxford English Dictionary*, *s.v.* Bandoleer.

[2] Captain Fisher commanded the *Berkeley Castle*.

[3] The *Golden Fleece* and *Rainbow* were despatched from England in April, 1674, and thus occupied thirteen months in their voyage to Bombay. The putting into Mombas Port, which lies eight degrees north and four east of Johanna, would in some measure account for the time spent in getting to Surat.

[4] This is Master's mistake. The name should be Captain John Peirce.

[5] Captain William Goodlad, not to be confused with Captain William Goodlad, commander of the *Loyall Subject*, who died in 1680. See Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 91.

[6] James Cook was chief mate of the *Rainbow*. He afterwards commanded the *East India Merchant*. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxx., fol. 72.

and Mr. John Petit, second, at Bombay. By Gods assistance wee came to this Island the 26th last moneth, and should bee glad to have had the *Mary* fallen into our Company here.

The Governour of this Towne presented each ship with a cow, and the Queen of the Island with another, in returne of which wee presented two yards of broad Cloth ordinary (a peice qt. [containing, or contents of] is 8 yards intire), and the Queen two yards of scarlett serge, an ordinary Callicoe girdle, a paire of knives, a small looking glass, a little spice, sugar, and raisons in papers, over and above the broad Cloth, which was kindly accepted. But to the Governours broad Cloth was added only a string of Beaddes and a Carteridge of Powder, which he seemed not well to accept of at first, saying wee had wood and water all of his; whereupon wee sent to him to know his mind, and added to our present two quart bottles of oyle, a pair of knives, a small looking glasse and a Carterridge of Powder, with which he was well satisfied, and gave us to understand he was well pleased. By this you will see we proportioned our presents, two yards of broad Cloth and about three shillings in toyes for one Cow.

Wee have thought fitting to leave you this account of our proceedings, for that the like would have been welcome to us, if wee could have found the same for [? from] our Countrymen that were last at this place, that wee might governe ourselves with an equall hand in our respectes to these civill and obligeing people, and yett bring up noe ill Custome, whereby they may gett advantage or be displeased, for that some does not follow the extraordinaryes of others; and if you please to give the like notice to those that follow, it may be acceptable. To which purpose wee have thought fitting to write our Letter in a booke, wherein those that come after may be acquainted with preceeding Customes, and receive some satisfacion soe well as divertisment, by haveing an account of things passed; and this booke wee recomend to the care of Mhynea Shaw, the Prince, with speciall directions not to Shew it to any other nation but the English. Yett if you, Gentlemen, or any of our Countrymen that come afterward shall find by some experiences any evill Consequences from this way, we shall not take it amiss,

but think you or they will doe our Country good service to take the book away, and soe put it out of use. And if you doe approve of it and doe find any conveniencys attending the use, then wee think it will not be consistant with our Interest to lett the People in the Iland know what wee write in it relating to them, but incourage and admonish the Person in whose possession it is [to be] kept with all secrecy from other nations.

Commending you and ourselves to the protection of the Allmighty, wee subscribe, Your Loveing Freinds and Countrymen, STREYNSHAM MASTER &c.[1] *On board the ship Eagle, June 3rd*, 1676.

The said Booke left here was Superscribed, *vizt.*, To the Commanders of the English Ships.

June 12.—Wee Crossed the Equinoctiall line, haveing fresh winds.

June 13.—Our men who willfully lay ashoare at Johanna began to fall sick.[2]

June 19.—One of the same men dyed.

June 20.—Another of them dyed.

June 23.—Another of the same men dyed.

June 26.—Wee reckoned ourselves to have passed through the 8 degree Channell.

June 29.—This night wee had very bad weather and lay by for the Island of Ceylon.

June 30.—Wee saw Ceyloan and sailed fairly by Point de Gall in sight of the Castel and Flagg.

July 3.—Being in sight of the Dutch Castell Batticalay[3] on the Iland of Ceyloan, the Commandore of the said place, Joan Bloomart, sent of a Dutchman in a small prow with two blacks to know what wee were. Wee saw two Dutch ships rideing by this place who, as wee drew neare, weighed and stood from us, doubting wee were French.

[1] See *ante*, p. 232, for the full list of signatures.

[2] An early record of malarial fever.

[3] The port of Batticaloa (*Mattakkalappu*, Tamil) is situated on a small island sixty-eight miles south of Trincomalee. See the *Madras Manual of Administration*, vol. iii., *s.v.* Ceylon.

In the afternoone came aboard of us a Dutch sloop with an under Coopman [*koopman*, merchant], one Christian, a Scotchman, who told us that the two Dutch ships came from Persia, very rich with Treasure, and were bound to the Coast and Bay, and that Richloofe Van Goences[1] son was now Governour of Ceyloan, Tutticorree [Tuticorin] and Negapatam. At night this sloope left us againe. In the morneing wee saw the Danes Fort at Trincombarr [Tranquebar] and severall ships along the shoare. At noone wee came up with Porto Nova [*Mahmūdbandar*], from whence came off to us one Harrison,[2] an Englishman, Pilott of a Portuguez Vessell, whose owner lives at Porto Nova.

This eveneing there came up with us a small Dutch frigott full of men (who wee after understood was crusing for a French sloope). Our ship lyeing by the Lee that he might speake with us, as our three Consorts did, He was soe Sawcy as to run to windward of us thwart our Stemm, and afterwards, falling under our lee, Captain Bonnell, to requitt his afront, layed him on board on the starrboard Quarter, and our ship presently comeing off againe, the flouck [fluke] of an anchor at our bowe brought away all his mysen shrouds and did him other mischeif. Six of his men leaping into our ship, wee carryed them away.

This night wee lay by, feareing to over shoot our Port.

July 7, Friday.—This morneing came off to us some Dutchmen in a boate from their Factory at Sadraslapatam,[3] by whom wee sent the six men ashoare that the Frigott left on board us.

Fort St. George, 1676.

This eveneing, praised be God, all the four ships came to an anchor at Fort St. George, and I sent the Honourable Companys packetts on shoare to the Agent and Councell by Mr. [John] Bonnell the Purser, with the following letter of advice:—

Right Worshipfull and my Honoured Freinds, Upon my

[1] Rijkloff Van Goens (1619-82) commanded the Dutch forces against La Haye in 1672-73.

[2] Possibly William Harrison, who appears again in vol. ii.

[3] Sadraspatam, a Dutch factory, forty-two miles south of Madras. Fryer, *A New Account of East India*, p. 28, has 'Sandraslapatam.'

comeing out of England, the Honourable Company were pleased to comitt their Packett to yourselves unto my charge open, which I now enclose to you with the same Cover under which it came to mee, and Mr. John Kens letter with the same, by the Governours direction, for your more ample satisfaction. The Auditors Paper of objections to the accounts No. 2 (opposite to which in the margent of the list of the Packett my name is there written) I have alsoe enclosed in it's due place in the Packett. The occassion of my comeing into these parts to serve the Honourable Company you will understand from their advices, to which I crave your reference.

For the passages of our voyage I presume Captain Bonnell gives the Agent a more full account then I am able to doe. The *Mary* not being come into the Downes, by an express order from the Company, these four ships, The *Loyall Eagle, Falcon, Surratt Merchant* and *Johanna*, the 8th January sailed out of the Downes. The 22d. Aprill wee made the Cape De bona Esperancia, and the 6th May we mett the *Massingbird*, Captain Peter Westlake, about 300 leagues on this side of the Cape, homeward bound from Surratt.

For the rest, I shall give you all due satisfaction you shall require of me when I shall be soe happy to waite on you ashoare. In the interim, with the presentation of my most humble service, I take leave to subscribe, Your most faithfull servant, STREYNSHAM MASTER. *On board the ship Loyall Eagle, July 7th*, 1676.

July 8, *Saturday*.—The forenoone I went on shoare, Sir William Langhorn, Agent and Governour, and the Councell[1] receiving mee with much respect and kindness.

July 11.—Att a Consultation my Commissions were read and other business transacted, as appeares by the same in the Fort Register.[2]

July 19.—The *Johanna* sett saile to Metchlepatam and the Bay.

[1] The Council at this date consisted of Joseph Hynmers, Edward Herrys, John Bridger, Timothy Wilkes, and Jacob Smith.

[2] This Consultation does not appear to exist either among the *India Office Records* or among those at Madras.

Letter from the Council at Fort St. George to Captain Hope-for Bendall, 19 *July*, 1676. *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii., fol. 10.[1]

Capt. Hope-for Bendall—Wee have now laden and Continued aboard your Ship *Johanna*, for the account of the Honourable English East India Company, all such treasure, goods and Merchandize as we intend; we shall not detaine you here any longer, but require you, immediately on receipt hereof, to repaire on board your Ship *Johanna*, weigh anchor, and, with the first Oppertunity of wind and weather, to sett sayle and bend your course, with your best skill and Judgment, for the speediest attaining of the port of Ballasore in the Bay of Bengala; and, when it shall please the Almighty to arrive you there in safety, we recommend unto your care the delivery of our packett of letters to Mr. Walter Clavell, Chief &c. Factors there resident for the affaires of the Honourable English East India Company, and then to follow such orders and directions for your future disposall as they shall give unto you. You have leave to touch at Metchlepatam to comply with your bills of ladeing, provided that you stay there but three dayes after your arrivall in that Road; and so God send you a prosperous Voyage. Wee remaine, Your very loving friends, Wm. LANGHORNE, &c.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

July 21.—Att a Consultation, the Contract was concluded with Verona [Kāsi Vīranna] &c. merchants what Europe goods they would take off and what callicoes they will provide, as appeares in Consultation booke.[2]

July 31.—The Ships *Loyall Eagle* [and] *Falcon* were dispatched this night,[3] and sett saile to Metchlepatam, myselfe imbarqueing on the *Eagle*, takeing with me hence William Calloway, a writter,[4] and a file of Souldiers.[5] Wee left rideing in the Roade the *Surratt Merchant*, a Portuguez ship from Goa, a vessell belonging

[1] There is another copy of this letter in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. x.

[2] The Consultation of the 21st July, 1676, seems to exist at Madras only. There is a gap in the Consultation Book at the India Office (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. i.) from 25th January, 1676, to 3rd February, 1677.

[3] The instructions to the Captains of the *Eagle*, *Falcon*, and *Surratt Merchant*, were the same as those given to Captain Bendall on the 19th July.

[4] William Callaway arrived at Fort St. George as a writer in 1673.

[5] This was allowed by paragraph 8 of Master's Commission. * See *ante*, p. 203.

to Verona, and the *Bengala Merchant*, lately come from Persia, belonging to Mr. Clavell[1] &c.

METCHLEPATAM [MASULIPATAM], 1676.

August 3, *Thursday*.—About 8 of clock at night (praised be God), the *Eagle* and *Falcon* came to an anchor in Metchlepatam Roade, and there were in the Roade two Dutch ships, one ship of Mr. Fleetwoods,[2] two ships of the King of Syam and five ships belonging to Merchants of Metchlepatam.

August 4.—This morning came of to me Mr. Mohun,[3] Mr. Mainwaring, Mr. Haton, Mr. Chamberlaine and the Factors and Writers. Mr. Fleetwood sent his excuse, he being sick. The Agents and Councells Packett[4] was opened in presence of the Councell, and the Honourable Companys letter to the Fort wanting therein. It was agreed to land the Honourable Companys treasure that came in both ships, and accordingly it was put into the boate in which Mr. Mainwaring, Mr. Hatton and Mr. Arnold went on shoare this night.

August 5.—Mr. Mainwareing, Mr. Hatton and Mr. Arnold came off to me againe this morning, and I went on shoare with them, where they received mee with respect and Civillity.

August 7, Monday.—Att a Consultation Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER ESQ.[5] MR. MATHEW MAINWAREING. MR. ROBERT FLEETWOOD. MR. CHRISTOPHER HATTON. MR. GEORGE CHAMBERLAINE. MR. JOSEPH ARNOLD.[6]

[1] Walter Clavell, the 'Chief at the Bay.' The *Bengala Merchant*, a 'country vessel,' must not be confused with the Company's ship *Bengall Merchant*, sent to Madras and Bengal, in 1677, under Captain John Goldsborough.

[2] Robert Fleetwood, second of Council at Masulipatam.

[3] Richard Mohun, late chief at Masulipatam, had been suspended from his office by the Council at Fort St. George on the 15th June, 1675. By the *General Letter* from the Court of the 24th December, 1675, paragraph 9, he was dismissed the Company's service.

[4] This contained a letter from the Council at Fort St. George, dated 31st July, 1676, giving instructions for the Company's orders of the 24th December, 1675, with regard to Masulipatam, to be carried out. See *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii.

[5] See paragraph 4 of Master's Commission, p. 202, where he is ordered to take 'the first place in Councell' during his stay at Masulipatam.

[6] There are duplicates of the Consultations, held under the presidency of Streynsham Master from the 7th to the 16th August, 1676, in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i. No copies, however, of these Consultations appear to exist at Madras.

The Honourable Companyes Comission to Mr. Master, ingrossed in parchment under their large seale, and their Commission and Instructions signed by the Governour and Committee[1] were read, and severall particulers debated thereupon. The Generall letter from the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George to the Factory, dated 31 of the last moneth, was read, and the most materiall parts of it referred to the Honourable Companys Generall letter to the Agent and Councell, which they mentioned to have sent with this letter, but came not in their Packett; whereupon Mr. Master acquainted the Councell he had a Coppy of it, which was resolved to be read in the afternoone.[2]

August 7.—Att a Consultation, afternoone, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER Esq. [and Council as before].

The Coppy of the Honourable Companys Generall Letter to the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George, dated the 24th December, 1675, was read[3] and severall things debated thereupon.

The Consultation booke of this Factory was called for and perused by Mr. Master for his satisfaction how they proceeded in ordering the last yeares Investments.

Mr. Mainwareings Cash booke was called for and examined, and the Cash in the Chest viewed and compared with the ballance of cash in the bookes, being Pagodas[4] 2730.

The Box sent out by the Honourable Company with three locks and keyes to it was sent for, and the Companyes three seales belonging to this Factory locked up therein, and the three keyes delivered to Mr. Mainwareing, Mr. Fleetwood, and Mr. Hatton.[5]

Mr. Chamberlaine acquainted the Councell that there was a quantity of ordinary Sallampores[6] in some merchants hands in

[1] See *ante*, pp. 198-216.

[2] The signatures at the end of this and the following Consultations, which occur in the original, are omitted in the text.

[3] See below, where the greater part of the letter is given in full.

[4] See paragraph 52 of the Company's letter of 24th December, 1675 (p. 254), where the value of the pagoda was fixed at 9s.

[5] See paragraph 22 of the Company's letter of 24th December, 1675, and also paragraph 9 (*e*) of Master's Commission (pp. 205, 249).

[6] A kind of chintz. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Salempoory.

this towne. He was desired to make further inquiry thereof and to procure musters.

General letter from the Court of Committees to the Agent and Council at Fort St. George, dated 24 December, 1675. Letter Book, vol. v., pp. 208-231.

1. Our last unto you was dated 17th August past overland, transcripts of which We herewith send you, to which We do referr you, And now come to give answer to yours of the 20 November, 1 December [1674], 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, and 18 January, 1674 [1674-5], Receaved by Our Ships *Phœnix, Lancaster*, and *Loyall Marchant*, whom it pleased God to arrive to Us in Safety in the month of July last. In Our Letters by the Ships and the aforesaid Letter overland, We wrott you fully of what then offered, and gave you perticuler directions for the carrying on our Affaires, with which We expect your Complyance, and espetially that you have bin Carefull in the timely dispatch of Our Ships, and that our Goods may have bin Substantiall and well Sorted, according to the directions often given you.

2. [Refers to dealings with the Dutch].

3. [Refers to dealings with the Khān of 'Chengis' (or Gingee)].

4. We do grant your desire in behalf of Mr. Patrick Warner,[1] That he shall have 50 *li.* per annum Sallary and 50 *li.* per annum Gratuity, to begin from the time of his entertainment with you, and to be paid him in the Country, and are very glad you are So Well Supplied and pray God to give a blessing to his Labours. And, having understood that Mr. Warner did not intend to remayn Long in that Country, We have entertayned Mr. Richard Portman to be Our Chaplaine at the Fort, at the rate of 50 *li.* per annum Sallary and 50 *li.* per annum gratuity, to be paid him in the Country;[2] and in case Mr. Warner shall desire to stay, you may, with one of theis, supply Metchlepatam.

5. We have Some intimations given Us that Mr. John Whitehead [chaplain at Masulipatam] doth not behave himselfe as becomes his Function, which We would have you inquire into, and if you find him unfitt for that imployment and scandalous, that you send him home.[3]

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[1] Patrick Warner was chaplain at Fort St. George, 1673-76. See Penny, *The Church in Madras*, pp. 664, 665.

[2] Richard Portman's election took place on the 10th September, 1675. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 153.

[3] In reply to this injunction, the Council at Fort St. George informed the Court, on the 23rd July, 1676 (*O.C.*, No. 4215), that 'Wee doe not heare any just cause of blame of Mr. Thomas Whitehead.' They imputed the report to 'ill will,' but had written to Masulipatam about him. On the 15th December, 1676, the Court wrote (*Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 369): 'Wee are well pleased at the good Character he [Major Puckle] gives of Mr. Whitehead, but doe order that on Sabboth daies in the afternoon, being he preaches not, that he Catachize the Youth, and expound thereupon, and that all in our service be present at that Exercise.'

But if his Conversation be blameless, and that Mr. Warner stayes in the Country, whereby both the Fort and Metchlepatam will be Supplied with two able men, then let Mr. Whitehead be remooved to the Fort to assist Our Chaplaine there in the Dutyes of prayer and Cathekising, and to be a Schoole Master also for the education of Children.

6. Herewith you have a Catalogue of such bookes as were desired by Mr. Portman to be provided, which We Send as an addition to Our Library. And, in regard We find every Chaplaine We Send is desirous of an addition, and that We have no perfect List here, We do require you to Send Us, by the retorne of theis ships, a perfect Catalogue of all Our Bookes both with you, Metchlepatam and the Bay.

7. We have againe Seriously considered what you write about keeping of a Publick Table, and do adjudge it both most honourable and Convenient to have it mayntayned; and the Sitting of the youths at the same Table with you can no way abridge you of any freedome; and at Suratt and Bombay Our President practices the Same; and We are Sure it must be of great advantage to the Youthes by enjoying So good an example and preventing them from keeping ill Company.

8. We take notice of the excuse you make for not Sending of stock to Metchlepatam this yeare, Which We esteeme to be very slight and is much to Our prejudice, for the goods We had ordred from thence were very necessary to asort Our other goods and would have produced a very good Advantage. For, as We have formerly wrott you, the goods from the Fort cost neer 20 per Cent. deerer then those from Metchlepatam, And you might have sent some from the Fort to have joyned with those at Metchlepatam, whome you could have trusted there, to have made that investment. But, by this course you have taken, you have continued Our Charge and Left Our Servants there without imployment, and given the Dutch a faire Opertunity to gaine advantage upon Us in that trade for the future. And We have observed that our Agent and Councell at the Fort, both now and formerly, have had an aversion for that Place, but We desire to encourage it, which We would have you observe, and do hope that you have made a full investment there according to Our Orders by the last yeares shiping.

9. As to the Charge against Mr. Mohune, We have perused the Papers sent Us and do Order that Mr. Mohune be discharged from Our Service upon the arrivall of theis ships. And in regard We find that Mr. Mohune does charge Mr. Mainwaring and Mr. Chamberlayne to have bin privy to and sharers with him in the Callicoes and mony of Ours, which they Charge him to have made Use off, and that by others Wee are informed there is a great trade driven by them and others Our Factors at Metchlepatam in Callicoes to the South Seas and other places, contrary to Our express Orders and their Covenants, We do require you that there may be a thorough and strict examination made, and that We may have a full and perfect account thereof, though We hope it will already have bin done by Mr. Puckle, whome We sent by the last yeares ships to that end.

10. [Concerning 'overrated' coffee].

11. We noate the Sale of all Our Euroap goods and do recommend to you to Use your utmost endeavors to augment what possibly you can the Vent of our Woollen Manufactures; and if the Selling of it cheape will be a Measure effectually to attayne that end, We give you Liberty therein.[1]

12. Upon complaints of some of Our cloath to be full of Mothes and white Ants. At any time when you find such or any defects in Our goods, We would have you give Us the Nombers of the peeces and Bayles that We may find out whether the fault was in the Maker or workmen, and We would likewise have you advice Us the nombers of Such clothes as are best liked.

13. In Our Letter by Our last yeares Shiping, We blamed you for not Sending home Mr. Jearsyes accounts,[2] And We have cause to blame you for this still. We formerly gave you directions how to proceede in order to his retorne home, which We expect should be performed; he hath stayed longer there then the time he first desired.

14. As to John Crandon, We are sorry to find your Continued Complaints concerning him, for, having bin long in Our Service, We would have you proceede with him with all tenderness, and if you can by any meanes reclayme him, let him be continued in Our Service. If not, Let him be sent home. But what you do herein, let [it] be done by advice of Councell, for, if he be vitious, to remaine there out of Our Service, he may doe others great mischiefe and himselfe no good.[3]

15. [The first part of the paragraph refers to payments made by Vīranna in 'callicoes,' to private traders.] We find it is a common practice for him [Vīranna] and some of Our Servants there to buy goods, and in payment force Callicoes upon them, which they know is contrary to Our Orders. As in particular John Davis[4] did buy goods of Woolters, a Mate in the *Phœnix*, and forced him to take his payment in 68 peeces Sallampores [chintz] and 30 patch[5] of Morees [*mūrī*, blue cloth], the stated damages of which amounts to 49 *li.* sterling, which We have placed to the Said Davis account, and you are to take Notice off When you come to pay him that part of his Sallary which is paid there. And let him and all others Know that, if they proceede in such irregular actions, We shall judge them not fitt for Our Service, and remand them home. And that you may see that We have good proofe for this, Wee herewith send you a Coppy of a Voluntary Oath made by the said Woolters, who now goes Mate in the *Suratt Merchant*.

16. [Refers to the estate of Francis Langstone, deceased.]

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[1] See paragraphs 9 (*b*) and 36 of Master's Commission (*ante*, pp. 204, 210-11).

[2] This was William Jearsey, chief at Masulipatam, 1662-70. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxiv., p. 163 *et seq.*, for a full account of him.

[3] John Crandon had died before the Company's letter reached India, as appears later on.

[4] One of the Company's factors at Fort St. George. His name appears again later on.

[5] Mr. William Foster is of opinion that this term is equivalent to 'piece,' applied to certain goods. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Patch.

17. [Refers to the estate of John Niclaes, deceased.]

18. We take notice of your request in behalfe of the Writers there,[1] that none shall be sent hence to preceede them. You are to take Notice, When We send any hence, they are to take place after those that are already there of the same Ranck.

19. As to Thomas Lucas,[1] We are not at all satisfied with your proceedings therein, Nor why you should discharge Benjamin Broomer and Philip Noden,[1] that went out as Souldiers in the yeares 1672 and 1674, from being Souldiers. And We are now informed that they only made that a pretence to get out from hence, and being resolved (what in Us lyes) to discourage all such designes, do positively require you to take effectuall Care that the said Thomas Lucas, Benjamin Broomer and Philip Noden be sent home by theis ships. And also that you take care that all others that goe hence as Souldiers be continued as such, and put into no other imployment during their Covenanted time, or else imediately retorne them for England.

20. The recommendation you give of Henry Carpenter, John Nicks, Thomas Pace and John Byam[2] is observed by Us and, by the Settlement made last yeare, you will find a provision for them and all others in our Service that do deserve it. We do approove of John Nicks his being Secretary, and continue him in that imployment so long as he behaves himselfe well.

21. We have this yeare made some alterations in Our Charterpartyes and Indulgencyes, which We would have you peruse, and See that the Comanders of Our ships observe what they are obliged to, And that none exceede the Liberty given them by the Indulgence. Accordingly let every Master and purser give you an account what goods and bullyon they Carry to and fro in the Countrey, and for whose account, which Signe and send Us home.[3]

22. The Consideration of the hazards We runn of having Our Seale made use of for the private occasions of perticuler persons hath made Us resolve it should be no longer trusted in any One hand, But that it shall be kept Lockt up in a Box with three Locks and Keyes, which are to remaine in the hands of the Agent of the Fort, the Chiefe of Metchlepatam and the Chief of the Bay and the two Next of Councell resident in each place; and that the said Seale be not affixed to any writing whereby the Company may be obliged, but in open Councell, which is but what We Our Selves and most of the Corporations in London do observe. And to this end We send you three boxes with three severall Locks and Keyes to each, One for you at the Fort, the other[s] you are to send to Metchlepatam and the Bay with Our advices thereupon.[4]

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[1] Thomas Lucas is noticed in vol. ii., and Broomer and Noden later on in this volume.

[2] Carpenter, Pace, and Byam were at this time serving the Company in Bengal, and Nicks at Fort St. George. They are all separately noticed later on.

[3] See paragraph 43 of Master's Commission (*ante*, pp. 213-14).

[4] See also paragraph 9 (*e*) of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 205).

23. We have receaved the Muster Roll of the Seamen by theis ships and do require you to continue to Muster all Ships at their arrivall and dispatch, and to take perticuler notice of their Severall Qualityes. But except you are more Carefull in the future then you have bin this yeare, it will be a Needless worke, for We find that instead of sending trusty Persons aboard ship to muster them, You were satisfied with the Mess booke, as in perticuler the *Lancaster*, who, instead of his Carpenter and three Seamen more which he left with you and at Metchlepatam, made up his Nomber with Mr [Gabriel] Townsend and his black boy, Mr [Joseph] Arnold and his purser Brownes black Boy. And We suppose that no greater Care was taken in the Surveigh of their want of Tonnadge, for, when the ships came home, there appeared No great signe that thereWanted with You (*sic*). And therefore, for the future, when the Comanders do pretend Want of Tonnadge, We Order that you send persons able to judge with respect to the Jocundness [buoyancy] of their ships and keeping their Guns mounted and cleare, and this Surveigh not to be made till all their owne Goods and provisions are aboard and the Ship ready to Saile. And Noate that now the 5 per Cent. graunted to the owners and Seamen is part of the Tonnage let in Charterparty, which We are not bound to lade. And you are not to lade any more goods upon any One ship then We are oblidged to by Charterparty, except you finde you have an overplus of such goods as We have ordred, and that it may be done without Pestring the ship or gunns. And observe that clause in the Charterparties that the masters of Ships are not to stow any goods in the great Cabin, steereage, or betweene Decks abaft the Mayne Mast.

24. In the above Clause We mentioned four of the *Lancaster's* Company left behind last yeare. We require you to take Care that they be all Sent home by theis Ships, and that you prevent the like practice for the future, We having cause to beleive that Some of Our owne Servants have bin accessory thereto, in perticuler as to the Carpenter, who, We are informed, was inticed to stay in the Country, leaving the Ship in Order to the building of a ship for some of Our Factors in the Bay or Metchlepatam, And that it is a yearely practice to intice able Seamen out of Our Shipps to serve them in the Country.

25. Mr. Joseph Arnold retornes by theis Ships, who Wee would have you settle at Metchlepatam in the same Station as when he came from India.[1] We have here paid him the ballance of his Account, and he hath allowed the 58 pagodes you mention in your Letter, and if it be, or any part thereof, unduely charged to him, you may make it good to his account there.

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[1] Joseph Arnold was entertained as a factor for Bantam on the 19th November, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 64). He removed to Masulipatam in 1669, and was appointed member of Council there on the 5th March, 1674 (*ibid.*, vol. xxva., fol. 130). In January, 1675, he sailed for England, and in November the Court held an inquiry with regard to his conduct while in India. The result was favourable to Arnold, who, as related in the text, was reinstated in the Company's service (*ibid.*, vol. xxix., fols. 188, 196).

26. Herewith We send you the Article [treaty] made betweene Us and the Dutch in relation to the East India Affaires.

27. We have with you noted that Severall have Subscribed the Bay Letters, which were not by us apointed of Councell, of whome We take notice in Ours to them.

28. As to Nathaniell Keeble, he was sent out purposely to be imployed in the Mint, and We were formerly advised that he was unserviceable in that Affaire; and in regard you now give us account how he is imployed, and by what services he may have deserved a better incouragement, We Leave him at his Liberty to stay on the same termes he went out at, or retorne home, 'till We receave from you a further Account concerning him.[1]

29. As to the proposition made you by the Naique [*nāyak*] of Madurree [Madura], We are of the same opinion with you therein.

30. Upon the commendation you give Us of Mr. Job Charnock[2] We have resolved that for his incouragement during his stay in our Service at Pattana to [? we] give him 20 *li.* per annum as a Gratuity, to commence from the arrivall of theis ships, and if any alteration shall be made in Our Factories under your Agency, somewhat may be done for his further advancement.

31. [Contains remarks on longcloths sent home in 1675.]

32. [Concerning alterations in buildings at Fort St. George.]

33. As to the Piscash [*pesh-kash*, obligatory gift] for the King of Golcundah, if it be not already done, We do hope with it you may obteyne Our Liberty to Coyne Silver rupees and Copper pice at the Fort, which We conceave will be a great accomodation in Our Trade there; of which We desire you seriously to Consider, and if you finde it will be Advantageous for us, endeavour to procure it, But in this and in all other Piscashes to be as spareing as you can.[3]

34. As to the death of Rugo Podar [Raghu the *poddār*], it is Our

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[1] Nathaniel Keeble, jeweller, was entertained on the 26th November, 1669, to serve the Company 'for essaying of gold' at Fort St. George, and 'to assist as a souldier upon any occasion,' at a salary of £20 per annum (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 296). The first report of his abilities was unfavourable, and the Court wrote, on the 18th December, 1671, that he appeared to be 'noe way skilled'; but, at the same time, he was to be allowed to make some 'tryalls,' and not to be kept 'Ignorant as well as Idle' (*Letter Book*, vol. iv., p. 501). In reply to the paragraph in the text, the Council at Fort St. George wrote, on the 23rd July, 1676 (*O.C.*, No. 4215): 'Nathaniel Keeble has ever since his coming forth given constant attendance in his employment in the mint, wherein whatever may have been written of his unserviceableness in former times, we have not in this Agency found any cause to blame him, but that he has been very diligent in his place, and having the last year married the Secretary's [John Nicks] sister, and charge of children coming on, he humbly entreats you will be pleased to afford him some encouragement, either by preferment or sallary, as you have vouchsafed others so long continuing in your service.'

[2] Job Charnock is noticed in vol. ii.

[3] See also paragraph 41 (7) of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 213).

desire that a serious and strict examination may be taken of that Affaire, for where bloud is concerned, We are and ought to be very tender, least We make Our selves partakers of the Guilt. And therefore, till We have a perticuler Account thereof, We cannot give Our Judgment, Nor allow of the 13000, rupees expended on that occasion, which We require may be made good to our Cash by Mr. Vincent, till our further Order. For Although We have bin informed that it hath bin a Custome for the Chiefs of that place to use Severityes to those that are in Our debt, thereby to oblidge them to payment, yet it was alwaies done in presence of the Chief, who took Care that it might be moderate, and not thereby to give an opportunity of revenge to the punisht partyes Enemy.[1]

35. As to the Charge exhibited by Mr. Hall against Mr. March and Mr. Vincent, We find there was ground for it, And if that business hath not bin already fully examined by Mr. Puckle, We do require that when Mr. Master goes downe (of whome We write you in an after clause) it may be exactly done.[2]

36. We are informed that Our Factory of Cassambazar is frequently visited by Jesuits and Romish Priests, that goe up and downe to Mr. Vincents wife and family, Which We require to be wholly refrayned if he stay and remaine in Our Service. But if Mr. Vincent shall be found to have had any hand in the Death of Rugo Podar, or accessary thereunto, or hath bin Unfaithfull in discharge of his trust, that then he be discharged of Our Imployment and sent home.[2]

37. As to Mr. Hall, We doe not find sufficient cause in any of the Informations given against him to discharge him from Our Service, and therefore, if you find him fitt for Our Imployment and faithfull in discharge of his trust, Let him be Continued and preferr'd as his turne Comes according to Our Rules.[2]

38. What We write to you that relates to Metchlepatam and the Bay, doe you send them coppies off with directions to act accordingly.

39. We have often times required you and do now againe to send Us a perticuler List of all the English, of what degree soever, both in and out of Our Imployment, in Our respective Factoryes and other places, with a perticuler account when and by what ships they came out, their manner of living and imployments. And this We require you to doe by the Retorne of Our ships, and yearely to Continue the same.[3]

40. We doe not find that Our printed Orders and other rules formerly sent for the regulating Our Factories have bin soe punctually observed as they ought, Which We require may be in the future.[4]

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[1] See also paragraph 9 (*d*) of Master's Commission (*ante*, pp. 204-5).

[2] These matters were examined by Master at Kasimbazar in October and November, 1676, as appears later on in this volume.

[3] See also paragraph 25 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 208).

[4] See paragraph 2 of Master's Commission (*ante*, pp. 201-2).

41. Among other Orders that have bin neglected, One is that a register ought to have bin kept of all trade, and the Coppie to be transferr'd to Us yearely, which you have not hitherto observed, though We know a great trade hath bin driven to and from the Fort and Subordinate Factories and Severall other parts of India.

42. [A repetition of paragraph 37 of Master's Commission (p. 211)].

43, 44, 45, 46. [Contain comments on the goods sent home in 1675.]

47. Wee are informed that Iron and shott may be procured at the Fort fitt for Bantam, of which give Us an account of what it will cost, and send Us home One Candy of each, and send also one Candy of each upon the *Mary* to Bantam for a tryall.

48. His Majestie doth desire We should procure him every yeare some spotted Deare, but now desires to have most Does, of which procure some if you Can.

49. Mr Bridger[1] having represented to Us that he served sometime as Warehousekeeper, We order that you allow him, for the time he served in that Capacity, Warehousekeepers pay.

50. [Contains orders for sending home persons remaining in India without the Company's leave.] We require you to send home one Pytts[2] that was left there by Captain Goodlad of the *Lancaster*[3] the last yeare, and, as We are informed, is entertayned by Mr. Clavell to goe Purser of a Ship of his that he was building or buying in those parts.

51. Considering in what an ill Posture Our Affaires were att Metchlepatam and the Confidence We have of the integrity and abillity of Mr. William Puckle, We have elected him to be Chief at that place, and his salary to be 100 *li.* per annum, to Commence at his entring upon that Charge, which he is forthwith to doe. And you are to appoint of Councell for Mr. Puckle those that you shall judge fitt for that trust in respect of faithfulness and Abillity, of which Mr. Arnold to be one. And in case of the decease of Mr. Puckle (which God forbid), either before he take the Chiefship, or afterwards, You are to appoint an able faithfull person to be Chief of that Factory, with such an able Councell as you judge to be fitt to carry on Our Affaires there, of which Mr. Arnold to be one 'till our further Order therein.[4] And 'till such time as Mr. Puckle is setled in that place, We would have Our Affaires there Managed by Commission as We have formerly directed. But in regard of the great inconveniences We have found of having neer Relations in one place, We doe Order his Sonn be not permitted to remayne with him, but do give liberty to settle him at the Fort or Bay as a Writer in Our Service and have that pay, and

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[1] John Bridger is noticed in vol. ii.

[2] Thomas Pitt or Pytts, who is mentioned again later on in this volume.

[3] This was Captain Richard Goodlad, who commanded the *Lancaster* from 1673 to 1682, then became an 'interloper,' and died at Surat in 1687.

[4] See also paragraph 6 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 203).

to take place first of those that went out with him in that yeares shipping.

52. We have found some inconvenience in Valluing the Pagodas at 8s. and the rupee at 2s. 6d.; therefore, for the future, We do Order that the Pagoda be Vallewed at 9s. and the rupee at 2s. 3d., both with you and the Subordinate Factories, but We would have the Souldiers paid as many fanams as when the Pagoda was Vallued at 8s. But both in the Sale and buying of Our Goods, you are to take Care to have as many Pagodas for what goods you sell and to pay as few for what you buy as formerly; for this valuation is only for the regulating of the Bookes and Can have no influence on those with whome you deale.

53. [Relates to unregistered diamonds.]

54. Considering how numerous the people with you growe, and being desirous to use all meanes for the preservation of your healthes, We have entertayned here Mr. Bezaliel Sherman also as Chirurgeon at the like Sallary with him already there [*i.e.*, John Heathfield]. He carryes over with him his wife passadge free and one an Apprentice at his owne chardge. Both are to be at his charge there, and he is obliged to bring his said Apprentize up a Chirurgeon and [to be] noe other waies imployed, and to remaine at the Fort.

55. Upon the desire of Mr. Thomas Winter[1] We have permitted his Sonn [son-in-law] Reade's Daughter to goe over on this ship to her Father [Edward Reade], as also Mrs Cole, the Dyers [Robert Cole's] wife and [her] three daughters, and Mrs Mary Barker, sent to be a wife for Mr Thomas Pace (by the consent of both their fathers), and her maid.

56. Upon the desire of Mr. [Joshua] Darley [Chaplain in Bengal] to have his pay and gratuity all paid him there, We doe grant it so long as he behaves himselfe Suiteable to his imployment and have now sent, according to his request, the second part of Dr. Hamonds Workes[2] and the 4th Vollume of Mr. Pooles Synopsis[3] to be added to Our Library there.

57. We still recommend to you to procure Us some of that black Sticklack of Pegu as formerly directed.

58. We have this yeare freighted for your Agency the five following ships, *vizt.* The *Eagle*, Captain James Boneele [Bonnell], 525 Tonnes; The *Johanna*, Captain Hope—for Bendall, 515 Tonnes; The *Falcon*, Captain John Stafford, 380 Tonnes; The *Surat Marchant*, Captain Johnson, 390 Tonnes; The *Mary*, Captain Mathew Crover, 330 Tonnes; In all 2140 Tonnes.

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[1] Brother of Sir Edward Winter, who was Agent at Fort St. George, 1661-68.

[2] The collected works of Henry Hammond (1605-60), chaplain of Charles I., were edited by William Fulman between 1674 and 1684.

[3] Matthew Poole (1624-79) published his *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ interpretum* between 1669 and 1676.

59. Aboard of which Ships We have laden and consigned to you as follows, *Vizt.*

ON THE *EAGLE*

	£	s.	d.
31 Bales Broadcloth, qt. [containing] 93 Clothes	1667.	10.	–
8 Bales Cloth Rashes,[1] qt. 40 [Cloths]	395.	06.	3
500 pigs Lead, 1413 cwt.	1060.	03.	2
252 Copper Plates, 211 cwt.	1372.	14.	4
2 Bales Perpetuanaes,[2] qt. 34 Ps.	187.	–	–
56 Bar : Tinn, qt. 180 cwt.	904.	11.	–
6 Tubbs Vermillion, 2759 lb.	620.	15.	6
20 Bar : red Lead, 115 cwt.	104.	01.	5
17 Casks of Allom, 104 cwt.	120.	06.	4
16 Cases Quicksilver, 3961 lb.	891.	04.	6
Bookes, Velvett, Lace, Dying Stuff &ca.	181.	07.	9
19 Iron Ordnance, 258 cwt.	258.	01.	6
1120 Iron Shott, 62 cwt.	56.	05.	10
12 Anchors, 70 cwt.	127.	11.	06
8 Chests Silver, 3 Chests Gold	48505.	14.	–
	£56452.	13.	01

ON THE *JOHANNA*

	£	s.	d.
31 Bales Broadcloth, 93 Clothes	1674.	08.	–
8 Bales Cloth rashes, 40 Ps.	402.	06.	6
1 Bale, 16 [ps.] perpetuanaes	88.	–	–
400 pigs Lead, 1136 cwt.	852.	02.	10
20 barrels red Lead, 116 cwt.	104.	18.	04
56 barrels Tinn, 181 cwt.	905.	05.	04
6 Tubbs Vermillion, 2763 lb.	621.	13.	06
16 Caskes Allom, 99 cwt.	113.	18.	07
16 Cases Quicksilver, 4440 lb.	999.	–	–
388 Copper plates, 278 cwt.	1812.	19.	6
6 barrels White Lead, 36 cwt.[3]	63.	06.	7
4 hogsheads Gaules and dying Ware &ca.	143.	14.	5
18 Iron Ordnance, 222 cwt.	222.	18.	2
1500 Iron shott, 44 cwt.	39.	18.	9
12 Anchors, 74 cwt.	133.	12.	4
11 chests Silver, 3 chests Gold	48958.	14.	–
	£57136.	16.	9

[1] A fabric made of silk and worsted.
[2] A durable woollen fabric.

ON THE *FALCON*

	£.	s.	d.
30 Bales Broadcloth, 90 Clothes	1499.	05.	–
6 Bales Rashees, 30 ps.	297.	08.	3
48 barrels Tinn, 150 cwt.	754.	01.	3
17 Caskes Brimstone, 101 cwt.	91.	00.	6
16 Cases Quicksilver, 4627 lb.	1041.	01.	6
6 Tubbs Vermillion, 2953 lb.	664.	08.	6
300 pigs Lead, 844 cwt.	633.	05.	5
346 Copper plates, 211 cwt.	1372.	02.	9
28 Iron Ordnance, 150 cwt.	155.	12.	6
12 Anchors, 29 cwt.	52.	17.	10
Canary, Factors provisions, toyes, Medicines	317.	00.	10
11 chests Silver & 2 chests Gold	34173.	02.	07
	£41586.	07.	11

ON THE *SURATT MARCHANT*

	£	s.	d.
31 Bales Broadcloth, qt. 93 Clothes	1499.	15.	–
6 Bales, qt. 30 Cloth rashes	300.	06.	–
49 Blocks Tinn, 130 cwt.	652.	13.	7
14 Cases Quicksilver, 3849 lb.	866.	06.	6
5 Tubbs Vermillion, 2483 lb.	558.	15.	9
300 Pigs Lead, 849 cwt.	637.	03.	–
473 Copper plates, 266 cwt.	1730.	13.	8
20 Iron Ordnance, 174 cwt.	174.	05.	6
12 Anchors, 47 cwt.	86.	07.	9
12 Chests Silver, 2 chests Gold	34233.	03.	8
	£42733.	03.	08

ON THE *MARY*.

	£	s.	d.
23 Bales Broadcloth, 69 Clothes	1493.	03.	6
300 Pigs Lead, 847 cwt.	635.	13.	2
299 Copper plates, 168 cwt.	1095.	12.	–
6 Bales, qt. 30 Cloth rashes	300.	11.	6
51 Barrels Tinn, 172 cwt.	860.	10.	8
19 Caske Brimstone, 102 cwt.	92.	04.	10
14 Cases Quicksilver, 3792 lb.	432.	13.	6
4 Tubbs Vermillion, 1923 lb.	432.	13.	6
26 Iron Ordnance, 148 cwt.	148.	18.	4
12 Anchors, 47 cwt.	86.	00.	3
18 Chests Silver and Gold	30494.	03.	6
	£37454.	07.	11

60. Of our Stock abovementioned We have proportioned £14831 in Goods and £105167 in Bullyon for the Fort. And for Metchlepatam such goods Consigned to the Fort as will vend in that Factory, and 67000£ in Bullyon, And have directed them in the Bay (if they can) to take up mony by Exchange and how to invest it, as you will see by Our Letters to them.

61. Herewith you have the perticulers of what goods Wee advized for, for this yeares shipping from the Fort and Metchlepatam and in Our Letter to the Bay you will finde also what We expect from thence.

60000 ps. ordinary Long Cloth
10000 ditto to be provided at Metchlepatam
9000 Browne [unbleached] Long Cloth
2000 Ordinary Long Cloth without Stifning
8000 fine Long Cloth, whereof 2500 from Metchlepatam, such as last yeares
5000 Blew Long cloth
60000 Ordinary Sallampoores [chintz]
20000 Ditto, to be provided at Metchlepatam
12000 fine Sallampoores, whereof 8000 at Metchlepatam
9000 fine percallaes [*parkālā*, spangled cloth], of which 4000 at Metchlepatam
6000 ordinary Morees [*mūrī*, blue cloth]
5000 fine morees and 1000 Superfine
1500 fine broad Ginghams [striped cotton goods] from 21 to 24 yards long
9000 Ordinary broad Ginghams, from 21 to 24 yards long
1500 Izarree [*izār*, drawers, trousers] Ginghams
9000 Oringall Bettelaes [Warangal veilings], 16 yards long
3000 fine Bettelaes 25 yards long, fine and cleare
3000 fine Bettelaes, 20 yards long
6000 Allejaes [*alāchah*, silk cloth], full redds and perfect whites
300 fine browne Bettelaes, 25 yards long
Send no Diapers
1500 fine Sallooes [*sālū*, red muslin] made at Golcondah
10000 Dungarees [*dangrī*, sail-cloth]
1000 fine Neckclothes, stript at the end with white, 1½ yards long
1000 Ditto, 2 yards long, each 1 ps. to Conteyne 18 Neckclothes

62. Theis ships being dispatcht We would have you goe on in providing the following goods for Our next yeares shipps.

63. And at the first arrivall of theis, We would have you Compute what Tonnage you can lade at the Fort and Metchlepatam and then Write effectually to the Bay that they take care to provide the rest; and if they cannot provide their full Ladeing of the Ships in the goods ordred, Let them make up the Tincall [borax] 20 or 30 Tonns; and if they Can buy Cotton Yarne that is Single reeled with One thread, not with more, let them buy 100 Bales; but if they Cannot procure that which is Single reeled, let them buy none, for if you send any other

Sort, We shall place it to their account. And what shall be wanting to compleat the Tonnage advized for, let it be made up with Turmerick and the best black Sticklack in Bales not shott; but if they Can gett none of that sort of black Sticklack, then to make up the 100 tonnes ordred in sticklack of the best of the ordinary sort, which must come in Bales and not shott.

64. *Callicoes to be provided at the Fort and Metchlepatam for Anno* 1677

60000 [ps.] ordinary Longcloth, white
10000 ditto, to be provided at Metchlepatam
10000 Browne [unbleached] Long clothes
2000 Ordinary white Long Cloth without stiffning
8000 fine Long clothes, whereof 2500 at Metchlepatam
6000 Blew Long Cloth
60000 ordinary Sallampoores from No. 3 to No. 12
20000 Ditto, to be provided at Metchlepatam
15000 fine Sallampoores, *vizt.*

8000 at Metchlepatam
3000 at the Fort, No. 17. 18. 19
4000 at the Fort, No. 20 & 21 or finer

8000 fine percallaes, *vizt.*

3000 at Metchlepatam
1000 at the Fort, No. 14
2000 at the Fort, No. 15
2000 at the Fort, No. 16

6000 ordinary Morees
5000 fine Morees
1000 Superfine Morees
1000 fine broad $\frac{6}{4}$ Ginghams, at Metchlepatam
5000 Ordinary broad $\frac{6}{4}$ Ginghams, at Metchlepatam
1000 Ditto browne $\frac{6}{4}$ Ginghams, at Metchlepatam
2000 Ditto white, at the Fort
1500 Izarree Ginghams
6000 Oringall Bettelaes if 16 yards the better
4000 fine Bettelaes, 25 yards long, fine and cleere
10000 fine Bettelaes, 20 yards [long], the finer, cleerer and thinner the better
6000 Allejaes, full reds and perfect whites
10000 Cotton Romalls [*rūmāl*, kerchief], 15 handkerchers in a ps., each $\frac{3}{4}$ yard square
600 fine browne Bettelaes, 20 yards, the finer the better
1500 Peeces of fine Neckclothes striped with white, each peece conteyning 18 Neckclothes, each Neckcloth $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards long
1500 Ditto, 2 yards long each Neckcloth

20000 Sale Clothes browne, thicker and finer then those formerly Sent
2000 Broad Diapers, no Narrow, if to be procured at 1 pago. per ps. and rather better then No. 35 sent last yeare.
1000 peeces of the finest broad Diapers at Metchlepatam.

65. And in regard Our Stock this yeare and the last yeare was soe large, We conceave you will have a Considerable Summe to begin the Said Investment withall, and that in the vacancy of Shipping you will buy goods much cheaper.

66. You will find what Bullyon and goods We have designed for Metchlepatam and the Bay, and We require the same to be sent to each place, except you find Cause to Lessen the quantity of the Goods, but not of the Bullyon. And give strict order that they do not detayne Our Ships longer then is necessary for our Occasions, as formerly they have done, both at the Bay and Metchlepatam, Sometymes to the hazard of Loosing the Monsoones, and often bin the occasion of running us into Demorage.

67. Therefore you at the Fort are to take especiall Care that Our Ships are dispatched from you at the furthest by the day Limited in Charterparty, that they may not hazard the Loss of the Monsoones and Subject Us to four Monthes demorage, which we are Liable to, should you keepe them a Day Longer.[1]

68. You must give the Commanders order to keepe Company and their Ships alwaies in a posture of Defence (for though Wee are at Peace now, We knowe not what Enimyes We may have before their retorne), and at their Arrivall at St. Hellena, to Joyne with the other ships they shall meete there, and put themselves into Squadrons according to our Instructions.

69. The *Mary* We would have you dispatch to Bantam with a Cargoe of Goods to the Vallew of 10 or 12000£ sterling And Lade also as much Saltpetre as she Can Conveniently Carry. Let the Goods be propper for that Markett according to such advices as you have receaved thence.

70. And here We must take notice to you of the great Complaints We have from Bantam concerning the Goods you send them, that they are not suiteable to their advices, ill sorted, bad goods and deare bought. They write in theis words, *vizt.* 'They have putt off most of their Gobars and some Comitters,[2] now scarcely any body else hath any, but Cannot obteyne more then the Prime Cost for them one with another. But for the remainder of our Comitters We cannot get the prime Cost, with 10 or 15 per cent. Loss, although ther's none else in

[1] See paragraph 46 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 214).

[2] These appear to be Malay terms for piece-goods. 'Gobars' represent coarse sheeting, Malay *gĕbar*. The terms 'gobars' and 'comitters' occur in the Dutch records also. The late Mr. Donald Ferguson, to whom I am indebted for this note, supplied me with several references to the words, both in Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, and in the Batavia *Dagh-Register* for 1672. See also Pringle, *Consultation Book of Fort St. George* (1684), notes 58 and 59 on p. 179.

towne. We feare We shall have more come by the ship *Expectation*, notwithstanding We have often advized the Contrary. We do not say but that Gobars and Committers are vendible Sorts of Cloath, but at the rates they come Invoyced at, they will produce no Proffitt; those that Come to Us being for the most part Invoyced about the old rates, which is more then the Moors sell them for here, who, notwithstanding they pay freight and Custome, make profitable Voyages. And the Danes and others bring goods there, and sell them 20 Per Cent. Cheaper then Ours are Invoyc't at, and yet boast of gaine.' (So farr they.) It is a very great prejudice to Us to have such a Stock to Lye unimployed, Our occasions thereby disappointed, and at Last the goods (if vendible) to produce Loss.

71. We cannot conceave any reason for this kind of acting except it be to discourage Us from that trade, which We are informed Some of Our owne Servants in your Agency and at Bantam do so eagerly persue, and which We require you to give Us notice off, and to prevent for the future. And doe You send Us a Muster of each Sort of Goods you send thither, with the prizes, and Let them be packed apart; having ordred them to send Us also Musters from Bantam of what goods they receave from your Parts.[1]

72. In regard of the great charge and trust that is reposed in those imployed in the Choultry and Mint, and that have the Command of the Boats to bring goods to and from the Ships, We doe require you to Cause them to enter into Covenant to render you true and just accounts, And be bound to make Oath to the truth of Such accounts, Soe often as you shall require it.

73. We have bin informed that it hath often bin the Practice both at the Fort and also at Subordinate Factories, by Our Servants and other English, to be marryed, buryed, and Cause their Children to be baptized by Romish Priests, which We looke upon as a thing so scandalous to the professors of the Reformed Religion, that We cannot but dissalowe of all such practizes; And therefore We doe Order that you doe prohibit the same for the future in all Our Factories. And if, after this notice given, any shall dare to doe the Like, that you Cause them to be Sent home by the first Ships, and take Care to give Notice of this to all Subordinate Factoryes, and send Us an account thereof by the next opportunity. And if there be any marryed there, that do not educate their Children in the PROTESTANT RELIGION, Let them also be sent home.

74. We being desireous to bring the Coullers of Our Taffetyes[2] in the Bay to perfection, and having a good character of the Abillity of Thomas Reade,[3] a Dyer in all Sorts of Coullers, have elected him at the Sallary of £30 Per annum to Comence from the time of his embarking here,

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[1] The subject of the Bantam trade was especially brought under Master's notice. See his Commission, paragraphs 39 and 40 (*ante*, pp. 211-12).

[2] A smooth watered silk stuff.

[3] Thomas Reade was elected by the Court on the 8th December, 1675 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 197).

and have paid him £20 upon Account Beforehand, and if he shall give Us Satisfaction therein, We have promised to give him £20 per annum Gratuity, but of this you are to pay him noe part, till We have seene some of his Worke and give you further order thereabout.

75. [Auditors' objections.]

76. [Notes on bullion, wine, etc., shipped.]

77. Having had Consideration that Our Agents time is expired, and Supposing he will not desire to stay much Longer in the Countrey, and Mr. Streinsham Master being presented to Us as a fitt person to serve Us in that place and Quallity, We have Elected him to go by theis Ships, and upon his arrivall there to be Second at the Fort and to Succeede in the Agency in January 1677 [1678] (Our stile), In Case Sir William Langhorne shall resolve to stay. And in the meane time he is to go downe to Metchlepatam and the Bay, with One or two of Our Factors at the Fort, which he shall chuse, which are not of Councell, to inspect and settle Our Affaires in those parts, And that he also have 4 or 5 Souldiers along with him. And untill he comes to be Agent, he is to have £300 Sallary per annum, and when Agent, to have the same Sallary and gratuity as Sir William Langhorne now has. And when he shall go to Metchlepatam, the Bay or any Subordinate Factories, he is to take place as Chief.[1] With him goes one Nathaniel Whettam, a Writer, at £10 per annum, Who is to take place after the Writers that are already there, and to be imployed by Mr. Master in his particuler Affaires, when he shall so direct. And Mr. Master is to have any one of our Souldiers that he shall chuse to waite on him as a Servingman.[2]

78. We finding that Our Bookes of Metchlepatam and the Bay are Not kept in that due Method as they ought to bee, In Order to which We have given Mr. Master a Commission and Instructions, which We order to be read in Councell upon his arrivall, And that he take Care when he shall go to these Factoryes to put their bookes into the Method that is used at Suratt, and that he do acquaint you of that Method[3]; And if upon Consideration thereof, you shall find it better then what you now use, We would have you so order it that the bookes of the Fort may be in like manner regulated. And for the future that you Cause Our Bookes to be yearely Ballanced in the Monthes of March or Aprill as you shall agree there.

79. We have formerly ordred that if any of Our Councell shall proove unfitt for Our Service that you should give Us Notice thereof, but not putt them out 'till further Order. But upon Consideration of the Length of the time, and that some inconvenience may happen thereby, We doe now order that in Case any of Our Councell shall, by reason of unfaithfulness or other great misdemeanour, become so obnoxious that it shall neither be Safe or honourable for Us that he be Continued in that imployment, that the Agent and Councell be impowered to

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[1] See paragraphs 1-8 and 47 of Master's Commission (*ante*, pp. 200-203, 215).

[2] See paragraph 48 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 215).

[3] See paragraph 9 (*a*) of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 203).

suspend him, and his Charge and proofes sent to Us by the first opportunity, with his answer thereunto. But for the Subordinate Factoryes, they are to give you an account and expect your orders before they suspend any.[1]

80. By Our Last Ships We advized what We had done for the incouragement of Our Servants when their respective times were out, and knowing that a distinction of Title is in many respects Necessary, We do order that, when the Apprentizes have served their times, they be stiled Writers, and Writers having served their times, to be stiled Factors, and Factors having served their times, to be stiled Senior Merchants.

81. We have made a little alteration in Our Settlement Last yeare for the advancement of Our Apprentices and do order that after they have served the first 5 yeares, they have £10 per annum for the 2 Last yeares, and having served them (*sic*) 2 yeares to be entertained One yeare Longer as Writers, and have Writers Sallary, and having served that yeare, to enter into the degree of Factors. So now, after eight Yeares they will come into the Degree of Factors, which otherwise would have bin 10 yeares.

82. We being apprehensive of inconveniences that may happen to Us by any English that are not in Our Service purchasing of Land or houses or building of houses, We do order that you take care that none be permitted so to doe, except it be at Our Towne of Madrassapatam,[2] And if any, Notwithstanding this Order, shall do soe, that you send them home.

83. We take notice that in severall of the Subordinate Factories Some of Our Factors, both marryed and unmarryed, Live in particuler houses of their owne, and Not in Ours. We therefore recomend it to your Care to prevent it for the future and oblidge all persons that serve Us to Live together in Our house. The marryed persons are to be allowed for their Dyett according to our former Orders; And if Our howses have not Conveniency to receave all, that then you give Directions for their enlargement, in which you are to be frugall.[3]

84. In regard We would have a good Correspondence betweene Our Factors at Metchlepatam, the Bay and your selves, and to keepe them in due Subordination, We do now write to them at the Bay and would have you give the like order at Metchlepatam (when that Factory shall be setled), that Our Chiefs and Councells there do give perticuler advizes of all Our Affaires to Us, and Send the Coppies thereof to you, that you may give them and Us your Opinion how farr what they advize may be to Our Advantage.[4]

85. The Fort and Towne of Madrassapatam being made over to Us by the King of Golcundah, We would have you to Consider whether We have not a right to a quitt rent for the houses in the towne, or what other improvement may be made by virtue of that graunt; But

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[1] See also paragraph 27 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 209).
[2] See paragraph 35 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 210).
[3] See paragraph 30 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 209).
[4] See paragraph 44 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 214).

herein to be very Cautious of Causing any disorder or Discontent among the Inhabitants, or to cause the King of Golcundah to augment that rent upon Us.[1]

86. We have taken notice that Our Shipping do yearely Carry to and bring from the Bay great Quantityes of goods for our Factors and others, which We had expected that you, or at Least Our Agent, would have notified and advized Us, or sent Us a Register thereof, according to our printed Rules, which, had he done, We should have receaved it with a due resentment.

87. We have graunted Mr. Master to carry to and bring from the Bay yearely in Our Shiping the Quantity of 15 Tonnes of goods not prohibited, freight free, provided that the same be registered according to Our Rules, and that the same be for his owne Account, And that it may Conveniently be done without Our prejudice by staying Our Ships at the Bay, Metchlepatam or the Fort, either in Loading or unloading thereof.[2] And had Our Agent desired the same, We should have granted him the Like. But for all others that shall Loade any Goods at the Fort or Metchlepatam for the Bay, they are to pay 30s. per Tonn freight, and for all goods from the Bay to Metchlepatam or the Fort, £3 per tonn. And We expect an annuall account what you receave thereupon. And take Care the Comanders for themselves and Company doe not exceede the 5 per cent. But withall We would have you take Notice that We are So apprehensive of the prejudice done Us by this trade in the Detention of Our Ships, Sometimes to the hazard of Loosing their Monsoones, and often of running Us into demorage, as before hinted in a former Paragraph [66], that, could We prevent it, No goods at all should be Loaden; and therefore you must take care that Wee come into none of theis inconveniencyes by reason of this Liberty, which We would have you give in Charge both at Metchlepatam and the Bay.[3]

88. We have also graunted Mr. Master Liberty to send home yearely 2 Tonnes of goods upon Our Tonnadge, provided they are not such as We have or shall hereafter prohibit, and that theis be Consigned to Our Selves, which We the rather doe, hopeing it will put him upon endeavors to find out Some Sorts of Goods propper for this markett which are as yet unknowne to Us.[4]

89. We formerly sent you Some Catechises and Bibles to be dispersed amongst the Youth and the Souldiers. When they are disposed off, We would know, and if you desire more, Wee will send them.

90. By Our Letters per last Ships, We did advise you that We were informed that Mr. Fleetwood hath farmed some places of the King of Golcundah, which practice We ordred you to discountenance, and if upon examination thereof, he were found guilty, to send him home.[5]

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[1] See paragraph 41 (4) of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 212).

[2] See paragraph 49 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 215).

[3] See paragraphs 45 and 46 of Master's Commission (*ante*, pp. 214 215).

[4] See paragraph 49 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 216).

[5] The passage alluded to occurred in the Court's letter of 23rd December, 1674. See *Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 146.

Upon further consideration of this business, and being tender of all [illegible], We do order that if, upon examination, you [illegible] any of theis places, and that he will cleare himselfe of the same, or that he will part with it to you (provided you find it necessary or convenient for Us to take it), you may Lett him remaine in Our Service, if you can be Satisfyed that he will be faithfull to Our interest, and observant to Our Rules in the Management of Our Affaires.[1]

91. And having taken into Consideration the whole business of the Farmes, We do require Our Agent and Councell throughly to debate the Matter, how far it may be Convenient or advantageous to ingage therein, and well to weigh the Advantages on the one Side, and the Disadvantages and hazards that may attend such engagements on the other, and not to engage there in any Farmes, but where you shall finde it apparently to tend to Our proffitt and advantage, or Necessary for prevention of greater inconveniencyes.[2]

92. We, being desireous to give Our Factors and Servants as great incouragement as may consist with Our Affaires, do hereby give Liberty to Our Agent, Factors and Servants at Fort St. George and those under that Agency, to trade in any Comodityes to and from the Fort to any Ports or places in the East Indies to the Northward of the Equator, except Tonqueene and Formosa. Provided you and they Conforme your Selves in all other matters to the Rules of our Indulgence of 16th November 1674 and that their goods from time to time be registred according to Our Rules; and this Liberty to continue till Our further order. But We doe expect annually to have a perfect account thereof.[3]

93. We enorder you to write effectually to the Chief and Councell at the Bay to provide carefull young men of about 20 yeares of Age out of any of the Ships in the Company's Service, with the Consent of the Comanders, to be trayned up as Pylotts, but not to be imployed as Writers or on any other Mercantile Affaires, that thereby the Company's Shipping may with Safety be Carryed up the River of Ganges; And send Us yearely what you doe therein and an Account of their Proficiency and Journalls.[4]

94-102. [Concerning the weight and fineness of pagodas.]

103–105. [Concerning the annual list of 'remains' at Fort St. George and subordinate factories, the List of the 'Companys Tonnadge' and the weight of gold shipped out to Sir William Langhorne.]

106. [Identical with paragraph 26 of Master's Commission, *ante*, pp. 208-9.]

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[1] Fleetwood professed his willingness to give up the towns he had farmed rather than incur the Company's displeasure; but Major William Puckle gave it as his opinion that the retention of 'the little village [Navarazpuram] wherein he lives' could not be 'prejudiciall to the Companys affairs.' *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii.

[2] See paragraphs 32 and 33 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 210).

[3] See paragraph 41 (9) of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 213).

[4] See also paragraph 9 (*g*) of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 205).

107. We would have you, in the answering our Letters, to answer the Severall Paragraphs as they Lye in Order, which will facilitate your Correspondence.

108. You will observe a direction We give to the Bay about persons deserting their Ships, which doe you alsoe follow, and give the like Direction to Metchlepatam.

109. [Contains permission to lade on the returning ships 'Necessaryes and household stuff' belonging to Sir Edward Winter.]

So We committ you to the protection of the Almighty, and Remaine, Your very loving Friends,

NATH : HEARNE, Govr. [&c.].[1]

Post script.—If there be any English in those parts more then We have ordred to be sent home, that are not in Our Service, and you thinke fitt to Let them remayne at the Fort, We would have them enter into Covenants, of which We send you herewith a Coppy. As to Wm. Perkins, if you have not already sent him home, and that He desire to stay, You may Let him Continue at his owne Chardge, till further Order from Us.

COMMERCIAL MEASURES AT MASULIPATAM, 1676.

August 8, *Tuesday*.—Att a Consultation, Present :—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ. [and Council as before].

The Councell takeing into consideration how to proceed upon the provission of the large quantities of ordinary cloth, *viz.* 10,000 pieces of long Cloth and 20,000 pieces of Sallampores,[2] any part of which will not be undertaken to be procured by the merchants of this towne or by those who usually contract for the fine goods; and the Agent and Councell adviseing the Commissioners here that they were equally responsible for the trust committed to them in this Factory, made it difficult to the Councell how to divide themselves in order to the provission of the said cloth in other places where it is made. Whereupon Mr. Master his Commission and Instructions being perused, there was some clauses found, which himself and Councell doe thinke a sufficient order for the remedying of this great inconvenience and dammage to the Honourable Company, if they should be disapointed of those sortments to make up

[1] The remaining nineteen signatures are the same as those appended to Master's Commission (see p. 216), with the following two exceptions—the name of Robert Thomson, Deputy, is missing, and James Hublon's signature is added.

[2] See *ante*, p. 258, paragraph 64 of the Company's letter; also paragraph 5 of Master's Commission on p. 203.

their tonnage, which its feared will fall very much short in all places this yeare.

The clauses in the said Commission follow *vizt.*[1]

* * * * *

By vertue of which Authority and direction it is thought fit and ordered for the goeing on with this yeares investment: —First to continue the investment at Maddapolam, and Mr. Robert Fleetwood, in whose charge it was the last yeare and is in at present,[2] and is his station (by the Companys appointment) as third in Councell,[3] to proceed thereupon with all convenient speed. And Mr. Master proposed to the Councell for one of them to goe with Mr. Fleetwood as was practised the last yeare.[4] It was thought inconvenient for one of the Councell to goe, for the following reasons:

(First). For that the Imployment is capable but of one of that quality. (2ndly). There will want persons of that quality to assist in Councell here and to receive and sort the goods as they come in from the Merchants of this place, for which reason Mr. Hatton was sent for from thence the last yeare before the Investment could be finished,[5] and likewise Mr. Chamberlaine[6] from Naglewanch,[7] who is now alsoe to

[1] See *ante*, pp. 200-216, where the whole Commission has been already given. The paragraphs here quoted are Nos. 3, 5, 6.

[2] In Major Puckle's Diary (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii.), under date 23rd July, 1675, we find: 'By Councell Order that Mr. Fleetwood and Mr. Hatton do undertake the investment to be made at Madapollam and Verasheroon and each to have one writer to attend and assist them.' On the 9th August the writers chosen were Samuel Wales and John Scattergood. See *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.

[3] See paragraph 18 of Master's Commission, p. 207, and the Masulipatam Council's instructions to Fleetwood which follow this Consultation.

[4] Christopher Hatton accompanied Robert Fleetwood in 1675.

[5] From the 7th to the 26th December, 1675, Messrs. Puckle and Mainwaring wrote repeatedly to Hatton at Madapollam urging his return. He arrived at Masulipatam on the 28th or 29th December, 1675. See *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. vi.

[6] At a Consultation on the 9th August, 1675, George Chamberlain and Maurice Wynn were ordered to go to 'Naglewanch,' taking George Ramsden and Thomas Mayo as Assistants. Chamberlain was recalled early in December. See *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vols. i. and vi.

[7] 'Nagelwanze' appears on Valentijn's Map of the Coromandel Coast (*Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, vol. v.), and is said (p. 28) to be situated thirty-two (Dutch) miles inland to the west of Masulipatam. The Dutch had a factory there and

come back soe soon as the money is delivered out and directions given for the receiving the Cloth in. And (lastly) for that by the Companys late order[1] three of the Councell ought to be present at the viewing of the sortments of the Callicoes in this place.

Which reasons being thought sufficient to excuse one of the Councell goeing, Mr. John Tivill, now in the degree and quallity of a merchant,[2] is appointed to assist Mr. Fleetwood as Second in that Factory [Madapollam], and Timothy Harris, a writer,[3] and 7000 Pagodas ordered to be delivered to Mr. Fleetwood to commence the Investment of the following goods: 10,000 peices of ordinary longcloth,[4] 2,500 peices do. fine, such as last yeare,[4] 20,000 peices Ordinary Sallampores,[4] 750 peices Izaree Ginghams,[5] or soe many of these as can bee procured at that place. And it was recommended to them to be as frugall in their expences as possible they can.

Secondly. To continue the Investment at Naglewanch and parts adjacent, Mr. George Chamberlaine and Mr. Maurice Wynn,[6] who had the charge thereof the last yeare, are ordered to proceed thereon with all convenient expedition, George Ramsden a writer[7] to assist them; and they are to build a

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factors in residence, the chief in 1676 being Jacob Corbesier. In a 'Map of the Northern Division,' attached to the *Report on the Topography of the Northern Hyderabad and Nagpore Divisions*, of 1844, 'Nagalachancha' is marked to the south of 'Cummamet.' In the map of the Kamamet Division (*Indian Atlas*, Sheet No. 75) Naugeelaycondah appears in the same position as the Nagalachancha of the 1844 map, and the Nagelwanze of Valentijn—*i.e.*, 17° 8′ N. lat. and 80° 20′ E. long. In the description of the roads of Hyderabad by Bilgrami and Wilmott, in their *Nizam's Dominions*, we have, in vol. i., p. 394, 'Nagalwancha to Nagaram.'

[1] See paragraph 37 (2) of Master's Commission, *ante*, p. 211.

[2] John Tivill was elected factor on the 25th October, 1670. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 27.

[3] Timothy Harris was elected writer on the 14th October, 1674. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 61.

[4] See paragraph 61 of the Company's General Letter to the Fort, *ante*, p. 257.

[5] The full quantity ordered was 1,500 ps. (see paragraph 61 of the Company's Letter). Izaree gingham (*Izār*, drawers, trousers) was a striped cotton cloth. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Piece-goods.

[6] Maurice Wynn was appointed factor and assistant to the warehousekeeper at Masulipatam, 1st November, 1671. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 184.

[7] George Ramsden was elected a writer on the 25th October, 1672. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxviii., fol. 65.

convenient place at Muccawpate[1] for the preservation of their health and reception of the Companys Goods, not exceeding 50 Pagodas for the present. Notwithstanding Mr. Chamberlaine did informe the Councell that the cloth was not soe good there as in other places, Yett, by reason of the quantityes required (not elcewhere to be procured), wee are induced to proceed thereupon, hopeing that they will better in the makeing, and that the Charges will bee lessened by reason of their better acquaintance there this yeare then the last.[2] Half a peice of broad cloth for presents, and Pagodas 5000 ordered to be delivered Mr. Chamberlaine to begin the Investment of the following goods[3]: 10,000 peices ordinary Long cloth, 20,000 peices ordinary Sallampores, or soe many of them as can bee procured,[4] And [it] is recommended to them to bee as frugall in their expences as possible they can.

Instructions to Mr. Robert Fleetwood, Chief for Affaires of the Honorable Company at Madapollam. Factory Records, Masulipatam, vol. i.

WHEREAS by Consultation bearing date the 8th. instant, the Employment of Chief of Madapollam is confirmed and assigned unto you, and in Order for the promoting the Investment directed to be made there and parts adjacent, 7000 pagodas are ordered to be delivered you for beginning the same, which, with the 1000 pagodas ordered in a preceeding

[1] Muccawpate, the modern Muckapett (Makkāpet), is situated in 16° 55′ N. lat. and 80° 10′ E. long. (*Indian Atlas*, Sheet No. 75.) In 1675 Messrs. Chamberlain and Wynn had made their headquarters at Makkāpet, about fifteen miles to the south of 'Naglewanch.' Finding that the Dutch obstructed them in their endeavours to negotiate with the native weavers, they abandoned the 'Naglewanch' district, and obtained their piece-goods from Nabobpett (Nawābpet), Joodjoor (Jujūr), Goshevere (? Gosavīdū), Byzaram (Buyyavarum), and Vipparla. From Ebrampatam, on the Kistna, they dispatched the goods to Bijwārā, the modern Bezwāda, and thence to Masulipatam (see *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. x.). The trade in this district, however, does not appear to have been profitable; for, after 1676, there is no further mention of investments in the neighbourhood of 'Naglewanch.'

[2] Letters from Chamberlain, written to Messrs. Puckle and Mainwaring at Masulipatam, in September and December, 1675, give particulars as to the goods procurable in the neighbourhood of 'Naglewanch.' See *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. x.

[3] See the instructions given to Chamberlain which follow this Consultation.

[4] These goods were the additional quantities ordered to be provided for the year 1677. See paragraph 64 of the Company's General Letter, *ante*, p. 258.

Consultation of date July 31th.[1] for the same end, amounts together to 8000. Which summ of 8000 pagodas being duly paid you, as per your receits appear, Wee come now to lay down and recommend unto your Especiall Consideration and Care what the Agent and Councell of Fort St. George have requird of Us and doe expect should be observd in the providing of such Callicoes as are ordered in your parts.

And first they have appointed to be provided at Maddapollam :— 10000 peices ordinary Long cloth, 25000 peices Fine Long cloth, 20000 peices Ordinary Sallampores, 750 peices fine Izzaree Ginghams.[2] But finding that the want of ordinary cloth may prove very prejudiciall to the Honorable Company in regard of Tonnage, which is more at large insisted on in said Consultation of 8th August, Wee particularly recommend unto your Care the advancing the Manufactures of ordinary Callicoes as much as possible and that all dilligence be used for the procuring as large Quantityes of the ordinary Long cloth and Sallampores as by your uttmost endeavours can be compassed for the tymely Lading on the Ships at their Return from the Bay. And that you comprehend in the Quantity of fine Long Cloth now ordered, *vizt.* 2500 peices, the full quantity of peices of said Fine Longcloth contracted for, and [that which] shall be brought in on accompt of the Investment made with the 6700 pagodas of last Yeares Remaines, So as the Fine Long cloth you shall receive on that said first Investment and this now Ordered doe together not exceed the quantity of 2500 peices, agreeable to our Consultation of the 22th. instant.

Wee also desire you to be very careful in delivering out the money, that you make dilligent Enquiry into the condition and Abillity of the persons you intrust, as farr forth as may be for the Honorable Companys Security, and your own Satisfaction in avoiding bad Debts. Wee also herewith send you 600 Pagodas for the speedy procuring of 200 Timbers, a standard, and 10 Garse[3] Gramm for the use of Fort St. George, whereof wee desire you to be mindfull. Wee also expect and require of Mr. John Tivill, ordered to be with and assistant to you as Second of that Factory, that he make out a Journall by the Leidger of Last years Accompts delivered him as by Consultation [of the 9th August] directed, and that he send it Us with all expedition.

Whereas, in the year 1672, yourself and Mr. John Feild being employed to make an Investment for the Honorable Company at Madapollam and the places adjacent, did deliver to sundry persons severall Summs of money for cloth for the said Investment, many of the said persons did not comply with you and the said Mr. John Feild in bringing in goods according to their agreement, but unjustly have detaind

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[1] This Consultation is to be found in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.

[2] In their letter to Masulipatam of the 18th July, 1676 (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. x.), the Council at Fort St. George sent a list of the goods ordered from England, but there is no mention of the places whence they were to be procured.

[3] Garce (*gārisa*), a cubic measure used for rice, etc., on the Madras coast. Its weight is about four tons. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Garce.

the money delivered them for the purpose aforesaid unto this day.[1] . . . Which Summs wee desire and enorder you likewise to use your utmost Endeavours to recover. And farther Wee order that in all your Expences and presents to the Governors you be as frugall as conveniently you can, and that you duly advise Us of all your doings herein so soon as conveniently you can. So, wishing you good Success, wee remaine,

MATTHEW MAINWARING. CHRISTOPHER HATTON. GEORGE CHAMBERLAINE. JOSEPH ARNOLD. *Metchlepatam, August the 22th.* 1676.

Instructions to Mr. George Chamberlain and Mr. Maurice Wynn. Factory Records, Masulipatam, vol. i.

WHEREAS by Consultation of the 8th instant, you are ordered to be continued on the Naglawanch Imployment, and for the providing the ordinary Longcloth and Sallampores there procurable, 5000 pagodas ordered to be delivered to you, which being accordingly performed, and you therewith possessed, as by your receipt appears, Wee now by these recomend unto your Care and Consideration as followeth :—

First. That, notwithstanding the discouragement you have expressd to ly under by reason of the badness of the Cloth in those parts, which wee hope your late Experience and acquaintance there will enable you to remedy and reform, Wee especially recomend unto your Industry the improvement of those Manufactures of ordinary Callicoes as much as possible, in regard of the great Benefitt that thereby may redound to the Honorable Company for compleating of Tonnage, which, for want thereof, occasions unto them no small Damage.

2dly. That Whereas Liberty is left unto you, Mr. George Chamberlain, to return to Metchlepatam as soon as you have delivered out the money to the Merchants, Wee doe direct and order that the said Mr. Maurice Wynne be consulted with and privy and consenting unto every Act or thing that shall there be done in relation to the said Investment, that by such means he may be more throughly acquainted with all Circumstances, and the better enabled to discharge that trust which will singly devolve upon him upon your withdrawing thence. And in regard the Merchants you last yeare dealt with were exceeding backward in complying with their contracts, in so much that a considerable part of that Investment came not in till after the Fleet's departure, and part of what came in, came to late to be cured, but went home brown, As also to this day to a considerable amount still standing out, Wee finde it very necessary to advise you and do order that you deliver out no more moneys to any Merchants or Commitees[2] then on the cautions before send [*sic*] downe you shall reasonably believe will be punctually complyed with by them, so as the said cloth may arrive here in due tyme to be washed and made ready for the

[1] Here follows a list of native merchants and the amount of their indebtedness.
[2] *Komati*, persons belonging to trading castes.

Ships at their return from the Bay, which pray take especiall notice of; for its failing of coming in due tyme last yeare, through your Merchants Non complyance, occasiond no small damage to our Masters. Wee do also farther recomend unto your Notice that whatsoever money shall remaine in your hands, by reason of the preceeding Caution, you do not deliver out on any contract for the next years Investment, in regard of that generall badness of the cloth there you have taken notice and complained of. For such remaining moneys may much more advantageously be employed in other parts where those ordinary sorts of Callicoes are constantly made and dealt in, especially when the present Monsoon is over and the ships departed, for till then all hands are employed, but afterward may be dealt with on more reasonable Terms. And therefore wee cannot omitt to recommend unto you the observation of these our directions above. And whereas, in the Accompt last yeare delivered in and signed by George Ramsden, there appears about 900 pagodas to be yet standing out of that Investment, Wee recomend unto your especiall care the recovery and getting in of that money.

3rdly. That you use all Dilligence possible to make Enquiry into the Condition and Abillityes of the persons you entrust, so farr forth as may be for the Honorable Companyes Security and your own Satisfaction in avoiding bad Debts.

The Callicoes ordered to be provided are, *vizt*:—10000 peices Ordinary Long cloth, 20000 peices Ordinary Sallampores. Wee also recommend unto your observation the regular sortment of cloth, that all of the same quallity be noted under one and the same mark, and that not promiscuously embaled together, aggreable to the Honorable Companyes Directions. Wee have to add that due Frugallity be regarded, to which wee hope your Experience will attribute much. So, recommending you and your affaires to the guidance and protection of the Almighty, Wee conclude and remaine,

MATTHEW MAINWARING. CHRISTOPHER HATTON. JOSEPH ARNOLD.

Metchlepatam, August the 31*st.* 1676.

August 8. — Att a Consultation, afternoone, Present:— STREYNSHAM MASTER Esq: [and Council as before].

The merchants who usually contract for the fine goods being come to the Factory, were called before the Councell and acquainted with the quantityes which the Agent and Councell have ordered to be provided in this place.[1] To which they replyed that they could not undertake for the ordinary sorts of long cloth and Sallampores, and though the Councell used their endeavours to perswade them to procure som, though a small part, yett they would not be prevailed with. For the fine sorts, they demanded higher prizes then last year by reason of the

[1] See paragraph 61 of the Company's General Letter, *ante*, p. 257.

scarcity and dearness of Cotton. Yett, with much adoe they condescended, and the Councell agreed with them by the former musters [samples] at last yeares rates for the following sortments *vizt.*—

	Pagodas.
8000 peices fine Sallampores of 32 Covads [covid, a cubit or ell] long, $2\frac{1}{8}$ broad, at $1\frac{5}{8}$ pagodas per peice, is - - - - - - - -	1300
4000 peices fine percollaes[1] of 15 covads long, $2\frac{1}{8}$ broad, at $\frac{3}{4}$ pagodas per peice - - -	300
750 peices Izarre Ginghams, 16 covads long.[2] $2\frac{1}{8}$ covads broad, $1\frac{5}{16}$ pagodas per peice -	984
9000 peices Oringall Beetelaes,[3] is 450 corge [score], 215 covads long, 2 covads 4 inches broad, at $25\frac{1}{2}$ pagodas per corge - - -	1147
6000 peices Allejaes,[4] 32 covads long, 2 covads 2 inches broad, is 300 corge, at $19\frac{1}{2}$ pagodas per corge - - - - - - - -	5850
1500 peices Sallos[5] of Golcondah, they being the same sort of cloth as Oringall Beetelaes, as appeared by examineing and compareing of them together, 25 covads long, 2 covads 4 inches broad, for 75 corge at $25\frac{1}{2}$ pagodas per corge amount to - - - - -	1912
Pagodas - -	36221

All the prementioned goods to be well whitned and cured. The money to be paid half at present and the other half after receipt of the goods into sortments, the merchants every one for his part giveing his obligation. The warehousekeeper in his booke

[1] *Parkālā*, spangled cloth. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Piece-goods (Percaulas).

[2] The remaining 750 pieces ordered were left to Mr. Fleetwood to provide. See *ante*, p. 269.

[3] *Viz.*, veilings from Warangal, in the Hyderabad territory. Warangal represents a Europeanized form of the Telugu name for the place, which is Orungallu.

[4] *Alāchah*, a silk cloth. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Alleja.

[5] *Sālū*, usually a red coarse muslin or twilled cotton stuff. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Shalee.

to enter each particuler mans allotment of every sort above mentioned, the merchants refuseing to agree that any one sortment should be allotted to one person, by reason there was losse on some and gaine on some other sorts, therefore desired that every person might have his proportion of every sort.

The musters of the ten thousand peices of Rommalls[1] required at this place not being yett come to hand, nothing could be done therein.

The Councell, haveing respect to the Honourable Companys rule now injoyned concerning callicoes,[2] did find that at this time of contracting they could not be observed, but upon the sorting of the goods they shall be putt in execution.

August 8.[3]—Upon discourse with the Councell, they urging that the Agent and Councell had made them as Commissioners equally responsible for the Honourable Companys concernes in this Factory,[4] it was put to them whether they did account themselves soe responsible, the cash being all in one mans custody and all the goods in anothers. To which they would not give any direct answer, but said the Agent and Councell haveing wrote they were responsible, they did not think fitt to gainesay or oppose it.[5]

The musters of the cloth agreed for are observed to be of the yeares 1670 and 1672, and none since.

Upon discourse about renting of Townes of the King of

[1] *Rūmāl*, a kerchief (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Roomaul). The *rūmāls* are enumerated among the goods ordered to be provided for 1677. See paragraph 64 of the Company's General Letter, *ante*, p. 258.

[2] See paragraph 37 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 211).

[3] This part of the Consultation of the 8th August, 1676, is not in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i. See *ante*, note 6 on p. 244.

[4] By a General Letter to Fort St. George of the 23rd December, 1674, the Company's affairs at Masulipatam were ordered to be managed 'by way of Commission . . . without appointing any one to be Chief more than the rest . . . and that they doe jointly consult and advize togeather for the management of all our concernes at Metchlepatam . . . or any other dependencies thereon.' *Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 146.

[5] In their letter to Mr. Mainwaring, etc., Commissioners, of the 31st July, 1676 (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii.), the Agent and Council at Fort St. George notified the Company's appointment of William Puckle as Chief of Masulipatam (see paragraph 51 of the Company's letter, *ante*, p. 253), and ordered that, until his arrival from the Bay, the business should continue in the hands of Commissioners.

Golcondah,[1] Mr. Fleetwood informed me that he had rented Verasherroon[2] for 300 pagodas per annum the first yeare, and in three yeares time improved it soe much that the last yeare the rent was raised to 1200 pagodas per annum; and the Councell were generally of opinion that it would bee much to the Companys interest and advantage to rent the said Towne of Verasheroone, but it was referred to farther consideration.

Wednesday, August 9.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER Esq: [and Council as before].

The Councell proceeded upon such particulers in Mr Masters Commission and Instructions as related to this Factory.[3] (First). The Printed directions made by the Court of Committee in London, the 18th December, 1667, for the Christian and sober Comportment of all the honourable Companys Servants, was ordered to be put up in the hall and recommended to be carefully observed. (Secondly). The Printed rules and orders for the management of the honourable Companys affaires was read [and] recommended to due observation for the future.[4]

Upon inspecting the Bookes of accounts of this Factory, it appeared that there was noe coppyes of the last bookes, the Oringinalls [*sic*] being sent for England. Whereupon, Mr. John Tivill, in whose charge they were committed to be drawne up, was sent for before the Councell, and being examined, he made answer, that it was the 16th December before they were committed to him,[5] which he said was a very short time to

[1] See paragraph 90 of the Company's letter, *ante*, pp. 263-4, and footnote, also paragraphs 32 and 33 of Master's Commission on p. 210.

[2] Verasheroon (Viravasāram), in Bhīmavāram *tāluk*, Godāvari District, Madras Presidency, eight miles north-west of Narsāpur. The English settled a factory here in 1634. It was withdrawn in 1662, re-established in 1677, and abandoned in 1702. See Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and the *Madras Manual of Administration*, vol. iii., *s.v.* Veeram.

[3] These were, especially, paragraphs 2, 6, 9, 15-18, 21, 22, 25. See *ante*, pp. 201, 203, 207, 208.

[4] See the note on these Printed Directions and Rules on p. 201.

[5] On the 27th December, 1675, there is the following entry in William Puckle's Diary (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii.): 'Mr. Tivill, principall Factor, being desired to help Mr. Wyn in sorting of cloath, refused, because he was drawing up accounts.'

draw them up out of loose papers and accounts. And when he had finished them, they were delivered to Robert Crawley,[1] Wm. Cullen[2] and Timothy Harris to be coppyed. But he goeing on the ships to the Fort before they were transcribed, and carrying the bookes with him[3] did there deliver them to Sir Wm. Langhorne, the Agent, telling him that, if he pleased, there was young men of this Factory at the Fort[4] that would finish the coppying. To which, he sayd, Sir William answered him that they should not be sent home, and then sent them to Mr. Hynmers.[5] And him also, he saith, he acquainted that there was noe coppyes taken of them, yett it seems they were sent away. Whereupon the Councell ordered Mr. Tivill to draw up another Journall of the said last yeares accounts out of a Coppy of the Ledger finished by Wm. Cullen.

August 9.[6]—It being demanded of the Commissioners why the moneys remayning of last yeares stock was not invested in ordinary longcloth and Sallampores, those being the sorts most difficult to be procured, and of which the Company required the greatest quantity,[7] the Commissioners answered that they were all summoned up to the Fort there to be examined upon oath and were but lately returned thence.[8] Being demanded why there was noe bookes of accounts kept in the Factory, the same answer was returned.

[1] Robert Crawley was elected as a writer on the 24th October, 1671. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 181.

[2] William Cullen was elected as a writer on the 14th October, 1674. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 61.

[3] Tivill was summoned to Fort St. George as a witness in the case of Mohun *v.* Mainwaring.

[4] Henry Croon Colbourne and Robert Crawley, writers at Masulipatam, were then at Fort St. George in connection with Mohun's case.

[5] Joseph Hymners, second of Council at Fort St. George.

[6] These concluding proceedings of the 9th August are not entered in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.

[7] See paragraph 61 of the Company's General Letter, *ante*, p. 257.

[8] The summons to repair to Fort St. George as witnesses in the case of Mohun *v.* Mainwaring was sent to the Commissioners at Masulipatam by the Council at the Fort on the 20th November and 24th December, 1675. Mainwaring, with his supporters, however, did not leave Masulipatam until March of 1676, and he was absent for two months. There are no copies of Consultations held in Masulipatam from the 17th March until the 31st July. See *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vols. i. and x.

In the Consultation of the 26 of February last I observed there was 15,000 Pagodas then in Cash disposed off, *vizt.*

		Pagodas.
To be invested at Maddapolam - - -		6000
To be invested by Mr. Wynn at Yencapollam,[1] which was afterward by Mr. Wynn July 31 ordered to Maddapollam - - - -		1000
To be paid Vinco [Venka] Bramine [Brāhman], he abating 12 per Cent. upon the whole for the following goods		
For fine Sallampores -	P: 2500	
For Percollaes - -	1000	- 6000
For Oringall Beetelaes -	2500	
For the Factory expence - - - - -		2000
Not alloted in said Consultation[2] - - -		500

Mr. Fleetwood informed mee that the investment of Maddapollam for ordinary longcloth and Sallampores was agreed for with the merchants at 13 per Cent. abatement.

Thursday, August 10th.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Councell continued to proceed upon the particulers of Mr. Masters Commission relateing to this Factory.

CONCERNING THE ACCOMPTS.

The paper of proposalls,[3] upon which the accompts at Surratt were altered and put into the present method they there used, was read, and some alterations made therein to make it sutable to this place, which paper is to be entred in this Consultation booke[4] and Directed to bee observed in this Factory. A paire

[1] Yencapollam, usually Ventapollam in the old manuscripts, represents Vētapālem in the Bāpatla *tāluk*. It is situated in 15° 47′ N. lat. and 80° 20′ E. long. (*Indian Atlas*, Sheet No. 76). Vētapālem was a centre of the weaving industry. It was visited by Master in 1679.

[2] The Consultation of the 26th February, 1676, here referred to, is to be found in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.

[3] The 'Paper of Proposalls' is not to be found among the Consultations in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.

[4] See paragraph 9 (*a*) of Master's Commission, and paragraph 78 of the Company's General Letter, pp. 203, 261.

of Surratt bookes letter M. were alsoe produced for the better clearing up thereof.

The accompt Sallary being observed not to be duely entred in the booke of accompts of this Factory, according to the Companys printed rules, It is directed to be altered in conformety thereto in the next bookes, makeing accompt Sallary Dr. to each person for the full salary due, and each person Dr. for what is paid thereupon, The overplus to be cleared on accompt wages paid or payable in England, and that accompt by accompt Current Fort St George. It's alose directed that the Journall parcells be more largely expressed then hath binn used.

That in the drawing up of the Invoices, the whole charge of the Factory be charged proportionably upon each sort of goods as can nearest be Calculated, which charges to be entred in the bookes to the debt of the goods and to the Creditt of the accompt of Charges Generall. And all the particuler accounts of charges of Sallary, Dyett, Presents, House rent, &c. to be cleared by that accompt of Charges Generall, The foot of which to be cleared by Profitt and Loss. And each particuler sort of goods to be charged with the cureing and packing, and an account of packing stuff to be keept distinctly in the bookes, and what is over or under charged in that account, by reason of calculating, to be cleared by Profitt and Losse.

The accounts of the Factory for the yeare past to be ballanced the 30th of June last, as they doe at the Fort. And the Bookes following, it is agreed to be most convenient to ballance them the last of Aprill[1] and to be kept in the method now proposed, valueing the pagoda at 9s. and the rupee at 2s. 3d. and the fanam at 3d., which is directed to be observed accordingly.[2] It is ordered that Mr. Mathew Mainwairing doe take charge of the bookes of accounts, and that all depending accounts of cash, the warehouse expences &c., be monthly stated and brought into the bookes, and they constantly compleated with every moneth.

For all moneys paid out of cash, it is thought convenient

[1] See paragraph 78 of the Company's General Letter, *ante*, p. 261.
[2] See paragraph 52 of the Company's General Letter, *ante*, p. 254.

that (according to the custome used at Surratt) the second (or booke-keeper) doe draw a bill upon the cash keeper expressing the partyes name to whome and the accompt upon which the money is payd; which bill the second is first to subscribe, leaveing place for the Cheife, and the Cheife haveing signed the bill, the money is to bee paid out accordingly, the cash-keeper takeing a receipt for the same. And if the money be to be sent for inland investments, to take attestations of two [of] the Companys servants of the delivery of the summe.

The Warehouse bookes in the future to be kept in the method prescribed in the Companys Printed Rules. The Stewards bookes being sent for and examined, a more compendious method was proposed, that the whole expence might appeare in one booke monthly summed up; and at the end a table of the whole yeares expence under their proper heads and in distinct Collumes, whereby it may be compared how they agree with the entryes of the bookes of accounts. And finding that at some times there are stores of wheat, butter, Oyle, Arrack,[1] Sugar &c. brought into the Factory, of the expence of which there is no particuler account kept, It is therefore directed that a particuler accompt of the receipt and expence of all such provissions be kept in the same booke, in the manner of a Stewards accompt aboard ship.

All which is recommended to the care of the Councell to be duely put in execution.

August 10. — Att a Consultation, afternoon. Present:— STREYNSHAM MASTER ESQ: [and Council as before].

A List of the Honourable Companys Servants in this Factory being taken,[2] the Councell debated upon their degrees and imployments untill it was late, and then refered it to farther consideration.

[1] An Anglo-Indian term for Oriental distilled spirits. The finest kind was brought from Batavia to the Coromandel Coast. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Arrack.

[2] This was ordered in paragraph 9 (*c*) of Master's Commission, and paragraph 39 of the Company's General Letter. See *ante*, pp. 204, 252.

PROPOSALLS FOR SOME ALTERATIONS IN THE HONOURABLE COMPANYS ACCOMPTS.

The Deffects and inconveniences found in the present method are, *vizt:*—Accompts Currant in the manner it is now used and stated in the bookes is not soe plaine and satisfactory as may be contrived. For that noe account is to be given why the stock that is the Creditt or rest of account Currant at the ballance of one paire of bookes is not transferred to the next paire of bookes; but in the entring the Ballance of one paire of Bookes to begin another it is left out. And soe, in the new paire, you are left to seek what stock did rest on Ballance of the last Bookes, and must find it out by substracting one parcell of the accompt Currant from the other, the Debtor from the Creditor. And some other inconveniences there are in this accompt, which doe appeare most by the Conveniences comeing from what is proposed, for the regulating of which hereafter.

2ndly. The time now used for ballanceing the bookes, *vizt.* the 30th November, is very unfitt and unseasonable. (1st). For that it is almost in the midst of the season for Europe shiping, and soe divides one yeares business into two paire of bookes: as, for Example, the goods or stock received out of England arriveing by the ships in July or August is entered in one paire of Bookes, and the Goods returned home by the said ships after November is entered in the next bookes. And soe, againe, part of two yeares business comes in one pair of bookes, as the goods returned for England after November and the stock received from England the yeare following, in July or August, is entered in one paire of bookes. Thus confusedly comes one yeares returnes to be opposed to the following yeares receipts; and neither the returnes nor receipts of one yeare entered in one paire of bookes. (2ndly). It is an unfitt time in respect of the proportioning the charges on the goods, which must make a misunderstanding and an ill representment of business. (3rdly). Its an unseasonable time in respect of the Bookekeeper, who being upon other business at that time, cannot, soe well as is fitt, attend to examine whether all accompts and goods doe accord with the Ballance that he drawes.

For the Regulating these inconveniences it is Requisite That the Accompt Currant be otherwise altered and stated, *vizt.*, (1st). That under the Tittle of accompt Currant in last bookes the Ballance of one paire of bookes be begun in the new paire, for those words [*i.e.*, 'Accompt Currant'] are thus understood— That such accompts were currant or goeing on in last bookes and were brought to a rest to Ballance the said bookes, and thence to be carryed or transferred and gone on with in a new paire; and the Stock, Creditt or Rest of Accompt Currant in those last bookes to be entered to accompt Stock its Creditt. And soe both sides of this accompt, to be intituled accompt Currant, shall Ballance as the accompt Ballance doth in said last bookes, and noe farther accompt to be entered to it; for it serves only to begin the new paire of bookes from Ballance of the old.

(2dly). That the accompt Currant be kept under the said tittle of Accompt Currant, Fort St. George, to the Creditt of which accompt shall be enter'd all the Cargoes received from England or by consignments thence, and all Bills drawn upon the Honourable Company, and such other accompts, as by the course of business fall to that accompts Creditt, being received thence, paid, or to bee paid there and due here. And to the Debt of said accompt shall be charged all the Cargoes returned to England and consignments thither, or to other Factoryes by order thence, not to be returned thither againe, and such other summes as will fall to be soe Charged; the rest of which Accompt Currant, Fort St. George, is to be cleared in every paire of bookes by accompt Stock. The reason is because the Superiour is not accomptable to the Inferiour, and if you returne to your accompt Currant more money then you received, you are not to demand the produce thereof; and if you returne lese, the remainder lyes in Stock, for the Disposall of all which you must follow the orders from your Accompt Currant.

3*dly*. That to the tittle of Accompt Stock be entered, as aforesaid, the stock of last bookes or the Creditt or Rest of Accompt Currant, which will come under that title only from the last bookes, 1675-6, for hereafter it will come under it's proper title of Accompt Stock it's Creditt, [and] by this Accompt

Stock should be cleared accompt Currant, Fort St. George, as aforesaid, and the accompt Profitt and Losse and rest of Accompt Stock carried to ballance. These three accompts to stand in the first folio of the Ledger: Accompt Currant last Bookes; Accompt Currant Fort St George; Accompt Stock.

4*thly*. That the bookes may be ballanced at such a seasonable time as may prevent all the before mentioned inconveniences, [the time] must be some time out of the season for Arrivall of shiping from England, and soe neare as can be conveniently to the begining of that season it ought [? as thought] best. And therefore, the 30th. day of Aprill, respecting the ballanceing the bookes'in the Bay at the same time, is at present thought most fitt for these reasons:—

(1st). For that the bookes begining the 1st of May and ending the last Aprill will certainly comprehend one shippings business, whereby will plainly appeare in Accompt Currant, Fort St. George, what stock was received and sent home by that same shiping; and at Ballance, what goods are remaineing proper for England against next shipps arrive, and what Europe goods doe at that time lye unsold, which things are of noe small satisfaction.

(2dly). It is a convenient time for the proportioning the charges of all goods either bought, received or sold in one yeare, and thus it may appeare what proportion there is between the investments and the charges.

(3dly). Tis such a time of vacancy [the slack season] that the booke keeper may have full time to examine, perfect and compare all accompts and things, and to have the bookes finished and coppyed, as they ought to be, in good time to send to the Fort, and soe home upon the first ship. And then allsoe may he enter upon a new pair of bookes before the presse of business comes upon him by the arrivall of the ships, and being thus forward, he will have convenient time to give attendance on the Councell and other business, and yett proceed upon the bookes all the yeare, in such sort, that in case of his removeall, any other may enter upon the business and not be to seeke for after reckonings.

It's alsoe necessary that a Subdivision of the Ballance of the Bookes be used in the manner following, or into soe many of

these divisions as the Particulers resting on Ballance doe consist of, *vizt.*,—

On the Debtor side of Ballance.

Dead Stock.—Under which is entered all Houses, Household stuff, Plate, Cattle, Ships, Boats, Gunns and whatsoever things are not for saile, putting the sumes into the inward margent, cary it out.

Desperate Debts.—Under which come all bad and Desperate Debts, Factoryes or voyages debts, whereof ther's small or noe hopes of haveing returnes.

Money and Good Debts.—Under this enter the Cash remaineing, and all such debts as are good, whereof there is no doubt, and all adventures and Factoryes debts abroad, which are not to be invested and returned in goods proper for Europe, but in such goods as may turne to most profitt here.

For Provission of Goods.—Under this comes all debts upon moneys impressed [advanced] to buy goods, and all such Factory debts where the Stock remaineing is for the provission of goods.

Goodes for Sale.—Under this is to be entered all goods which are for sale and doe yett remaine unsold.

Goods for Europe, etc.—Under which enter all goods that are bought and provided for Europe or other places, to bee transported out of the Factory.

Totall of all goods and debts resting amounts to . . .

On the Creditor side of Ballance.

Account of Stock for soe much as that account Credit is . . .

Creditts upon Account.—Under which enter all the Creditts that are resting upon account to be adjusted in the bookes of this Factory.

Creditts upon Interest.—Under which enter such Creditors (if there be any) of whome money is taken up at Interest or on bills, expressing the date of the said bills, etc.

Totall of Stock and Creditts resting amount to Pagos: . . .

The Ballance being soe divided under severall heads will be of great satisfaction, it being thereby evident what effects the stock remaineing is of, and business directed and Governed accordingly.

Friday, August 11.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Councell continued to proceed upon the particuler clauses in Mr. Masters Commission and Instructions relateing to this Factory.[1]

CONCERNING THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS AND CURRENT EVENTS AT MASULIPATAM, 1676.

The List of the Companyes Servants[2] was againe taken into Consideration and debate, and the Councell agreed upon the degrees, Sallaryes and imployments of every person, according to the Companys now settled Rules,[3] which said List and Settlement follow:

	Arrivall in India.	Present Degree.	Present Sallary.
1. Major William Puckle,[4] Cheife	July 1675	—	100
2. Matthew Mainwaring,[5] Second, booke keeper, came out of Councell at the Fort at 35 *li.* per annum	Aug: 20 1668	Senior Merch:	40

[1] See paragraphs 4-9 of Master's Commission (*ante*, pp. 202-5).

[2] There is a copy of this list in *O.C.*, No. 4219, with the following heading: 'August the 11th, 1676. A List of the Honble. Companies servants at Metchlepatam reduced under their severall degrees in their due Seniority according to the Honble. Companyes late rules.'

[3] See paragraphs 11-18 of Master's Commission (*ante*, pp. 206, 207).

[4] See *ante*, pp. 203, 253. In the list in *O.C.*, No. 4219, there is a marginal note beside Puckle's name, 'dyed the 16th Octr.'

[5] Matthew Mainwaring was elected factor on the 18th October, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 48). Before his departure for India he quarrelled with his fellow-voyagers, and was warned to be of 'a more quiett demeanor,' or he would be recalled; also, during the voyage to Madras, he was accused of using 'menaceing language' (*ibid.*, fols. 110, 166). He was recommended to Masulipatam as 'an ingenious and active Person' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xvi.); but, after three months spent there, he returned to Fort St. George, and obtained permission to go to Bengal with his wife Ann (*O.C.*, No. 3247). From 1669 to 1671 he served at Balasor. In 1672 he was again at Masulipatam, and at variance with Richard Mohun, against whom he brought grave charges of misgovernment and illicit dealings (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii.). In 1675 Major Puckle examined these charges, with the result that Mohun was suspended, and Mainwaring put in his place (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii.). In March, 1678, Mainwaring, in his turn, was suspended on the plea of misgovernment. He was also accused of having, in a fit of passion, caused the death of Robert Crawley (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. i.; *Masulipatam*, vol. ii.). In January, 1679, Mainwaring sailed to England to lay his case before the Court of Committees. He was at first favourably received, but eventually his dismissal was confirmed. However, in December, 1679, he was allowed a

	Arrivall in India.	Present Degree.	Present Sallary.
3. Robert Fleetwood,[1] third, and Chiefe at Maddapollam, came out a Factor at 20 *li.* Sallary, made 35 *li.* anno 1672 ...	Sept: 23 1662	Senior Merch:	40
4. Christopher Hatton, fourth, Warehouse-keeper, arrived in India 1657, entertained in the Companys service June 1672,[2] Sallary to be settled by the Company by their order	—	—	—
5. George Chamberlaine,[3] fifth, ordered for Muccawpate [Makkāpet] present Investment, entred in the Companys service at 25 *li.* per annum	Dec: 16: 1670	Mercht: 1675	30

passage back to India in order to settle his affairs and clear himself of complicity in Crawley's death (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxxi., fol. 179). He arrived at Fort St. George in July, 1680, and repaired to Masulipatam, where he associated himself with Captain Alley and other 'interlopers.' In 1682 permission was granted him to remain in India, on condition that he paid 'dues for exports and imports.' He died in the same year (Pringle, *Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, p. 100). In July, 1685, his widow petitioned that the 'difference depending between the Company and her late husband' might be 'compromised' (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxxiii., fol. 90; vol. xxxiv., fols. 95, 114).

[1] Robert Fleetwood was entertained as a factor on the 4th November, 1661 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv., fol. 211). He was sent to Masulipatam, where he was in favour with William Jearsey, the chief, who made him head of Madapollam factory. The Court was informed that Fleetwood was 'a vaine fellow, a great enemy to all goodness' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii.), and in consequence he was suspended in 1669. His character was vindicated by Sir William Langhorne, and he was reinstated at an increased salary in November, 1671 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 185). In 1674-76 he again fell into disfavour for having farmed towns of the King of Golconda for his own benefit, as previously related. He died on the 4th September, 1676, at Navarāzpuram, a suburb of Madapollam. He was heavily in debt, both to the native governor and to the Company, and his widow Margery, who subsequently married John Heathfield, resigned the whole of her effects to meet the claims against her husband (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., and *Masulipatam*, vol. ii.).

[2] It was on the 28th November, 1671, that the Court of Committees decided to entertain Hatton in their service at Masulipatam (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 192).

[3] George Chamberlain, who was then in India, was elected factor by the Court of Committees on the 22nd October, 1669 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 283). The date of arrival given in the text must refer to the receipt of the letter bringing news of his election. In December, 1676, the Court reproved Chamberlain for refusing to assist 'in sorting the cloth' (*Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 367). In November, 1677, he was dismissed the Company's service, and ordered to be sent to England (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxx., fol. 193); but in December, 1678, he was still at Masulipatam, 'under suspicion.' In December,

	Arrivall in India.	Present Degree.	Present Sallary.
6. Joseph Arnold,[1] Sixth, Generall Purser or paymaster, to looke after all expences in the Factory, deceased mens estates, and to pay wages; arrived at Bantam at 35 *li.* per annum	Aug: 20 1668	Senior Mercht:	40
7. John Tivill,[2] Second at Maddapollam, came out a Factor at 20 *li.* per annum	Aug: 19: 1671	Mercht;	30
8. Maurice Wynn,[3] assistant in the Warehouse, at present to Moccawpatt, came out a Factor at 20 *li.* per annum ...	June 15: 1672	Factor	20
9. Henry Croon Colbourne,[4] Steward and assistant to Mr. Arnold, arrived	June 23: 1672	Writer	10
10. Samuell Wales,[5] Secretary under the Cheife, arrived ...	Aug: 23: 1672	Writer	10
11. George Ramsden,[6] to be under Mr. Chamberlaine, arrived ...	June 26: 1673	Writer	10
12. Jno: Scattergood,[7] under Mr. Hatton	June 26: 1673	Writer	10
13. Wm. Ayloffe,[8] under Mr. Mainwaring	June 26: 1673	Writer	10
14. Wm. Cullen,[9] under the Cheife with the Secretary	July 10: 1675	Writer	10
15. Timothy Harris,[10] under Mr. Fleetwood	July 10: 1675	Writer	10

1680, Master wrote to the Court that it would be unwise to return him to England, for he was unable to satisfy his creditors, and 'if sent home, the natives would expect their debts of the Company' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii*a*.). After this date Chamberlain disappears from the Records.

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 250. In November, 1677, the Court ordered Joseph Arnold 'to be removed from his present station and employed as the Agent shall think fit' (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxx., fol. 193), and in their letter to Fort St. George of 12th December, 1677, it was directed that, 'if not reclaimed,' he should be sent home (*Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 494). Arnold, in consequence, sailed for England in the *New London* on the 28th January, 1678 (*Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i.).

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 267.

[3] See *ante*, note on p. 267. In the list in *O.C.*, No. 4219, the date 1676 is added to Wynn's 'present degree.'

[4] Elected writer 24th October, 1671 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 181).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See *ante*, note on p. 267.

[7] Elected writer 19th September, 1672 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxviii., fol. 44).

[8] Elected writer 7th October, 1672 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxviii., fol. 51).

[9] See *ante*, note on p. 275.

[10] See *ante*, note on p. 267, for Timothy Harris's election. He served as writer at Masulipatam and Madapollam until 1677 or 1678, when he was transferred to

	Arrivall in India.	Present Degree.	Present Sallary.
16. John Clarke,[1] under Mr. Mainwaring	July 10: 1675	Writer	10
Mr. Thomas Whitehead,[2] Chaplaine, arrived	June 23: 1672	—	50
Mr. John Heathfield,[3] Chyrurgeon, entred	September 25th 1673	—	Gratuity 30 27

And the Councell doe think fitt to order that all the persons in this Factory under the Councell[4] (notwithstanding their particuler imployments are alloted them as aforesaid) shall observe and doe any such business as shall be required of them by any of the Councell in the Companyes affaires, unless that person of the Councell, under whome they are particulerly appointed, shall signifie that he hath imployment for them.

The Councell did then thinke fitt to send for all the Factory before them, to whom was read severall clauses in Mr. Masters Commission and Instructions,[5] and they were acquainted with the Settlement now made of the Degrees, Sallaryes, and Imployments of every person of this Factory, as before mentioned, and that there was noe place or imployment out of the Councell that had preceedency one of another, but that all persons under the Councell were to keep their degrees and Seniority as they

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Fort St. George. In July, 1681, he was appointed purser at Masulipatam. In November, 1682, he was made second at Peddapalle, and in August, 1685, he again returned to Masulipatam as second. In November, 1685, 'Timothy Harris having been a long time sick and lame, and this factory having no Surgion,' desired and obtained leave to go to Madapollam 'for the better recovery of his health.' He returned to Masulipatam in 1686, and died there in August, 1687, of the pestilence which accompanied the famine of 1686-87 (Pringle, *Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, 1681-85; *Mackenzie MSS.*, vol. li.; *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vols. iv. and viii.).

[1] Elected writer 14th October, 1674 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 61).

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 246. Thomas Whitehead was elected chaplain on the 18th October, 1671 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 176). For a full account of his life, see Penny, *The Church in Madras*, p. 664.

[3] John Heathfield had served the Company for five years previous to 1673, when he was taken prisoner by the Dutch in the ship *President*. On his release he was re-entertained in the Company's service as surgeon at Masulipatam and Madapollam. His later career is traced in vol. ii. See Pringle, *Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, 1685, p. 79.

[4] See paragraph 15 of Master's Commission, p. 207, for the constitution of the Council at Masulipatam.

[5] See paragraphs 9 (*c*), 11, 12, 13, 25, and 29-35, of Master's Commission on pp. 204, 206, 208-216.

came out of England nominated in the Honourable Companys Letters.

It is directed that, according to the Companyes desires, a list of all their servants belonging to this Factory, in their present imployments, degrees and sallaryes according to the form prescribed be yearly sent for England,[1] and alsoe a List of such as are deceased.

P.S.—Joseph Arnold excepts against looking after Mr. Ambros Salisburys Estate[2] and Mr. John Crandons,[3] being others were concerned therewith before he arrived at the Coast.[4]

* * * * *

August 11.[5]—This afternoone I excused the Councells setting that Mr. Hatton and Mr. Chamberlaine might have leisure to proceed upon the reference to which they were chosen between Mr. Mohun and Mr. Mainwaring (to adjust their particuler accompts), who yesterday entered into Bonds to stand to their award.

Being informed that the apparell etc. of Robert Crawley, late deceased,[6] were sold at an outcry without the knowledge of any of the Councell, Severall persons were sent for and examined

[1] See paragraph 39 of the Company's General Letter, *ante*, p. 252.

[2] Ambrose Salisbury, the Company's servant at Peddapalle, died at Madapollam on the 3rd January, 1676 (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii.). For a full account of his life, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxvii., p. 213 *et seq.*

[3] See *ante*, p. 248. John Crandon was entertained as factor 'for the Coast' on the 25th November, 1663 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv., fol. 354). In 1669 he became Secretary at the Fort, and was 'admonished to abstain from excess in drinking' (*ibid.*, vol. xxvi., fol. 286). In 1674 he was ordered home for misconduct (*O.C.*, No. 4045). On the 1st August, 1675, John Crandon, 'lately dismist his service of secretary at the Fort,' died at Masulipatam (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii.).

[4] Here follows 'A Coppy of the Clauses which were read out of Mr. Masters Commission and Instructions.' As these clauses have been already given (pp. 200-216), they are not now repeated.

[5] These last two paragraphs of the proceedings of the 11th August do not appear in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.

[6] Robert Crawley, writer (see *ante*, note on p. 275), was appointed secretary at Masulipatam on the 23rd July, 1675. He died between May and August, 1676, either at Fort St. George or Masulipatam. In 1679 Matthew Mainwaring was accused by Andrew Crawley, the father, of having caused the death of his son, and the Court of Committees ordered an inquiry to be made into the affair at Fort St. George (*Letter Book*, vol. vi., p. 142). Nothing further, however, seems to have been done in the matter.

about the same; and it appeared that Mr. Mainwaring had ordered John Clark and William Cullen to seale up the Chamber where the things were, but they did not doe it; and Henry C. Colborne had the key, and delivered the things to Thomas Crawley, the Brother (servant to Captain Bonnell), who sold them. Whereupon the Councell ordered that all the things should be received from the persons who bought them and returned againe into the Chamber, and an Inventory thereof to be taken by Henry C. Colborne and Thomas Crawley; the dore to be lockt and the keys delivered to S. Master. Which being done accordingly, I [Streynsham Master] delivered the keys and the Inventory to Mr. Arnold as being his propef charge [as purser].

Saturday, August 12.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Councell continued to proceed upon the clauses in Mr. Masters Commission and Instructions relateing to this Factory.

The Phyrmands [*farmān*] were ordered to be translated, and Coppyes thereof to be transmitted to the Honourable Company by the Ships in January next.[1]

Upon inquiry made of what care was taken of the Estates of such persons as dye in the Companys service, and of the Purser Generall or paymaster taking of five per Cent. for getting in and registring of the same,[2] Henry Croon Colborne, who was sayd to be instructed and concerned in that affaire, was sent for,[3] and being examined about the same, made answer, that there was only the concernes of Jno: Crandon and Robert Crawley (who lately dyed) that fell under his cognisance, whose Inventoryes being asked for, he produced, and they were delivered to Mr. Arnold, Purser Generall or paymaster, whose proper charge they now are. And to the five per Cent., Henry Croon Colbourn gave satisfaction that it had binn allwayes accustomed in that Factory, That Robert Freeman had taken it, and himself had binn allowed it by Mr. Whitehead, as overseer for

[1] This was in accordance with paragraph 9 (*f*) of Master's Commission. See p. 205.

[2] See paragraph 26 of Master's Commission (*ante*, p. 208).

[3] Colbourne became steward at Masulipatam, *vice* Robert Freeman, resigned, on the 23rd July, 1675 (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.).

makeing of the outcry of Mr. Thomas Moris deceased,[1] it being in consideration of the trouble of the outcry and gathering in the moneys.

It being enquired why the estate of Mr. Ambrose Salisbury, who some monethes since deceased, was not taken care of by the Councell here, he dyeing (as is said) Intestate, it was answered, they were unwilling to concerne themselves farther then to secure the Companys Interest, by reason that his Creditors upon his decease made severall demands, as a Moor Merchant produced a bill under his hand for severall goods, and Mr. Chamberlaine a bond for rupees 885: 15: Cash principall, dated March 28, 1667, to pay Interest at two per Cent. per mensem, and in default of payment after six monethes, three per Cent. per mensem.

With the Inventory of John Crandon[2] deceased, those few papers which Henry Colbourne had in his custody and were delivered him by Major Puckle, were ordered to be delivered to Mr. Arnold, they being only such as related to his adventures. All the rest of his papers, Henry Colborne sayes, were caryed away from this Factory by Major Puckle.

The following clauses in Mr. Masters Commission and Instructions were by him recommended to be observed in this Factory:[3]

* * * * *

And in order to the more perfect complyance therewith, it is directed that for the future there be a meeting of the Councell to consult of the Companyes affaires every Monday and Thursday, or at least once a weeke, of soe many of the Councell as shall be present in the Factory, and oftner as business shall require. And if nothing materiall bee transacted at such meetings, then an entry to be made in the Consultation

[1] Thomas Morris, 'Sometymes Physitian to this Factory [Masulipatam] dyed' (on the 21st December, 1675). 'At time of his death he declared that his name was Woodward of Ripley in Worcestershire. He made a will and appointed Mr. Whitehead and Mr. Peter Ratcliffe Executors' (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii.).

[2] John Crandon's 'Outcry,' on the 4th August, 1675, realized £60 (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii.).

[3] Here follow paragraphs 28 and 44 of Master's Commission given on pp. 209, 214.

booke to that effect. Allsoe dayly entryes to be made in the Consultation booke of Ships comeing out and goeing, and other necessary occurrences in the manner of a diary, Especially[1] the proceedings of the Dutch, French and Danes, and our transactions with the Governour and great persons of the Country. The Coppyes of all Consultations to be sent to the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George by every conveiance after they are transacted.

The Consultation booke, and Coppy booke of letters received and sent, to be closed the last of December (if the ships be not sooner dispatcht), well and fairly writ, and two coppyes of each booke, as alsoe of the booke of accounts, to be sent to Fort St. George, of which one Coppy to be inscribed for England, the other for Fort St. George, and to be signed by the transcribers.

Mr. Master delivered the Honourable Companys printed Indulgence touching trade allowed their Servants, dated the 16 November 1674, and alsoe the printed Indulgence granted to the Owners, Commanders and Seamen of their Ships dated the 2 October 1675,[2] and recommended the same to be duely observed.

Soe the Councell concluded upon those clauses in Mr. Masters Commission and Instructions which are required to be put in execution in this Factory.

P.S. Concerning Mr. Ambrose Salisburys Estate and Mr. Jno: Crandons, Jos: Arnold allwayes excepted against others haveing intermeddled before his arrival at this Coast.

August 12.—Att a Consultation afternoone, Present: STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

It haveing pleased God to take from us Mr. Thomas Whitehead, the Chaplaine of this Factory, who dyed about halfe an hour since, and the Councell sending to seale his things,

[1] The words 'Especially . . . country' were added later, in accordance with Master's directions to the Council at Masulipatam, in a letter dated at Balasor, 29th August, 1676.

[2] On the 16th November, 1674, and 1st October, 1675, the alterations in the Company's Indulgences to their factors and mariners were approved (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fols. 27, 72, 172). No copies of these Indulgences, however, appear to exist. See *ante*, Papers of Appointment, pp. 195-6, 213.

Mr. John Heathfeild, the Chirrugeon, brought his last will and testament, made the tenth of this moneth, wherein he hath named Mr. John Fitz-Williams, Chaplaine to the Bishope of Winchester,[1] his Executor, and the said Mr. Heathfeild his overseer, with power to receive and pay all debts and demands. Whereupon the Councell thought fitt to leave his concernes to the disposall of said Mr. Heathfeild, ordering a Coppy to bee takeing (*sic*) of the will, and entring it in the booke directed to be kept by the Purser Generall for a Register of deceased mens wills and Inventoryes,[2] two coppyes of which booke to be yearly sent to Fort St. George, of which one Coppy to remain there, the other to be sent for England.

Letter to the Honorable Sir William Langhorne, Agent &ca. Councell at Fort St. George, dated Masulipatam, 12 *August,* 1676. *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* vol. vi.

The 5th Current wee advised you of the arrivall of the *Eagle* and *Faulcon* with Mr. Masters,[3] and then desired you to send us with all speed the Honorable Companyes Generall forgot to be inclosed in your former.

Wee shall now give answer so far as wee can to yours of the 31st ulto.[4] and 2d. Currt.[5] The 15000 pagodas per the *Eagle* and 18000 pagodas per the *Faulcon*, and the pipe of Canary for accompt of the Honourable Company wee have received, as alsoe the 9000 pagodas for accompt of the Honorable Sir John Banks, Sir Nathaniell Herne and Company, which shall be kept with the Honorable Companyes, and sent to Mr. Nathaniell Chomley when his order comes for our so doing.

In complyance with your order, wee have already contracted with our Merchants for the following goods, at the price wee last year agreed with them, though wee had no small trouble to perswade them

[1] The Bishop alluded to is George Morley (1594-1684), who was transferred from Worcester to Winchester in 1662. John FitzWilliam, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1661-70, was chaplain to the Duke of York and the Earl of Southampton, as well as to the Bishop of Winchester. He died in 1699. See Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*.

[2] Unfortunately, the books containing the copies of seventeenth-century wills, proved at Fort St. George and Masulipatam, no longer exist.

[3] This letter is given in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. vi., p. 19.

[4] Alluded to in Consultation of the 7th August. See *ante*, p. 245.

[5] This letter, to be found in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. x., is chiefly concerned with a consignment of copper for the factory.

to it, Cotton being as they affirme much dearer than in former years, occasioned by burning and destroying vast nu[illegible] cotton trees.

8000 pcs. fine Sallampores	9000 pcs. Oringall Beteleas
4000 pcs. fine perculleas	6000 pcs. Allejeas
1500 pcs. Izaree Ginghams	1500 pcs. fine Salloes.[1]

But as yet have not concluded about the 10000 single pieces cotton Rammalls, their Musters not being yet brought us. As soone as they come shall agree with them as much to our advantage as possible.

Wee observe you have been pleased to enorder us to provide the full quantity of each Sortment of goods which the Honorable Company require from our factory this year, and alsoe what else behind of the last years Stocke, 6000 pagodas of which Stocke wee have formerly advised you wee had contracted to be invested at 12 per cent. abatement on the following goods. *Vizt.*

fine Sallampores, Pagodas . .	2500	pagodas:—6000.
Perculleas	1000	
Oringall Beteeleas[2] . . .	2500	

Now our desire is that you will please to let us understand whether these Summes may not be added to each of the said three mentioned Sorts, to compleate the number of peeces desired by the Honorable Company by these Ships, and not send so much over the quantity required. And then wee may have Some Stock remaining to continue our investments in ordinary Longcloth and Sallampores at the factory of Madapollam, which sorts of cloth are most difficult to be procured, and yet make up the greatest part of the Tonnage; and to us it seems ag[illegible]eable to the Honorable Companys Expectation, Expressed in a Clause of their letter, next after the list of Callicoes to be provided for Anno 1677, in the following words *Vizt.* 'And in regard our Stock this year and the last year was so large, wee conceive you will have a considerable Summe to begin the said investment withall, and that in the vacancy of Shipping you will buy goods much cheaper.'[3] But we shall observe such directions as you shall please to give us therein, notwithstanding our contract with the Merchants before mentioned.

Wee have allready advised you [on the 26th July, 1676] what sorts and quantities of Europe goods may be disposed of here, and now haveing Showne one of the Copper plaits to some Merchants here, they offer 67 pagodas per Candy esteeming it 2 pagodas per Candy better then the Japan.

The Standard for your Flagg wee have allready given order thereabouts,[4] and shall use our utmost endeavour to provide the 150 parrass[5]

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[1] See Consultation of the 8th August, 1676 (*ante*, p. 272).

[2] See *ante*, Consultation of the 9th August, p. 276.

[3] This is paragraph 65 of the Company's General Letter (*ante*, p. 259).

[4] Robert Fleetwood was ordered to procure the 'standard' at Madapollam. See *ante*, p. 269.

[5] 'Parrah,' a measure of capacity, an eightieth part of a garce, or about half a bushel. See *Madras Manual of Administration*, vol. iii.

wheate and ten Gore [garce] of gram. Not haveing elce, wee remaine, SIRS, Your [redacted] ervants, STREYNSHAM MASTER [etc.].

August 12.[1] This evening the Corps of Mr. Thomas Whitehead, the late Chaplaine of the Factory, was buryed in the usuall burrieing place, in the English Garden, which is about two miles out of towne,[2] myself and most of the Factory accompanying the same.

August 13. The *Surratt Merchant*, Captain Francis Johnson Commander, arrived from Fort St. George, bringing the good tideings of the *Mary*, Captain Crover, his arrivall from England at the Fort the 7 Instant;[3] and that he left the Surratt Ships outward bound at Johanna the last of June. Upon the *Surratt* [*Merchant*] came 15 Chests of silver to this Factory, which were taken out of the *Mary*, instead of the rest of the Stock intended in Pagodas.

August 14. A Barr of Tinn being sent for ashoare out of the *Falcon*, it was tryed here and valued at 30 pagodas per Candy of 520 lb. English.[4]

August 15. The Outcry was made of the Apparrell etc. of Robert Crawley, late deceased, amounting to[5]

This day Mr. Hatton and Mr. Chamberlaine, Arbitraytors, indifferently chosen between Mr. Mohun and Mr. Mainwaring, made and stated the award agreed upon by them.

Wednesday, August 16. Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Councell debateing about Farmeing of Townes of the King, as the Honourable Company have expressed in their

[1] This paragraph is not in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.

[2] There appears to be now no trace of the 'English Garden,' nor are any English seventeenth-century graves in existence. In the Diary of Major William Puckle, under date 20th July, 1675, there is the remark: 'I went to the Garden, where the Honble. Company had likewise appointed Mr. Mohun to build a Room or two for such of their servants that fall sick, It being about 1½ m. from the towne.' On the 1st August Puckle records the burial of John Crandon 'in the Garden.' Master visited the English Garden and also the Dutch Garden, half a mile distant, when he journeyed to Masulipatam in 1679 (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii.; Mackenzie, *Kistna District*, pp. 104, 137, 141).

[3] The remainder of the Diary for 13th August does not appear in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.

[4] This paragraph and the concluding sentence of the entry under 15th August do not appear in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.

[5] The amount is not given in either copy.

Letter,[1] and finding many Circumstances of great weight therein, which required longer time for inquirey and Satisfaction, did refer the Consideration thereof untill Mr. Masters and Major Puckles returne from the Bay; and Councell here, in the interim, are to make what observations they can collect of this affaire.

Upon ordering Lodgings and accommodations for the Companys Servants within the Factory.

The Companys house not having conveniency to receive all, as is directed in the Companys letter,[2] untill the inlargement be made,[3] as is confirmed and recommended by the Agent and

[1] See *ante*, Diary, 8th August, when the matter was 'referred to farther consideration.' Major Puckle had already inquired into this business. On the 28th July, 1675, having been informed that Robert Fleetwood had, on his own responsibility, 'contracted with the King of Golconda for the Farme of severall towns and Lands,' he ordered Fleetwood to give a written explanation of his conduct. The answer was received on the 13th December. Fleetwood denied contracting with the King, but owned to taking 'three or four townes of a Govr., as Verasheroon, Nourasporam, &c., that in soe doing he did the Honble. Company service, freeing those places from Insolencyes of Govrs.' He stated that, on hearing of the Company's displeasure, he had 'Quitted all the Towns but Nourasporam,' from which he could not easily remove his numerous family. If required, however, he was ready to relinquish that also, when the Dutch would gladly take it.

[2] See paragraph 83 of the Company's General Letter, and paragraph 30 of Master's Commission.

[3] Major Puckle, in the previous year, had done what he could to keep the Company's junior servants within the factory and under restraint, as the following entries in his Diary for the 20th and 23rd July, 1675, set forth: 'The Lodgings in and about the Factory viewed, and the younge men assigned their Roomes. There is great need of upper Roomes for lodginge, there being but seven Lodging roomes, all of them ground Chambers which lay lower then the Ground in the Court, so that they are continually moist to the prejudice of their healths, which is the Reason that many of them gitt lodgings out of the Factory. The Padre dwells in an House that costs the Company 12 Rupees a month, which may be prevented by building Chambers over the Godown, as the Honble. Company ordered Mr. Mohun to doe, there being room enough for Chambers to accommodate the whole Company that belong to the Factory. . . . Ordered that Mr. Chamberlain (one of [the] Councell) do quitt his two ground Chambers in the Factory, which are his Lodgings, that the younge men may be accommodated, and that 3 pagodas a month be allowed towards Mr. Chamberlains House rent, And that he shall provide Lodgings for two of the Honble. Companys Servants in his said house, this to Continue till provision be made by building Chambers in the Factory' (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii., pp. 12, 13, 14).

On the 23rd July, also, it was 'thought good that the Chirurgeon do acquit his Chamber in the Factory,' and be accommodated with lodgings in the 'Ministers House' (*ibid.*, vol. i.).

Councell to be carefully performed here, In complyance thereunto, the Councell doe order, that with all convenient speed, materialls be provided for the said enlargement as frugally as may be.

It was thought fitt that Mr. Joseph Arnold be accommodated in the house that Mr. Thomas Whitehead the late Chaplaine Lodged, the rent being payd by the Company, 12 rupees per mensem; Henry Colbourn to lodge in the roome he did before; Samuel Wales to lodge in the roome which was R. Crawleys and to take charge of the [Secretary's] office and papers therein.

Mr. Christopher Hatton haveing heretofore, as well as at this time, desired accommodations in the Factory, but there not being any allotted him since he entred in the Companys service, June 1672 (nor is there now any empty), he desired an allowance of house rent as others had, which the Councell thought reasonable, and doe order three pagodas a moneth to bee payd for his house rent and for Lodging one of the Companys servants with him untill there bee accommodations provided in the Factory.

There being an ill custome in the Factory of Writers haveing roundells [umbrellas] carried over their heads, which is not used or allowed by the Goverment of the Towne, but only to the Governour and the three next principall officers and to two or three eminent Merchants of ancient standing, and by the Dutch only their Cheife, Second and third, who are of their Councell, and at Fort St. George is allowed only to the Councell and Chaplaine, It is therefore ordered that noe Person in this Factory shall have a roundell carryed over them but such as are of Councell and the Chaplaine.[1]

The treasure and goods consigned on the ships to this Factory being all landed, and the time of yeare requireing their

[1] This paragraph is quoted by Yule (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii., p. 232), who remarks that 'This affair of the roundels continued to afford a crow to pluck with the young men till the middle of the next century.' Earlier in the year Major Puckle had attacked the custom of roundel-carrying by junior servants. Among his 'Proposalls' about the 'young men at Metchlepatam,' of 16th February, 1676, we find: 'Whereas each hath his peon, and some more with their roundells; that none be permitted but as at the Fort' (*Notes and Extracts*, 1670-77, p. 40). See also Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Roundel; Pringle, *Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, 1681, pp. 6, 66; Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 85.

speedy dispatch to the Bay, It is thought fitt to give the Commanders their dispatch to morrow morning.

August 16.[1]—Mr. John Davis was married to Mrs. Mary Barker[2] by Mr. Peter Coven, the Chaplaine of the *Loyall Eagle.*

August 17.—This morning I embarqued on the *Eagle*,[3] Mr. Mainwaring, Mr. Hatton, and Mr. Arnold accompanying me on board.

Understanding that Captain Johnson kept Mrs. Cole (whose husband died in the Bay last yeare) aboard his ship for satisfaction of her three childrens passage from England,[4] I sent to desire to speak with him; and being come, I offered him, in her behalfe, to accomodate the business, that she should give him a letter of Attorney to recover her husbands estate in the Bay and pay himself therewith, being accountable to her for the overpluse, which, after some debate, he accepted. And the woman being sent for aboard the *Eagle*, she consented thereto, and Sealed a Letter of Attorney to that effect, and then went ashoare with Mr. Mainwaring &ca.

Concerning the affairs of the Dutch Company in this place, I understood that Senr. Coleer [Caulier], who hath many yeares binn Cheif here, is by orders lately come from Batavia to be Governour of Pullicat [Pulicat] (Governour Pavillion

[1] This and the following entries, up to and including 22nd August, are not to be found in *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i.

[2] John Davis, a Christ's Hospital lad, was entertained in the Company's service as an apprentice on the 12th September, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 37). On the 8th December, 1675, Mistress Mary Barker, 'who goes to be a Wife for Thomas Pace,' was allowed to take her passage on the Company's shipping, she 'paying her own charge' (*ibid.*, vol. xxix., fol. 196). Her intended husband, Thomas Pace, elected a writer on the 3rd November, 1670, served the Company at Balasor, and was recommended for his devotion to their interests during the fire which partially consumed that factory in 1674. He died at Balasor in September, 1675, nearly a year before the arrival of his bride-elect (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv., and *Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii.).

[3] Master sailed to 'the Bay' in accordance with paragraph 7 of his Commission. See *ante*, p. 203.

[4] Robert Cole, silk dyer, was entertained in the Company's service in November, 1672, and was sent to Kasimbazar. On the 6th October, 1675, 'Mrs Jane Cole, 3 children and a maid servant,' were permitted 'to take passage to the Bay on the Company's shipping to join her husband.' She was allowed a free passage for herself and maid, but was 'to pay for her childrens transportation' (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxix.).

[Paviljoen] goeing thence to Batavia, some say to reside there as a freeman, haveing refused to be of the General Councell), Senr. Peter Smith [Pieter Smit], now Second at Pollicat, is to be Cheife at Metchlepatam, and Senr. Hartsing [Hartsinck], the Chiefe at Golcondah, now third in this Governement of theirs, is still to remaine as Cheife there, by reason of his fitnèss for that place.[1] Their way of tradeing here is upon creditt, soe that at present they owe some hundred thousands of Pagodas in this Country, for which they doe not pay Interest, but the men to whome they owe it are the Merchants of whome they buy their goods, and in recompence for the Interest, they overrate their goods from 30 to 50 per Cent. and more, the interest of this Country being 24 per Cent. per annum. And when their ships bring gold from the South Seas,[2] they coyne it into Pagodas at Pollicatt and send part hither, but never soe much as to cleare their debts. They keep 30 or 40 European Souldiers alwayes in their Factory and 15 or 20 horse. They have severall peeces of Cannon, which they keep close and mount some times upon occasion of quarrells, and they inlarge their Factory by buying in at great rates what houses and ground lyes neare them, soe that it is thought they designe to fortifie themselves. They are building a new Factory upon Nasapore River[3] between Madapollam and the Rivers mouth; they rent a Towne of the King of Golcondah called Pollicull,[4] where they

[1] Jacques Caulier was chief of the Dutch Factory at Masulipatam, 1669-76, when, as stated by Master, he was succeeded by Pieter Smit. Willem Karel Hartsinck was chief of the factory at Golconda, 1663-77. Antoni Paviljoen, one of the Governors of the Coromandel Coast, was member of Council, 1668-76 (see Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, vol. v., pp. 6, 9, 14, 15, 27). The title Signor, constantly given by Master to the chief foreign officials in India, probably had its origin in a custom adopted by the Levant Company, the oldest existing body of chartered traders in the seventeenth century.

[2] *I.e.*, the trading places in the southern part of the Indian Ocean, such as the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, etc.

[3] The Dutch had an iron foundry at Narsāpur, near the mouth of the Vashista branch of the Godāvari, as early as 1665. In December, 1675, Robert Fleetwood stated that the Dutch would gladly take the house he rented of the King of Golconda, 'their Factory being washed away, and were lately prevented in settling a new' (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii.). The factory, built in 1676, was visited by Master in April, 1679, as related in vol. ii.

[4] Pālakollu, in Narsāpur *tāluk*, Godāvari District. A factory was established here in 1652, when the place became the headquarters of the Dutch on the Coromandel Coast.

make store of ordinary cloth, and have another Factory at Naglewanch.

The Skipper of the Ship who affronted the English in the business of the Flagg[1] the last yeare was now in the same ship in the Road, and a report went that he was turned out for that fact, but the English looked upon it as a juggle. Noe message or correspondence of any nature passed between us and the Dutch whilest I was here.

August 18.—About 4 a Clock in the morneing wee sett saile,[2] the *Falcon, Surratt Merchant,* and *Bengal Merchant* in our Company.

August 20.—Wee sailed by Bimliapatam,[3] where the Dutch have a Factory, and there was two ships rideing.

August 22.—This night wee lay by, driveing in the Sea off Point Palmeras,[4] from 27 to 34 fathome water, a fresh gale at southwest.

August 23.—This evening, about 7 of the clock (praised be God), wee came all to an anchor in Ballasore Roade, where was the *Johanna,*[5] who arrived there the 31 of July.

Captaine Bendall informed mee that Mr Clavell, Major Puckle[6]

[1] The 'affront' here alluded to occurred in January, 1676, when Abū'l-Hassan Shāh, King of Golconda, visited Masulipatam. The English vacated their factory for his convenience, and the King went on board the *Loyall Subject* and the *Unity*, which had been specially detained in the harbour. He had previously gone on board a Dutch ship, and the English complaint was that 'amongst other their Galantry they had the impudence to put ours and the French Kings flag under theirs in the mizen topp and thereby to render us low and contemptable in the Kings eyes.' Mr. Mainwaring and his colleagues acquainted the King with the indignity offered them, 'who thereupon ordered it to be taken down, which was immediately performed.' The insolence of the Dutch was reported to the Court of Committees. In October, 1676, they lodged a complaint with the Directors of the Netherlands East India Company, but apparently without result (see *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. v., p. 339). The name of the offending captain was Hammon van Haren (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii., letter of 11th July, 1676).

[2] In the *Eagle*.

[3] The Dutch settled at Bimlipatam, in the Vizagapatam District, in the middle of the seventeenth century. The head of the factory from 1673 to 1686 was Floris Botwerk.

[4] Point Palmiras lies eight leagues north-east of False Point. See Horsburgh, *East India Directory*, ed. 1841, p. 609 *et seq.*

[5] The *Johanna* sailed from Fort St. George on the 19th July, and from Masulipatam on the 25th July.

[6] Major William Puckle (for whose appointment, see *ante*, p. 203 *n.*) went to 'the Bay' on a visit of inspection on the 9th March, 1676.

and the Councell were up at Cassambazar, that Mr. Darley, the Chaplaine,[1] Mr. Billingsley[2] and four writers were at Ballasore. At the *Johanna's* first comeing in, the Company's two sloopes [the *Arrivall* and the *Ganges*] were in the Roade with orders to carry up 12 Chests of silver to Hugly, and there being 11 Chests aboard the *Johanna*, they were sent up in the said sloopes, and this is all that hath binn acted in the Companys business since he came hither.

August 24.—The Comanders and myself dined on board the *Johanna*, and observing that Captain Bendall did not put abroad the Flagg, Captain Bonnell was desired to mind him of it, that such a custome and respect to the Cheife might not bee neglected, whereupon Captain Bendall excused himselfe, by reason he had neither Flagg nor Flagg staff, but then borrowed Captain Bonnell's and spread the Flagg.[3] In the afternoone Captain Bonnell sent his Yale [yawl] ashoare by which I wrote a letter to Mr. Billingsly &ca. the Factory, for the Honourable Company, the Copy of which followeth:—

Sirs, The Shipps *Loyall Eagle*, *Falcon*, and *Surratt Merchant* came to an anchor in this Roade last night, and Captain Bendall acquainting mee that Mr. Clavell and the rest of the Councell were not at Ballasore, and that his boate was on shoare and he expected her off this morning, I waited her comeing, but she not appeareing, I send this by the *Eagle's* boate to advise you of my arrivall, and desire you that you send her off again with Mr. Christopher Oxinden[4] or some one of the Factory to give me account of what advices you have from Hugly or Cassambazar, and what else requisite in respect to my goeing ashoare, which is all at present from Your Loveing Freind, STREYNSHAM MASTER. *On board Ship Johanna in Ballasore Roade, August 24th*, 1676.

[1] Joshua Darley was appointed 'Chaplain to the Bay at £50 per annum and £50 gratuity' on the 13th February, 1674 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxviii., fol. 195).

[2] John Billingsley was elected a writer at £10 per annum on the 22nd November, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 62).

[3] See *ante*, Captain Crover's instructions, p. 218, for directions as to the 'weareing of the flagg.'

[4] Christopher Oxenden was appointed writer for 'the Bay,' at £10 per annum, on the 13th November, 1672 (*Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 24; *Court Minutes*, vol. xxviii., fol. 70).

August 25.—This morneing Mr. Bugden[1] and Christopher Oxinden came off to mee in a Dutch Sloope and brought mee letters from Cassambazar and Hugly, the import of which was to Congratulate my arrivall and to know my mind and resolution concerning my goeing to the upper Factoryes [Hugli and Kasimbazar].

About noone, Mr. Bugden went ashoare with Captain Stafford and Captain Johnson, Captain Bonnell and myselfe intending to goe to morrów, God willing. The *Johanna's* long boate was Sunck upon the Barr[2] comeing off with water, but weighed againe, though broken to peeces.

August 26.—Saturday morneing I went on shoare in the *Eagle's* Skiff with Captain Bonnell, all the ships saluteing mee with Gunns, as they did likewise at my landing at the Fort and Metchlepatam. At the Point of sand at the River's mouth[3] Mr. Bugden mett mee with Pallanqueens and horses. About two a Clock wee gott to Ballasore, where I was received with all due respect. This morneing about five a Clock there happened an earth quake which wee were very sensible of aboard the ships in the Roade and it hath much shaken the houses of the Towne.

August 27.—This day the Governor of the Towne [Mīrzā Walī] sent a present to me, who was lately Governour of Pipley, to welcome me to Towne. This evening the Cheife of the Danes[4] sent Sen: Quiman his second to complement me.

August 28.—Mirza Wooly, the Governour of this Towne, and yesterday the Duan, went hence to Cateck, the Capitall

[1] This was Edmund Bugden, who went out to India in 1657. In 1667 the Court sent orders from England for his entertainment in their service as a factor (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 47).

[2] The bar at the entrance to Balasor River is half a mile long, and a little over two miles from the river's mouth. See Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. xviii., Cuttack and Balasor, p. 256.

[3] Probably the spot now marked by a flagstaff. See Hunter, as above, and also *ibid.*, p. 257, where Horsburgh's *Sailing Directions* are quoted.

[4] Bowrey calls the head of the Danish factory Captain Wilkins (see *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 190). Master, in his further allusions to this man on the 2nd September and 5th December, 1676, gives the name as Wilke Wygbert or Witbert.

citty of Orixa, to meet the now (*sic*) Governour of that Province, one of Shatta Cawnes Sonnes.[1]

I wrote Letters to Hughly and Cassambazar: the Copyes follow:—

To Mr. Edward Reade[2] *etc.* [*at*] *the Factory for the Honourable English East India Companys affairs in Hughly.*

Sirs,—Yours of 16: and 17: Instant are come to my hands. The Sloopes *Arrivall* and *Ganges*[3] being both come into the Roade yesterday, I have sent for the Masters ashoare to advice concerning my goeing up with them, thinking rather to take my passage that way then by Land; yett it may be convenient to see the new moon over before I embarque upon them.[4] The Generall Letter you mention in yours I have not yett received. Your congratulations are kindly accepted and hearty thanks returned by Your affectionat Servant, S. M. *Ballasore, August the 28th*, 1676.

Coppy of a Letter to Cassambazar.

Sirs,—It pleased God to arrive in this road the Ships *Loyall Eagle, Falcon*, and *Surratt Merchant* the 23: Instant at night. The 25: Mr. Bugden and Mr. Oxinden came aboard, and the next day I landed here. The Sloopes *Arrivall* and *Ganges* came into the Roade yesterday and I have sent for the masters ashoare to advise about my goeing up with them. The new moon being neare, I suppose it may be convenient to see the change over before I embarke, which time I shall spend in

[1] In April, 1676, Shāistah Khān, materñal uncle of Aurangzēb, was appointed *Sūbadār* of Orissa in place of Rashīd Khān. The son alluded to by Master must have gone to Orissa as his father's deputy, and was probably Buzurg Umed Khān, the eldest of Shāistah Khān's six sons. He died in 1693. I am indebted to Mr. W. Irvine for the information contained in this note.

[2] Edward Reade was entertained as factor by the Court from 24th June, 1670 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 286).

[3] These sloops, commanded by the Company's pilots, of whom George Heron was chief, plied up and down the river from Balasor to Hugli.

[4] The delay was in order to avoid the bore in the Hugli River. Horsburgh, *East India Directory*, ed. 1841, vol. i., p. 636, says: 'From May to October, when the river is greatly elevated, the Bore frequently prevails for several days at the height of the springs.'

takeing cognisance of the Companys affaires in this Factory and put the Investment in the best forwardness wee can before I proceed, esteeming it more Consistant to the Honourable Companys affairs and Interest to goe up to Hugly and Cassambazar (as I am injoyned by them) now that the whole Councell are there present, then to stay untill the Raines are over, which will be a double expence of charge and time. Refering you to Mr. Bugden etc. for all other concernes here, I take my leave and Subscribe, Sirs, Your Humble Servant, STREYNSHAM MASTER. *Ballasore, August the 28th*, 1676.

August 29.—I wrote a Letter to Metchlepatam by a Danes Vessell, coppy of which followeth:

Mr. Matt: Mainwaring etc. Commissioners.

Sirs,—Haveing notice of a Danes Sloope goeing hence to Trincumbarr[1] and intending to touch at Metchlepatam in her way, I take the opportunity to advise you that the 23d Instant it pleased God to arrive in this Roade the *Eagle*, *Falcon*, and *Surratt Merchant*. Mr. Clavell, Major Puckle etc. Councell are up at Cassambazar, excepting Mr. Bugden, who is lately come thence, and in a few dayes I intend, God willing, to take my passage on the Companys Sloope to Hugly, and from thence to proceed to Cassambazar.

Among my papers I have found the foule copy of your Generall Letter to the Fort, dated the 26: July last, which I returne you here inclosed, supposeing it may be wanting to enter in your Register.[2]

Upon second reading of the consultations which passed whilst I was with you, in that consultation of the 12: August I find one materiall clause omitted, which I desire you will now insert or add unto the following clause, *vizt.* 'Allsoe dayly entreyes is to be made in the Consultation booke of shipes comeing and goeing, and other necessary occurrences, in the

[1] Tranquebar, 143 miles south-south-west of Madras, where the Danes made a settlement in 1616.

[2] A copy of this letter, which relates chiefly to 'Europe goods' wanted at Masulipatam, is entered in the volume of outgoing letters (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. vi.).

manner of a Diary,' (to which add) 'Especially the proceedings of the Dutch, French, and Danes, and our Transactions with the Governour and great persons of the Country.'

These words I say I desire may be added to the said clause in that Consultation,[1] the account of which will be very satisfactory to the Company, and they have allwayes much complained there (*sic*) servants advices have binn wanting thereof, which being thus dayly entred may excuse the inlargement of your letters on those particulars.

Not haveing elce at present I salute you kindly, and subscribe, Your Loveing Freind, STREYNSHAM MASTER. *Ballasore, August the 29th*, 1676.

August 29.—This day Mr. Bugden and myselfe agreed upon what goods should be laden upon the Companys two Sloopes out of the ships. Mr. Darley, the Chaplaine, and myselfe agreed that the most convenient times for prayer would be at 7: a Clock in the morneing and at 8: at night; the former custome being the same time in the morneing and 4: a Clock in the afternoone, which being found inconvenient, was now altered.

August 30.—This morneing Samuel Smith, a writer,[2] dyed of a feaver, and his things (by my appointment) were sealed up by Mr. Bugden and Mr. Billingsley, and in the afternoone his corpes were (*sic*) interred in the burying place right before the Factory. This forenoon the Merchants were sent for and treated with by Mr. Bugden, Mr. Billingsley and myself about the investment to be made here this yeare, and Chim Cham the Cheife of them was very high and indifferent, whether he dealt with the Company or not.[3] The Danes Cheife, by name Wilk Wygbert, gave mee a vissit.

[1] The additional clause was added to the fair copy of Master's Diary (see *ante*, p. 290). In *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. i., where the Consultation is also given, the additional words are inserted in the margin in a different hand from the body of the Consultation, showing that they were added after the receipt of Master's letter.

[2] Samuel Smith was entertained as a writer at a Court of Committees on the 1st November, 1671 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 184).

[3] Khēm Chand and his partner Chintāman, Hindu traders, were brokers to the English for many years. See Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 154, n. 1.

August 31.—The merchants were againe treated with and came to agreement, and other business was transacted as by Consultation.[1]

Measures Relating to Trade and Reform.

Thursday, August 31.—Att a Consultation, Present:—Streynsham Master, Esq.; Mr. Edmund Bugden; Mr. John Billingsley.

The Honourable Companyes Commission to Mr. Master, ingrossed in parchment under their Large Seale, and their Commission and Instructions signed by the Governour and Committee were read[2] and severall particulers discoursed about the same.

The Printed directions made by the Court of Committee the 18: December, 1667, for the Christian and sober Comportment of all the Companys Factors and Servants is ordered to be hung up in the hall and recommended to be duly observed. The printed Rules and orders for the management of the Honourable Companys affaires and keeping their bookes are ordered to be hung up in the office for future observation.[3]

The Bookes of accounts, Warehouse bookes, and bookes of Charges Gennerall of this Factory haveing binn perused by Mr. Master, he referrs them to future consideration. The Bookes of accounts of Hugly and Ballasore, lately sent downe by Mr. Walter Clavell and the Councell att Cassambazar to be perfected here by Samuell Smith and Christopher Oxinden, The said Samuell Smith being deceased yesterday, and there being a want of persons to goe on with them, it is therefore thought fitt that the said bookes bee returned to Mr. Clavell and the Councell for them to direct Mr. Edward Read, or whome elce they shall think fitt, to perfect the same. The bookes and accounts and papers relateing thereto brought downe by Mr. Bugden to be sent up by land to morrow.

By reason of Mr. Masters goeing up to Hugly and Cassambazar and those persons who came with him, as alsoe Mr. Darley the Chaplaine, and Christopher Oxinden, there will be but five of

[1] The Consultation which follows does not appear to exist in duplicate.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 198-216.

[3] See *ante*, pp. 201, 202.

the Companyes servants remayning in this place, *vizt.*, Mr. Edmond Bugden (who being marryed is allowed dyett money),[1] Mr. John Billingsley, Richard Trenchfeild,[2] Samuell Anthony,[3] George Perrin ;[4] and there being many of the Ships Companyes often ashoare, which will unavoidably increase the charge of the table, it is thought fitt that the prementioned persons be allowed the usuall Dyett money, and noe publicke Table[5] kept untill the number of the Companyes servants be increased, or further orders from the Councell above.

The Chest of apparell etc. of Samuell Smith, who yesterday deceased, being then by order locked and Sealed up, are to be sold at an Outcry this afternoone, the proceeds to be brought into the Companyes bookes, and his papers being examined by Mr. Billingsley, they are to be sealed up by Mr. Bugden and him, and care takeing that they bee sent to England in these Ships.[6]

There being a Complaint of the Punch houses [taverns] in this Towne, which are very pernicious, soe well in respect to the Peace and quiet of the place as the health of our Seamen, it is therefore ordered that noe Punch houses bee admitted within the precinct of the English Compound, and that Mr. Billingsley doe take two Souldiers and some Peons and goe from house to house forbidding them to sell any Punch or give any entertainment of that nature in the future. And if any shall offend, they shall, for the first offence, after conviction, pay twenty rupees, for the second offence fourty rupees (the one halfe for the informer, the other halfe for the Poore); and if any shall farther offend, he or they soe offending shall suffer such punishment as shall bee inflicted by the Cheif and Councell.

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 300, for Edmund Bugden's first election. In 1668 he was dismissed and recalled to England; but in November, 1671, he was re-elected to serve the Company in 'the Bay,' and made a member of Council. His wife was allowed a passage in the *Rebekah* (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fols. 184, 196).

[2] Elected writer 24th October, 1671 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 87).

[3] Elected writer 14th October, 1674 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxix., fol. 61).

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See paragraph 7 of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George, p. 247.

[6] These measures were taken in accordance with paragraph 26 of Master's Commission (pp. 208-9), and paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Company's General Letter to Hugli given after this Consultation.

In order to the Contracting with the Merchants for the goods required by the Honourable Company in their Letter of the 24th December, 1675,[1] which are usually provided at this place, Mr. Bugden and Mr. Billingsley's instructions from Mr. Walter Clavell and the Councell have binn perused and discoursed.[2] And Chim Cham and the rest of the merchants were yesterday sent for to the Factory, and long time spent in discourseing the same, they seeming very indifferent whether they dealt with the Company or not, by reason of the broad Cloth and lead they were forced to take off, of which they complained to have great quant[it]yes lyeing by them, and some of eight or nine yeares old, especially Chim-Cham, who offered to sell it at a considerable price lesse then it cost him. And this day they came againe, and Contracted to furnish the Honourable Company with the following sortments of goods and on the following termes and Conditions, *vizt.*:—

	Rupees.
500: Corge of Sannoes[3] of 30 Covids long and 2: Covids broad, *vizt.*	
200: Corge Herapore 150: Corge Sura 150: Corge of Mohumpore[4] } by calculate may amount to	40,000:
500: Corge Ginghames[5] by calculate may amount to - - - - - - - - -	30,000:
400: Corge Nelaes[6] may amount to by estimate - - - - - - - - -	36,000:
Carried forward - -	106,000:

[1] The letter is given at the end of this Consultation. See paragraph 41 for the list of goods required.

[2] These 'instructions' do not appear to exist.

[3] Probably *sānu* or *śānu*, Bengal cotton goods, and possibly the same as *sālū* (*śālū*), a cotton cloth, usually of Turkey red. See Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 231, n.

[4] 'Sannoes' made at Hariharpur, Soro, and Mohanpur. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, vol. v., p. 159, remarks: 'Herriapoer leverde veel saanen van dien naam.'

[5] Indian ginghams were cotton stuffs mixed with other material. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Gingham.

[6] Nillaes, a kind of blue cloth (H., *nīlā*, blue). See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Piece-goods.

	Rupees.
Brought forward - -	106,000:
50: Corge Hummums[1] may amount to - -	5,000:
100: Corge Cossaes[2] (of the 200 required) may amount to - - - - - - - -	15,000:
150: Corge Mullmulls[3] (which is 100: corge augmented agreable to what is required)[4] may amount to - - - - - -	24,000:
Rupees	150,000:

The prizes of the prementioned goods to be made (after they are sorted) proportionable to the two last yeares rates, the old musters not agreeing either in dimentions or prizes. The above said summe, or what the goods shall amount to, to be paid halfe in ready money and halfe in Europe goods,[5] at the prizes charged last yeare. The said money and goods to be delivered the merchants soe soone as those goods they have brought into the Factory to cleare the remaining accounts with be sorted, and their last yeares accounts cleared. This present Investment to bee allotted to each person according to the proportion of the last yeare, and those incouraged who bring in the best goods; and whereas Juragshaw, Herashaw and Cullian Ray are reported to be faileing in their Crediits, it is left to Mr. Bugden and Mr. Billingsley to take the security of Chim-Cham [Khēm Chand] for Jurashaw [Sūraj Shāh],[6] and of Rogeram [Rājā Rām] for Herashaw [Hīrā Shāh]; and for

[1] Hummum (Ar. *ḥammām*), "apparently so named from its having been originally used at the bath, is a cloth of a thick stout texture, and generally worn as a wrapper in the cold season" (Taylor, *Cotton Manufacture of Dacca*, p. 63).

[2] Yule derives Cossae from the Ar. *khāṣṣa*, special, and Taylor (*op. cit.*) from the Pers. *khāsu*, fine, elegant. The term is used for muslins of fine, close texture.

[3] Mulmull (H. *malmal*) was a generic name for muslins of various degrees of quality. The term 'mull muslin,' indicating a fine soft material, was in common use in England till the end of the last century.

[4] For the quantities of these goods, see paragraph 41 of the Company's letter which follows. The amounts are there given in single pieces instead of by the corge or score.

[5] See *infra*, paragraph 5 of the Company's letter, where the disposal of 'Europe goods' is strongly urged.

[6] This name appears in *Factory Records, Hugli*, as Jurradgeshaw.

Cullian Ray [Kalyān Rāi], if he gives not satisfactory security, to take care to receive his goods into the Factory before they deliver either money or goods out to him; and it is recommended to Mr. Bugden and Mr. Billingsley to hasten the merchants to bring in their goods (the greatest part of which they pretend are allready in the houses), and so soone as they are brought into the Factory, that they goe in hand with the sorting and packing of them, soe that by takeing time they may be the better looked after, and the ships not be detarded by them.[1] Of the 50: or 60: Bales of Cotton Yarne required,[2] these merchants refuse to furnish any this yeare, it being soe late.

The twelve thousand single peices of silke Romalls[3] they offered to furnish at 3½ rupees the single peece, and refused to take broad cloth and lead in barter, therefore it's not thought fitt to deale for them, beleiving they may be had at better rates up at Hugly and here alsoe before the ships goe away.

Of the One hundred Tonns of Pegu Sticklack required,[4] there is none in Towne, wherefore, it being to be made up with the best and blackest of such Sticklack as is procurable here and Packed in Bales, It is therefore left to Mr. Bugden and Mr. Billingsley to buy up what is in Towne at the best hand and as privately as they can, and to lay out for more as it comes in.

The Turmerick, inordered by the Agent and Councells letter of the 31st July last,[5] to compleat the Tonnage that shall be wanting, is referred to farther orders from the Councell above, it being commonly much cheaper at Pattana then here. In regard it is requisite to appoint each person his particuler charge in the Companys business, it's therefore directed, untill further orders from the Councell above [*i.e.*, at Kasimbazar], that Mr. Bugden doe take charge of the Warehouse to receive and deliver

[1] See paragraph 49 of the Company's General Letter given below.

[2] See paragraph 41 of the Company's letter.

[3] No *rūmāls* are mentioned in the list given in paragraph 41, but 15,000 pieces were ordered (in paragraph 50) to be prepared for 1677.

[4] See paragraphs 41 and 42 of the Company's letter. 'Sticklack' is lac in its natural state before its separation from the twigs which it encrusts. Pegu lac was held in high esteem by Europeans.

[5] A copy of this letter is to be found in *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii.

all moneyes and goods, and to sort and pack the goods for Europe, that he take care to buy packing Stuff upon the Companys account and to Charge the goods what it coast (*sic*), and not at the usuall sett rates at 6½ rupees per Bale; and to his assistance are appointed Richard Trenchfeild and Samuell Anthony; and Mr. Billingsley to take care of all expences and disbursements and to keep a particular and punctuall accounts thereof, and that he charge the Companys accounts with the reall charge of the boate hire and other charges, and not at any former sett rates at each bale or parcell of goods, or any other charges otherwise then as the same are really paid out; and George Perrin is appointed his assistant.

By reason noe advices or directions have binn received from Mr. Clavell and the Councell at Cassambazar since they have received the Honourable Companys letters by these ships, it is thought fitt that this Consultation bee sent to them by expresses to morrow with the bookes of accounts etc. aforesaid, and that the following clause in Mr. Master's Commission and Instructions be recommended to their Consideration, *vizt.*[1]

General Letter from the Court of Committees to the Chief and Factors at Hugli, 24th December, 1675. *Letter Book*, vol. v., pp. 231-240.

1. Our last unto you was the 23th December, 1674, Wherein We wrott you at large, what We then found Needfull, and recommended to you to take care to give Our Ships a timely Dispatch. Since, We have yours of the 10th December, 1674, by Our Ships *Phœnix* and *Lancaster*, both of which and the *Loyall Marchant* it pleased God to arrive safely with Us in the Month of July last.

2. We observe in your Letters You doe not quoat the dates of those you receave from Us, which We would have you doe for the future, that We may know whether Our Letters come to your hands or Not.

3. The severall Bills of Exchange you have drawne upon Us mentioned in your Letters, We have accepted and paid. But hereafter when any of Our Servants dye, We would have you take care to gett in their Estates, and bring it into Our Cash, and advize Us of it, That We may make good to the deceased's friends what is Due; but give no bills of Exchange for it.

[1] The clause added was paragraph 4 of Master's Commission. See *ante*, p. 200.

4. And in regard you have bin negligent in observing Our Orders in this perticuler, We require you for the future to take better Care therein, And to advize Us by what Rule or Authority, and on what reason or ground Our Purser Generall or Paymaster Deducts five per Cent. or any other summe out of such estates for the getting in or Registring the same, and whether the said five per Cent. be taken upon the whole Estate or on the Nett Estate, charges and Debts being deducted, and whether part of what he soe takes, hath not bin usually appropriated for the releife of the Poore at Poplar, and made good to Our Cash for that use.

5. We are sorry to see the discouragements you give Us for the sending out of Broadcloth and other Woollen Manufactures. They being the Staple Comodity of this Nation, We and you must use Our greatest Industry to procure a Vent for them, and if the Selling of them Cheape would effect it We give you Liberty therein. We are informed one great Cause that Ours hath not Sold hath bin that some of you having bought Cloth that went out in private Trade and holding it up at a high rate, Left Ours to Lye by, and that high rate discouraged the buyers.

6. We would have you by theis ships send Us a List and Samples of what druggs are procurable at Pattana and the Adjacencyes, in what quantities and their prizes. And let Us know whether that Factory may not be Capable of a Considerable Vent for Our Woollen Manufactures, being that to the Northward towards Tartary and Eastward towards China the Country is Cold and may require such Commodities, of which places and their trade We have as yet no advizes. Yet We Suppose that by your owne endeavors and often converse with the Armenian Marchants and others that travaile into those parts and Negotiate in the Muske Trade, and who annually come through Pattana, you may be informed Concerning this Affaire, of which write Us fully by your next.

7. [Concerning the Danish settlement in Bengal.]

8. We noat with what ease the Dutch do bring their ships in and out of the River of Hugley, amongst the rest the *Haniball* and *Experiment*. Had you not diverted those We formerly sent to be bred up as Pylotts in that River, by imploying them in your Owne Affaires, We might by this time have had some persons able to carry our Ships in and out the Ganges. We would this yeare have sent out Some more, but have thought it better, at the arrivall of Our Ships with you, that you should take out of each Ship one or two Ingenious young men that are Artists, and keepe them in that imployment, that So they may be able to doe this Worke: But We expect that they be wholly kept to this business, and that We yearely have every mans perticuler Journall and Draughts sent Us. But you must have the Captains consents, and also their owne, for such as you doe take out, and acquaint Us their Names, and take Care you Choose None but able Seamen, And not that under this pretence others shall be Left in the Countrey unfitt for Our Service; And the Shipps may be Supplyed by some formerly left there that have runn from their Comanders.

9. [Concerning the *farmān* for Bengal.]

10. [Concerning Saltpetre.]

11. As to Rugo Podars [Raghu the *poddār*] Death, We have had another Account thereof then what you give us, and therefore have given Order to the Fort to have this business fully examined, and We do require you to cause Mr. Vincent to pay back the 13000 rupees into our Cash till that examination be past, for you ought not to dispose of Our Moneys, but by our Order, or an Order from our Agent and Councell att the Fort.

12. We observe what progress Mr. Cole hath made towards the bringing Our blacks and Coullered Taffatyes to perfection.[1] We would have him and Our other Dyers proceede therein with their Utmost industry and skill, and be constantly kept in that imployment.

13. Herewith you have what directions We formerly sent to the Fort about Taffetyes, under the date of the 17 August Last, which followes in theis Words, *vizt.*:—'Wee have viewed the Samples of Taffe-'tyes sent from Cassambazar, and find that Mr. Littleton and Mr. Cole 'have made a good progress in the blackes and Greenes, and We 'desire they would be very Carefull to perfect these Coullers, The 'Greene not being a perfect grass greene. The Pinck Couller is 'good, and the Isabella[2] not so good as We have seene come from 'thence, therefore We desire it may be amended what you can. We 'find the skeyne you sent Us of blacke Silke to be much more glossy 'then it is in the Peece, therefore it appeares to Us there is something 'put upon the Silke in Weaving that ought to be Left out. And We 'also desire you to improove their glossing as much as may be. And, 'in the Sorting of the Silke, bee carefull you Sort it So even that there 'may be no rewyness [marks of lines or stripes] in the peece, as We 'find too much in those sent home. Theis Musters You now Sent Us 'appeare to be all Taffety Wale [striped taffety]; We would have some-'thing also done in Sarcenetts [fine, thin, woven silk] and Lusters (*alias* 'Lutestringes [a glossy silk fabric]). Many of Our buyers Complaine 'unto Us that Our Taffetyes do not hold out full Tenn Yards, and there-'fore We desire that you would be Carefull in sending Our Taffetyes of 'full Lengthes and breadthes, *vizt.* full tenn yards to a peece and full 'yard broad. And if any do happen to fall short of that Measure (which 'We hope you will prevent), that in such Case you doe give Us notice 'thereof in the Invoyce that We may know in which Case or Chest they 'are putt. And We desire you Likewise that you follow our former 'directions concerning the Couller of Our Silkes, and the manner of 'their Packing.' Which We would have you observe, and keeping them to their due Lengthes, for Since Our Last Sayles We have had

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[1] See *ante*, note on p. 296, for Robert Cole's appointment.

[2] Properly, the yellow of soiled calico. The term is popularly said to have originated in a vow made by Isabella of Castile, in 1491, never to change her linen till Granada fell into her hands. The siege lasted for a year. Isabelle or Isabella colour is also applied to brownish-yellow, greyish-yellow, and light buff. See the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *s.v.* Isabella.

many Complaints for Want of Lengthes, which hath caused Us a great deale of trouble and also to make many Abatements. Besides you did omitt both to put Nombers and Lengthes to many of the peeces, at which We much Wonder, and do order that for the future you do more Carefully follow Our Directions that We may not be put to the trouble of measuring them here, as We were after this Last Sale, to the great dissattisfaction of the buyers, and great Loss of time.

14. The last yeare We sent out one John Edwards, and this yeare We send out Thomas Read,[1] both Dyers, at 30 *li.* per annum each, which said Read is to receave 23 *li.* in the Country only, having ordred his Wife to receave 7 *li.* per annum here. And if they do answer our ends in perfecting the Coullers of Our Taffetyes, We shall then allow them 20 *li.* per annum gratuity more, but of this you are to pay them no part 'till We are Satisfyed therein, And give you further Order.

15. And when We doe find that Mr. Cole hath brought Our blacks to perfection and shall make them in good quantityes, We shall consider him further. Herewith you have Mr. Coles Account, by which it appeares there is due to Us 44 *li.* 15s. 6d., We having paid his Wife yearely the mony he ordred her at his entertainement, which he ought to have allowed there, and We wonder he did not. So you are to deduct this Mony Out of his Sallary. His Wife, three Children and her maid Servant proceede now to the Bay,[2] And for his encouragement We have Allowed him her passage and a Servants free.

16. The Materialls for Dying you desired are sent per this Shiping.

17. We order you when you send your generall Accounts to send over a rest of all Goods remayning unsold, not only at Hugley, but also at all other Factoryes under your inspection, And to take especiall Care to do this exactly by the next Shiping; and, for the future, to observe it as a standing Rule every yeare to send such a Rest.

18. [Refers to the fire in Balasor in 1674.]

19. In Our Last yeares Letters We gave you order to discharge Mr. Naylor of Our Service, in regard you found him unfitt for that Worke which he went out for,[3] And in Case he should not come for England, he might retorne to the Fort, We being resolved that all persons out of Our Service shall remaine there under such Rules as We have made to that purpose.

20. [Concerning a cask of Cochineal sent to Hugli in error.]

21. The goods you desire We now Send you, but in One part of your Letter you say Lead is not in esteeme, and in another part you write for 80 to 100 Tonns.

22. We also send you beames, Scales &ca. Factors Provisions, and also some Raritys, which you will find perticularized in the Invoice: But in all the presents you make, remember to use frugallity, and do it mostly in English Manufactures.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 260.

[2] See *ante*, p. 254.

[3] John Naylor, dyer, is mentioned later on in this volume, and is noticed in vol. ii.

23. [Contains the substance of paragraphs 20 and 30 in the Letter to Fort St. George (see pp. 249, 251).]

24. We would have you, by the first Ships, Send Us a Little of the Syam and Pegu Lead for a Sample, with the prizes thereof.

25. We have not at present any great hopes of gayning a trade to Japon, but upon any faire oppertunity shall renewe Our Attempt. Doe you endeavor to get what intelligence You can of that trade, and give Us advice thereof.

26. You tell Us you have sent over a perticuler of Mr. Bagnolds Estate[1] to Mr. Jolliff, but We expect that in all such Cases you follow Our Orders and send the Wills and Inventories and Accounts (or the Coppies) of the Deceaseds Estates to Us, though you may send other Coppies to their Friends.

27. As to Mr. Joseph Hall, upon Examination of so much of that affaire as you have given Us Light into, We do not find cause to discharge him of Our Service,[2] and have given Our Agent and Councell at the Fort directions as to him, hopeing that Mr. Puckle will Long ere this have thoroughly examined all differences with you; And We do expect that you incourage and not discourage any in Our Service for their faithfulness to Us, For We find that he had good grounds for his Charge both against Mr. March and Mr. Vincent, and did his duty therein, notwithstanding you So Slightly pass it over.

28. We expect that you and all Our Servants do Live in good Amity and correspondence one with another, and when any differences happen, that you rather endeavor to heale then to make them Wider.

29. [Deals with errors in the Books of Accounts.]

30. As to Mr. Vincent, We have now directed Our Agent and Councell to cause a thorough examination of the Business against him by Mr. Master, when he goes to the Bay, in Case Mr. Puckle shall not have done it. And in the mean time Let him knowe that We are informed ther's great resort of Romish Priests[3] to Our Factory upon account of his Wife, which We Looke upon to be of Dangerous Consequence both as to the Perverting of Our Servants and the hazard Our Estates may runne in Case of his Death, which We require you to prohibit and prevent, and give Us an account of your Proceedings herein by the first [conveyance], And whether he educates his Children in the Protestant or Romish Religion.

31. [Repetition of paragraph 56 of the Letter to Fort St. George (p. 254).]

32. We have given Liberty to Mr. Littletons Sister to go over, and also Mrs. Mary Barker Who goes to be a Wife for Thomas Pace.[4]

33. We would have you follow Our former Directions, both for Mullmuls, Cossaes and Sorting of Our Taffetyes. We this yeare find in some Chests of Taffeties goods of Severall prizes, which is very inconvenient for Us; therefore, for the future, let there be but one Sort of Taffetyes in a Chest.

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[1] William Bagnold died in 1672.

[2] See *ante*, p. 252.

[3] See *ante*, p. 252.

[4] See *ante*, note on p. 296.

34. In regard that Cossaes and mulmulls are Our owne Comodity and We requiring so great a quantity, You must take Care that the Comanders of ships or others do not lade any of them aboard for their owne Account.

35. [Concerning rice to be shipped to St. Helena.]

36. We do expect yearely you give Us an Account of all passages relating to the Bay that concearne Our Affaires, And send the Coppy of what you write Us to the Agent and Councell at the Fort that they may give Us their thoughts upon it.

37. We have in Our Letter to the Agent and Councell at the Fort mentioned severall perticulers that relate to Our Factoryes in the Bay, and have ordred them to send you Coppies thereof with their Directions thereupon, and expect your Complyance therewith, as if you had the Same imediately from Us, and that you give Us an account thereof in your Letter to Us.

38. [Concerns the Company's Seal. See paragraph 22 of the Letter to Fort St. George, p. 249.]

39. We do observe your Letter is Signed by Some that were never appointed by Us to be of Councell, Nor by the Agent and Councell at the Fort. We wonder how you Come to take such a Liberty which We never gave you, and do forbid the Like for the future. And upon Decease of any of the Councell you are to observe Our Generall Rules, and in Case they are Defective, to receave further Order from the Fort.

40. [Contains the substance of paragraph 50 of the Letter to Fort St. George (p. 253).]

41. We now send for the Coast and Bay the foure following Ships, *vizt., Eagle, Johanna, Falcon,* and *Suratt Marchant;* and also the *Mary* for the Fort and Bantam. And by them you will receave about £67000 in Bullyon, And Goods to the amount of £23000, In all £90000. And We expect you should Lade on theis Ships the following Goods, Ordred by the Last yeares Ships, to be provided against the arrivall of theis, *Vizt.*:—

10000 Sannaes, 12 or 16 yards Long.
4000 Coullerd Ginghams.
6000 Cassaes made at Dacca, very fine, $1\frac{1}{16}$ yard broad.
4000 Cassaes, from 4 to 7 rupees, 18 or 20 yards Long, $1\frac{1}{16}$ broad.
1000 fine Mulmulls, 1 yard broad.
1000 fine humhums, about 5 rupees per ps.
1000 finer ditto, from 7 to 8 rups. per ps.
6000 Coullerd Ginghams of Grayes, haire Coullers [*i.e.*, hair brown, a yellowish-brown], Some Lighter, Some Sadder [darker], Tawnyes of bright Coullers, Some green & yellowes mixt, of the finest & best Sorts (Livelyest & plesantest Coullers), good even Coullers, not rowed [striped], none that are Course.
8000 Nillaes, all of the best Sorts; Livelyest & pleasantest Coullers are most desireable with Us, the Courser Sorts not in Request.

6000 Taffetyes browne, about 4 rups. pr. ps.
4000 Ditto white, to be packt by themselves, 4 rups. pr. ps.
1000 full [deep] yellowes } about 4 rups., to be packt by them-
1000 full redds } selves.
3000 Light Coullers, *Vizt.*, Sky Couller, Sky & white mixt, Izabella Ash [yellowish-grey] Couller, straw couller, Carnation & white, Grayes, each a proportion in a Chest.
8000 Cloth [drab or self] Coullers, without mixture, as per Samples sent.
7000 Mixt Cloth Coullers as pr. Samples Sent, a proportion of each Cloth Couller in a Chest.
1500 Mixt Coullers for Lynings of hatts, about 7 rups., Packt by themselves.

And if Our Dyers can attayne to the dying of perfect Cole Black, pleasant grass greenes & Carnation, then Send of each Sort 2000 ps. with 1000 ps. pincke Coullers. But if they be not perfect Coullers, Send but 100 of each for a tryall, to be of the best Sort of them that cost 7 rups.

500 Bales of raw Silke, ½ head & ½ belly,[1] wherein your espetiall Care must be used to have it Cleane & verry good.
50 or 60 Bales of white Silke as pr. musters Sent.
140 Duppers [*dabbā*, skin bag] of Tincall, each about 2 Maunds.
50 or 60 Bales Cotton yarne, each 3 Maunds.
600 Tonns of Saltpeetre according to directions.
50 Bales Florett [floss] Yarne, each 90 Seere.
100Tonnes of the best Pegu Sticklack, black.

42. And augment the quantityes of fine thinn Cossaes & Mulmuls what you can. And if you cannot procure the full quantity of Black Pegu Sticklack, then you are to make it up with the best and blackest of such Sticklack as is procurable in the Bay, and Lett it not be shott but sent home in Bales.

43. If Our Agent and Councell shall require that you Lade more Tonnadge then the goods aforementioned will amount to, They will give you directions in what to exceede.

44. We give you Order (if you can) to take up by Exchange at 2s. 6d. pr. rupee the vallew of £20000. Sterling and draw it upon Us, and to invest it in good Silke, head and belly, and send it home by theis ships. But if you cannot in Silke, then in Taffetyes, Coullerd Ginghams and Nelaes, fine thin Cassaes and Mulmulls, Such as We have enordred. And what you cannot invest to send home by this yeares ships, You may Lay out in making provision against the next yeare. And We do expect in Such Case, in the absence of Shiping, you will buy the goods Considerably Cheaper.

45. [Contains particulars of goods 'wanting.']

46. [Contains complaints of 'Cossaes' sent home.]

[1] First and second quality. See Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, vol. i., p. 376, and note.

47. [Contains complaints of 'Taffetyes' sent home.]

48. [Contains complaints of goods wanting in the 1674 consignments.]

49. You must take Care theis Ships may So Seasonably be dispatch't from you, that they may have time at Metchlepatam and the Fort to dispeed them for England within the time Limmited by Charterparty, that So they may not hazard the Loss of the Monsoones or running Us into Demorage, as too often they have Done.

50. Theis ships being dispatched We would have you goe in hand to provide the following Goods for the yeare 1677 :—

10000 Sannaes, from 12 to 16 yards Long.
10000 Coullerd Ginghams, the finest and best procurable, as aforesaid.
10000 Cossaes made at Dacka, very fine, Cleare and Thinn, $1\frac{1}{16}$ broad.
5000 Cossaes, from 4 to 7 rupees, 20 yards Long or more, $1\frac{1}{16}$ broad, the thinner the better.
5000 fine Mulmulls, the finest and clearest and 1 yd. broad.
1000 fine humhums, of 5 rupees.
1000 finer ditto, from 7 to 8 rupees.
10000 Nillaes, all of the best Sorts, of the pleasantest and Livliest Coullers, the Courser Sort not in request. If you can have good, rather more then Less.
6000 Taffetyes raw, made thicker and closer struck [woven] then the Last Sent, though they Cost a Little more.
4000 white, to be packt by themselves, about 4 or 5 rupees.
1000 full yellowes and 1000 full redds, to be packt by themselves, about 4 or 5 rupees.
2000 Mixt Taffetyes for Lynings of hatts, about 7 rups., to be packt by themselves according to patternes formerly Sent.
3000 Light Coullers, *vizt.*, Sky, sky and white mixt, Izabella Ash Couller, Straw Couller, Carnation and white, Greyes, each in proportion in a Chest.
8000 Cloth coullers without Mixture, according to Samples formerly Sent.
7000 Mixt Cloth Coullers, according to Samples formerly Sent, a proportion of each cloth Couller in a Chest.

And if Our Dyers can attayne to dying of Blacks, perfect grass greenes and Carnation, then you may send of each Couller 2000 ps. and of Blacks 4000, with 1000 ps. of pinck Coullers, but if they be not perfect Collours, send but 200 of each for a tryall, to be of the best Sort that Cost about 7 rups. pr. ps.

15000 Silke romalls, head and belly.
500 Bales raw Silke, halfe head, ½ belly, cleane and good, more head, if not too deare.
100 Bales of white Silke.
140 Duppers of Tincall.
50 or 60 Bales Cotton yarne, 3 Mds. each, as formerly directed.
600 Tonnes Saltpetre.

50 or 100 Bales (if procurable) of Florett Yarne, each 90 Seere.
100 Tonnes of the best Pegu Black Sticklack.

51. By theis Ships goes out Mr. Streinsham Master, Who We Send to Succeede Our Agent at the Fort in January 1677 [1678], And at present is to take place as Second there, and in the meane time, to goe to Metchlepatam and the Bay to inspect Our Affaires in those parts, in all which places he is to be Chief while he there resides; And therefore We order that you shew him all due respect Suiteable to his Quallity and Place.

52. We have put on board the *Falcon* One box conteyning a Bushell of Wold Seede,[1] and We desire you would take Care that it may be Sowne in a Light Sandy Soyle, and We hope it will grow well there, and Save Us the Charge and trouble of sending it Over from hence. It comes not to full perfection here the first Yeare, but We suppose in that hott Country it may Sooner, of which Let the Dyers take Care.

53. We would have you, in the answering of all Our Letters, to answer the Severall Paragraffes in Order as they Lye, which will facillitate your Correspondence.

54. Soe We Committ you to the Protection of the Almighty, and Remaine,

Your very loving friends,
NATH. HEARNE Governor.[2]

BALLASORE, 1676.

Fryday, September 1st. This day the Purgoes[3] or boates (which were ordered to goe on board the Shipes upon Saturday last when I came ashoare) returned bringing such goods and Treasure as was sent for. This evening wee dispatched four Peons with the Bookes of accompts etc., with a letter of advice to Mr. Walter Clavell, Cheif etc. Councell, at present in Cassambazar; the Coppy followeth:—

Sirs, By letters dispatch[ed] hence the 28th last moneth,[4] you have notice of the *Arrival* Ketch and *Ganges* Sloope their comeing in to this Roade the Day before, and that Mr. Master intended to goe up with them to Hugly. Since, wee have

[1] Weld or Dyer's Weed (*Reseda luteola*), used for the dyeing of bright yellow and lemon colour.

[2] The other signatures are the same as those appended to the General Letter to Fort St. George. See p. 265.

[3] An Indian corruption of the Portuguese *barca*, a barge, and also a sailing-boat. See Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 228, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxx., pp. 160-162, for a history of this word and description of the boat intended.

[4] See *ante*, p. 301.

furnished the Ketch with a boate (her owne being lost comeing downe), both of them with anchors and Cables, and the sloope with rigging, she being very bare fitted, and have ordered their ladeing out of the ships of Broad cloth, Lead etc. Europe goods, and nine chests treasure, *vizt.*, one of Gold that came on the *Johanna* (whose Invoyce is much wanting here) and eight of silver. Upon Munday next Mr. Master intends to leave this place in order to his imbarqueing, hopeing by that time the Ketch and Sloope will have takeing in all their Laden; and he was once in hopes to have the Company of two or three of the Captaines up with him to have taken their opinions of the Channell and the River [Hugli] and given the Honourable Company some account of it, but they are soe ill disposed in Respect of their healths (especially Captain Bonnell and Captain Bendall) that they have now only declined [abandoned] their former inclinations.

For the rest wee desire you would be pleased to be referred to the inclosed Consultation of yesterday which, with the tender of our Humble service, is the needfull at present from, Sirs, Your affectionate and humble Servants, STREYNSHAM MASTER; EDMOND BUGDEN; JOHN BILLINGSLEY. *Ballasore, the primo September*, 1676.

September 2.—The Clause of the Consultation of the 31st last month, forbiding to sell Punch, was sent by Mr. Billingsly, attended with two Souldiers and some Peons, and Published at the severall houses to the Partyes Concerned, who promised to be observant thereunto.

This evening I visited the Cheife of the Danes, Wilke Wygbert,[1] at their Factory, by whome I was informed that he had formerly binn a Skipper in the Dutch Companys service in their great ships out and home, and lost his legg at Macasser. Afterward, upon discontent of some ill usage, left their service in Holland, and, in the yeare 1670, came out in the King of Denmarkes service to make purchase [conquest] upon the People of Bengala; but after him came out other persons of Quallity who had concluded a peace with these people, which he did not

[1] See *ante*, p. 300, n.

esteeme soe advantageous as the other way. The tearmes were these :—this their Factory and the ground and houses about it (which is a good Compase and a handsome spott) was given them free, and three thousand Rupees in money to repaire and build a house, all which the merchants of this Towne Contributed.[1] Alsoe, he acquainted mee that at Dacca, from whence he was latély returned, he had procured the Nabob Shaster Cawnes Phyrwana [Shāistah Khān's *parwāna*] for the Danes Nation to trade free of custome in Bengala and Orixa, and the merchants alsoe that buy their goods, and that his charges in procuring the same stood them in between four and five thousand rupees.

VOYAGE UP THE HUGLI TO KASIMBAZAR, 1676.

September 4.—Munday morneing, by breake of day, I went from Ballasore. About tenn a Clocke gott to the Rivers mouth, where the ships boate mett mee, and about three a Clock Mr. Bugden and myselfe went off in the *Eagle's* Skiff, and about 6 a clock wee gott aboard the *Arrivall* Ketch, where Richard Trenchfeild (who was sent off to dispatch the Ketches laden from the ships) informed mee that the Cheife mate of the *Surratt Merchant* would not deliver any goods without a particuler order or direction from his Commander, by reason whereof the *Arrivall* wanted Lead to Ballast her, and delivered mee a noate from the said Cheife mate the Coppy whereof followeth :—

Mr. Trenchfeild, By this Boate I received your note for delivery of Copper or other weighty goods I have. I have an order from the Captain to deliver nothing without his hand be

[1] The Danish settlement at Balasor was fortified by a natural moat, which connected it with the river and defended it from land attacks. The territory it occupied was ceded to the English in 1846. See Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. xviii., p. 283.

Bowrey's account of the negotiations by which the Danes obtained ground for their factory differs from Wygbert's own story, and shows the 'Worthy Commadore (a Taylor by trade)' in a very contemptible light. He seems to have been outwitted by Malik Kāsim, the native governor. See Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 182-190.

to the note, which I desire you to write for, and then you may have what you please, which is all at present from, Yours to Command, WM. MICHELL. *September the 4th*, 1676.

Whereupon Mr. Bugden and myselfe signed the following order:—Captain Francis Johnson, Wee require you to send aboard the Honourable Companys Ketch the *Arrivall*, to morrow morning early, by your owne long boate as she can Conveniently cary it at times, the following goods, *vizt.*:—40: Piggs of Lead, 4: anchors, 49 blocks of Tynn, which is part of your Cargo from England for account of the Honourable East India Company, Your Loveing Freinds, STREYNSHAM MASTER; EDMOND BUGDEN. *Ballasore Roade, September the 4th*, 1676.

Which [letter] was directed to Captain Francis Johnson, Commander of the *Surratt Merchant*, and, in his absence, to the Cheife mate aboard the said ship in Ballasore Roade, and sent by Richard Trenchfeild, who brought answer from Mr. Michell, the Cheife mate, that he had his Captains letter not to deliver more goods then he had his order for and therefore could not follow our orders.

September 5.—This day Mr. Michell came on board the *Eagle* and shewed me the said letter from his Commander, but now offered to deliver what goods should be required from on board the *Surratt Merchant*, notwithstanding his Captains said order, whereupon I declined the delivery of a protest against the Captain and owners in the Companys behalfe.

This afternoon all the Goods were laden aboard the *Arrivall* and *Ganges*, and in the evening I sett saile, all the shipps Saluting mee with their gunns. With me in the *Arrivall* was Mr. Darley, Mr. Bonnell,[1] Robert Littleton,[2] and Christopher Oxinden, a Trumper [Trumpeter] and a file[3] of Souldiers. In the *Ganges* went Mr. Calloway sick of a fever, Mr. Douglas, the

[1] This was John Bonnell, purser of the *Eagle*. Captain James Bonnell, as noted above, remained at Balasor.

[2] Brother of Edward Littleton, the Company's servant at Kasimbazar.

[3] In the seventeenth century the number of men in a file varied from two to twelve or more. See the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *s.v.* File.

Chyrrugeon of the *Eagle*, to looke after him, Nath: Whetham[1] and Thomas Reade the Dyer. The *Arrivall* had 20 Lascars and five English to saile her and carryes about 85 Tonnes of saltpeter. The *Ganges* had 14 Lascars and four Englishmen to saile her and carryes about 45 Tonnes Saltpeter. This night wee sailed over the sands called the braces,[2] haveing lesse then three fathome water and a Swelling Sea.

September 6.—This morneing wee overtooke a Dutch Flyeboate and a Sloope attending her, which sailed out of Ballasore Roade the 30th Instant, and this day wee came up with the breakers upon the sand called the Sea Reef[3] and anchored upon the tide of ebb.

September 7.—This morneing wee came faire by the Arracan Shoare, and by the Dutch boyes,[4] and came to an anchor at the mouth of the River neare the ile of Coxes,[5] and bought as much fish out of a boate for half a rupee as would serve fourscore men.

September 8.—This day wee passed by the River which goes to Chittygom [Chittagong] and Dacca, which the English call the River of Rogues, by reason the Arracaners used to come out thence to Rob,[6] and sailed up the River Ganges, on the east side of which most part of the great quantity of beeswax is made, which is the Kings comodity, and none suffered to deale therein but for his account; and Swarmes of Bees flew over our Vessell. Alsoe we passed by great numbers of saltpitts, and places to boile salt, which is alsoe appropriated to the King or great Mogull, and none suffered to be made but for his account.'

This evening with the tide of flood wee gott into that part of the River Ganges that comes from Hugly. At the mouth of

[1] See *ante*, p. 215, for Whetham's appointment.

[2] The Braces, Eastern and Western, was the term applied to the shoals or long sands at the mouth of the Hugli.

[3] Really the Long Sand, of which the Sea Reef was a continuation.

[4] Mr. William Foster suggests that 'boyes' is a copyist's error for 'boyer,' a Flemish sloop, and refers to the 'sloope' mentioned in the text. See the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *s.v.* Boyer.

[5] Now merged, with the Isle of Dogs, into Saugor Island.

[6] See Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 212.

[7] See Bowrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 132, 225.

the said River ther's eighteen or nineteen fathome water without, and but eight or nine fathome within, but it sholds gradually Shelvingwise, yett causes a great whirling of the water, soe that often times Ships and Vessells are turned or winded round by it for a good space of time, but seldome receive dammage thereby (as afterward I saw one farther up the river soe winded), but wee comeing neare upon a high water gott in without any such winding; and they happen at the first of the Flood and last of the Ebb.[1]

September 9.—This evening upon a Slack water weighing our anchor, wee could not gett it up with all the Force and art could bee used, but being unwilling to leave it without farther tryall, wee rode by it untill the next tide.

September 10.—This morneing wee endeavoured to weigh our anchor againe, but all the force and art could be used by 30 men at a winlass and Capston could not move it, and being out of hope to gett it up, wee cutt our Cable and left it. The cable being new made of Maldiva Cair[2] never started a stran.

September 11.—Munday morneing the Skipper[3] of the Dutch Flyboate wee overtooke came by us in a small boate to goe to Hugly. Wee desired him to carry one of our Lascarrs to Tanna,[4] by whome I wrote a letter to Hugly; the Coppy followeth :—

To Mr. Edward Reade etc. Factors for the Honourable East India Company in Hugly.

Sirs, This is to advise you that I came from Ballasore Roade in the Ketch *Arrivall* with the *Ganges* on Tuesday night last, and came into this river leading up to Hugly on Fryday night.

[1] Master alludes to the point where the Rupnarain runs into the Hugli at the James and Mary Shoal. See Bowrey, *op. cit.*, p. 173; Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii., p. 233; Wilson, *Early Annals*, vol. i., p. 53.

[2] Coir or cocoa-fibre cable from the Maldives.

[3] Apparently, Thomas Bowrey in the *Sancta Cruz*. See Bowrey, *op. cit.*, p. 172 *et seq.*

[4] Great Thāna, where, in Master's time, there was a Muhammadan fort constructed against the river pirates.

The Freshes[1] being strong, the floods weak, and the winds small and contrary may make it many dayes ere we gett up with the Ketches, wherefore I desire you to send boates and Budgrows[2] to carry myself and Company up soe soone as you can. The *Arrivall* hath but one Anchor aboard, haveing lost one in this river, which being foule to a tree, as was thought, could not be weighed againe, though wee lost a tide about it, soe desire you to send her another anchor and Kedge anchor by the first, which is all at present from Your Loveing Freind, STREYNSHAM MASTER. *Aboard the 'Arrivall' Ketch, September the* 11*th*, 1676.

The said Dutch Skipper sayd he was a Yorkshire man; he told us that his shipp was shott by the mouth of this river leading to Hugly into that river we call Tumberleen,[3] and that he had lost an anchor, two kedg anchors, and 200: fathome of Hawser, but there was noe want of such things up at their Factory [Chinsurah]. This afternoone Mr. Douglas, the Chyrrugeon of the *Eagle*, who looked to Wm. Calloway, very sick on board the *Ganges*, sent to Mr. Darley to come to him beleiveing he was neare his end. Whereupon Mr. Darley very willingly went, accompanyed with Mr. Bonnell, Robert Littleton and Nathaniel Wetham and George Heron,[4] the Master of the *Arrivall*, the boate they went in being veered a Sterne by a rope from the *Arrivall* to the *Ganges*. After they had binn there a small time, Mr. Darley haveing performed the last office for Mr. Calloway, he dyed, and then the partyes before mentioned, with Mr. Douglas and Thomas Read the Dyer, went into the boate to returne againe aboard the *Arrivall*. And as they were putting off from the Vessell, by some unhappy accident, the boate cast thwart the Streame (which Runn very Swift) and filled with water. The *Ganges* boate, being fast to her, Sheered

[1] See Bowrey's account of the 'freshes' in the Hugli, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 171 *et seq.*

[2] *Bajrā*, a boat used for pleasure and state journeys. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Budgerow.

[3] Now the Rupnarain.

[4] George Heron, entertained as an apprentice for the pilot service in the Hugli, in 1668, died at Fort St. George in 1727, aged eighty-one. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii., p. 199, and Mrs. Penny, *Fort St. George*, p. 195.

up into the other boate and beate the men into the water, In which sad mischance Mr. Darley and Nathaniell Whetham were drowned. All the rest, it pleased God, were saved, and alsoe the boates. The *Arrivalls* boate, breaking loose, Swam with her Keel upward and the Lascarrs upon it, which George Heron followed with the *Ganges* boate some miles downe the river, till they came to the Dutch Flyboate, where they were refreshed with meate and Drinck and clothes, and there saved the boate and brought them both aboard againe this night.[1]

Mr. Calloway haveing desired to be decently buryed ashoare, and there being noe hope of getting the Sloopes up higher then they were, which is neare the iland Janperdo,[2] by reason of the streng[t]h of the Freshes, I therefore sent his corpes away in the boate this night to be burried at Tanna, and the boate not being able to gett higher then little Tanna, he was burried there the next day.

September 12.—This day Mr. Reade, Mr. Hervy,[3] Mr. Nurse,[4] Mr. Carpenter,[5] Mr. Byam,[6] and Mr. Knipe,[6] came to me from Hugly with boates and conveniencyes for our goeing thither. Wee agreed to send up the Companyes Chest of Gold with Mr. Reade in his Budgrow, and four Chests of silver in a great Tow boate, which were laden accordingly. About midnight, upon a Slack water, we went into our boates and began our voyage to Hugly.

September 13.—Wenesday morneing, about 7 a clock, wee got to Barnagur where the Dutch have a place called the Hogg

[1] Thomas Bowrey has a graphic account of the accident in which Joshua Darley and Nathaniel Whetham lost their lives. He is apparently mistaken as to the date, which he gives as 27th September. See *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 175-178.

[2] The island, known in the seventeenth century as Jan Perdo, Janipardo, John Pardo, etc., has long since disappeared.

[3] Samuel Hervy was elected factor on the 25th October, 1670 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 61).

[4] Valentine Nurse was elected factor on the 13th November, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 62).

[5] Henry Carpenter was elected writer on the 14th August, 1668 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 145).

[6] John Byam and George Knipe were elected writers on the 3rd November, 1670 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 66).

Factory,[1] and I was informed they kill about 3000: hogges in a yeare, and salt them up for their shiping. At this place wee stayed till about noone, where Van Helyn, the Dutch Cheif at Ballasore, came to see mee. A few miles higher wee passed by a Dutch ship of about 600 Tonns, who was lading of rice, and Saluted us with seven Gunnes. Some miles farther wee passed by another Dutch ship that was lading of rice at a markett place. It seemes the rents [revenues] of the Countrey are raised at these marketts, there being in some places two, three or more markett dayes in a week. Then wee passed by a Dutch ship that was saileing up to Hugly; and lesse then two miles short of Hugly wee passed by the Dutch Garden,[2] and a little farther by a large spot of ground [Chandarnagar or Chandernagore] which the French had laid out for a Factory, the gate to which was standing, but was now in possession of the Dutch.[3] Then wee came by the Dutch Factory, which is a large well built house standing by itselfe, much like to a Country Seat in England;[4] the *Hanniball* was rideing in the river with a Dutch Flagg over against the Towne, the *Sampson*[5] and foure or five great ships being allready dispatched by them. That parte of the Towne which wee passed by was all built of thatcht Hovells. About 7 a clock in the evening we came to the Honourable Companys Factory,[6] where I was respectfully received.

[1] Bārānagar (Vārāhanagar), on the left bank of the Hugli River, still exists as Barnagore immediately north of Calcutta. It is marked in Valentijn's map as 'Barrenger.'

[2] The Dutch Garden at Hugli was about three miles below the English factory. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. i., p. 170.

[3] The date when Chandarnagar became a French factory is uncertain. The site, acquired by the French, *circa* 1673, seems to have been temporarily ceded (after their defeat at St. Thomé) to the Dutch. The factory-house at Chandarnagar was not completed till 1692. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii., p. 218, and Irvine, Manucci's *Storia di Mogor*, vol. iii., p. lxxxiv.

[4] The Dutch established themselves at Chinsurah, on the right bank of the Hugli, in 1632. Their factory, as Master saw it, was erected in 1656. See Crawfurd, *Hughli District*, p. 27 *et seq.*

[5] The *Sampson*, under Captain Nehemiah Earning, had been captured by the Dutch in August, 1673 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. iii.).

[6] The site of the English factory was at Golaghāt. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii., p. 219.

HUGLY, 1676.

September 14.—This morneing I wrote a letter to Cassambazar, the Copy followeth :—

To Mr. Walter Clavell Cheife etc. Councell for the Honourable Companys affaires in the Bay Bengala.

Sirs, Your Congratulatory letter of the 12 August,[1] by Mr. Reade and Mr. Hervy the 12 Instant I received on board the *Arrivall* Ketch, about 60 miles downe this river, and the said persons bringing mee accomodations yesterday, I came to this place, from whence I shall proceed to you soe soone as I have received my necessaryes out of the Ketch, and prepared myselfe thereto, which may be five or six dayes; in the interime I returne my due acknowledgements for the expressions of your favour and respects, Sirs, Your Freind and Servant, STREYNSHAM MASTER. *Hugly, September the 14th*, 1676.

This day Mellick Cossam,[2] the Governour of Hugly, was to begin his journey to Cateck [Cuttack] to take possession of the Government of Orixa [Orissa] for the new Nabob [Shāistah Khān], wherefore I sent Mr. Reade to complyment him on my behalfe before he went; and whilst Mr. Reade was with him, the Dutch sent him their present, which consisted of about 10: maunds of all sorts of spice, 2: peeces of Scarlett and fine green Cloth, Jappan Escretores and boxes, some peeces of China Silke, and other things in bundles which were not opened before Mr. Reade. It seemes that there lately hath binn a quarrell between the Dutch and the Governour, and he was yesterday at the Dutch house and made Freinds.

This afternoone Senr: De Haese, the Directour for the Dutch,[3]

[1] No copy of this letter appears to exist.

[2] Malik Kāsim was Governor of Hugli from *circa* 1668 to 1672. He governed Balasor, March, 1673-75, and then obtained 'the government of Hugly in his Son's [Malik Zindī's] name and the command of the Kings forces thereabouts in his owne' (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.).

[3] François de Hase was head of the Dutch affairs in Bengal, 1672-76. See Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, vol. v., p. 174.

sent Senr: Fensell,[1] his second, to complement mee and excuse his owne not comeing. The Directore for the Dutch sent his second and another of their Councell to mee with a Complaint that there was three of their seamen hid in a Vessell of Mr. Smithes[2] in the river, and that It was customary for our people to intice away their men with money, notwithstanding they faile not to assist us in all things with their Sloopes and men, and the last yeare they saved one of the Companys Sloopes from being lost. I gave them for answer that nothing should be wanting on my part to serve them, and if the Directore would send those persons that knew the men, if they could bee found they should be delivered. In the afternoone the Directore sent his Secretary with some Seamen to mee for the men, whereupon I sent George Knipe with two Souldiers aboard the Vessell, where they found the three men required, who were sent to the Directore.

This evening the said Directore, with his second and three more, came to vissitt mee and stayed to supper. He told mee the second of their Factory at Ballasore was lately dead, and that their and our Saltpeter boates were cleared att Rajamaull[3] and comeing hither.

September 18.—Monday afternoone I sent Mr. Reade and Christopher Oxinden to the Directore to excuse my not returning his vissitt. Haveing fitted our Boates for our Voyage hence to Cassambazar, and laden nine Chests of the Honourable Companys Treasure, *vizt.*, one gold and eight of silver on board them, this evening wee sett forward to the Companys garden about two miles out of Towne[4] and there stayed whilst [until] about midnight, and then sett forward, the Sloopes being dispatched to Ballasore roade before wee left Hugly.

September 19.—About 5 a Clock in the evening wee came to a

[1] Hermann Fentsell was second at Kasimbazar in 1671. See De Graaf, *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, p. 44, and Marshall, *Notes and Observations of East India*, British Museum, *Harleian MS.*, 4254, fol. 40 (reverse).

[2] John Smith was elected factor 18th October, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 48).

[3] Between 1676 and 1679 the Dutch and English saltpetre boats were frequently stopped at Rājmahāl by order of the Nawāb, Shāistah Khān, and large sums were extorted to procure their release.

[4] See Yule, '*Hedges' Diary*, vol. i., pp. 34, 35, 76, 89.

place called Amboa,[1] about 25 miles from Hugly, where wee supp't and lay this night.

September 20.—Att noone wee came to Nuddea [Nadiā] where there is an ancient College of the Bramans.[2] There wee dined. About three a Clock sett forward againe and rowed untill 10 at night and then rested.

September 21.—Att noone wee Stopped and dined at Cushallpore;[3] at three a Clock sett forward againe, and about 4 mett with Mr. Vincent[4] and Mr. Edwards,[5] who came from Cassambazar the last night. This night wee Sup't and lay at Biggehaut,[6] a place, when the river is low, where there lyes some hundreds of dead bodies that have binn thrown into the river, and the Doggs, Jackalls, and Vultures, and other birds of prey come and feed upon them.

September 22.—Wee mett Mr. Hall,[7] who came from Cassambazar yesterday in the afternoone, and wee passed by the Honourable Companys saltpeter boates, being 17 great Pattellaes,[8] every one a small boate or two to attend them, and Stephen Guilliam,[9] a writer, with them. Alsoe there passed by us eight boates and two Dutchmen with them, which were laden with about a thousand bales of silk for the Dutch Companys accompt from Cassambazar. About 4 a Clock wee Stoped at Doudpore,[10]

[1] Amboa does not appear on the modern maps. It is marked in Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, 1780, and in J. B. Tassin's *Atlas of the Ganges*, 1835, as Ambooa, and is placed to the south of Kalna.

[2] For an account of the religious associations of this place, see Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. ii., p. 106 *et seq.*

[3] 'Cushallpore' seems to be represented by the Kassepoor (Kasipur) of the *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 120.

[4] Matthias Vincent was elected factor 4th November, 1661 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv., fol. 211).

[5] Richard Edwards was elected writer 18th October, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 48).

[6] Bikkeehat appears in Tassin's *Atlas of the Ganges*, 1835. The place seems to be identical with the Pataihaut of the *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 120.

[7] Joseph Hall was elected a factor and one of the Council 'at the Coast or Bay' on the 1st October, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 41).

[8] Hind. *paṭelā*, a large flat-bottomed boat. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Pattella.

[9] Elected writer 24th October, 1671 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 181).

[10] Daudpoor (Dāūdpur) is marked on the left bank of the river by Rennell and Tassin. It does not appear on the modern maps, where it seems to be represented by Nugurhatta (*Indian Atlas*, Sheet 120).

and, understanding from Mr. Vincent that gold bore a meane price at Cassambazar, from thence we wrote a letter to Mr. Bugden &ca. at Ballasore to dispose of the other Chest of gold there. Att seaven a Clock sett forward againe.

KASIMBAZAR, 1676.

September 23.—Att foure a Clock this morneing wee came to Moula,[1] where we mett Mr. Clavell,[2] Mr. Marshall,[3] and Mr. Littleton,[4] who acquainted me that Major Puckle being sick was returned to Cassambazar with the Cheife of the Dutch the same night. Att nine a Clock wee sett forward, and at noone mett Senr. Verburg, the Cheife of the Dutch at Cassambazar,[5] and three others with him. By the river side, about the middle of the Towne, wee passed by the spot of ground alloted to the French.[6] Att three a Clock in the afternoone, God be praised, wee arrived safe at the Honourable Companys Factory at the farther end of the Towne of Cassambazar, where I was received with great respect and Kindness, and the Dutch stayed to supper with us.

September 25.— Mr. Vincent sent a man to Bolchund, the Governour of Muxadavad,[7] to acquaint him of my being come and to excuse my waiting on him till next weeke. Upon my

[1] The modern Mohola.

[2] Walter Clavell was sent to India on a special mission in 1667. He went to Bengal as second of the factory at Hugli in 1669, and succeeded Shem Bridges as chief in 1673. For an account of his life, see the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxiv., p. 286 *et seq.*

[3] John Marshall was elected factor 13th January, 1668 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 91).

[4] Edward Littleton was elected factor 25th October, 1670 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 61).

[5] Jacob Verburg was 'Directore' at Kasimbazar when De Graaf visited the place in 1669. He was chief of the Dutch affairs in Bengal from 1678 to 1681. See Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, vol. v., p. 174, and De Graaf, *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, pp. 44, 73.

[6] Probably the site of Saidabad, where the French factory was afterwards built. It was known as Farasdanga in the middle of the eighteenth century, and appears in the *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 120, as Dangapoor. See Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. ix., p. 91.

[7] Bāl Chand (Bāl Chandra Rāī), Governor of Murshidābād, and, later, of Hugli and Kasimbazar, died 2nd December, 1683. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. i., pp. 33, 47, 135, 140, 166.

desire to Major Puckle, he spared me Vincent Sayon[1] to assist me in writeing worke.

BUSINESS TRANSACTED BY THE AGENT AT KASIMBAZAR.

September 25th, Munday.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: MR. WALTER CLAVELL; MAJOR WM. PUCKLE; MR. MATTHIAS VINCENT; MR. JOSEPH HALL; MR. EDWARD READE; MR. JOHN MARSHALL; MR. JOHN SMITH; MR. EDWARD LITTLETON; MR. SAMUELL HERVY.

Mr. Master takeing notice that there were some persons in this the Gennerall Councell of the Bay lately taken in to supply the Vacanceys of others deceased and gone for England, but not particulerly nominated there by the Honourable Company or their Agent and Councell at Fort St. George,[2] declares he does not thinke fitt to propose an alteration, but that they continue as they are at this present.

Mr. Masters Commission from the Honourable Company under their large Seale, and his Commission and Instructions signed by the Governour and Committee were read.

The Consultation held in Ballasore the 31 August by Mr. Master, Mr. Edmond Bugden, and Mr. John Billingsley was read, and thereupon Mr. Clavell was desired to Draw up instructions to be approved of by the Councell and sent to Ballasore for the management of the Honourable Companys investment there.

It is resolved that the business of the Podaurs[3] death be examined on Wednesday morning.[4]

[1] Vincent Sayon was elected writer 24th October, 1671 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 181). He was sent from Fort St. George in March, 1676, as a special assistant to Major Puckle (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii.).

[2] See paragraph 39 of the Company's General Letter to Hugli, *ante*, p. 314. In April, 1676, Samuel Bullivant, John Smith and Edward Littleton were taken into Council by Walter Clavell. Bullivant died in May, 1676, and his place in Council was filled by Samuel Hervy. The other vacancies were caused by the departure for England, in January, 1675, of Gabriel Townsend, and the death, in December, 1675, of Robert Elwes, chief at Dacca.

[3] See paragraph 11 of the Company's Letter to Hugli, p. 311.

[4] The signatures have been omitted; they are identical with the list at the head of the Consultation.

September 25.—This evening Mr. Hall brought Anuntram[1] to me, and shewed me a paper which he had drawne up concerning the Podaurs death, and both of them desired that I would Countenance the said Anuntram that noe body might doe him any wrong, which I promised to doe, and Incouraged him to speake the trueth and not to feare any, and then gave him beetle,[2] which is a token of kindness and favour.

September 26.—The merchants were sent for from Muxadavad to treat with about the Honourable Companys Treasure, who sent word that they could not come untill the new moone.[3] This day Anuntram came to mee and, among other discourse, he asked mee whether he should goe to Mr. Clavell and Mr. Vincent if they should send for him. I told him noe, and charged him not to goe to either of them. Notwithstanding afterwards I understood that he did presently [immediately] goe from me to Mr. Clavell without being sent for.

September 27th, Wednesday.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Instructions drawne up by Mr. Clavell for the management of the Investment in Ballasore to Mr. Bugden etc.[4] were read and approved off. Mr. Clavell was desired to draw up a letter of directions for the management of the Honourable Companys affaires in Hugly to bee approved of by the Councell.

That an order be sent to Pattana for the procuring of the quantityes of Tincall [*tinkāl*, native borax] and Turmerick enordered by the Honourable Company and their Agent and Councell at Fort St. George,[5] and that Mr. Charnock[6] be

[1] Anant Rām, broker for the English at Kasimbazar.

[2] *Viz.*, pawn (*pān*), the leaf of the *piper betel*, chewed with dried areca-nut. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Betel.

[3] The five days before the new moon are looked upon by Hindus as more or less fatal, and anything undertaken on these days would be attended with disastrous results. See Dubois and Beauchamp, *Hindu Manners and Customs*, vol. ii., pp. 385, 505.

[4] No copy of these 'Instructions' appears to exist.

[5] See the end of paragraph 50 of the Company's General Letter to Hugli, p. 316, where 140 'duppers' of *tinkāl* are ordered. The turmeric was requisitioned in a letter from Fort St. George of the 31st July, 1676 (*Factory Records*, *Fort St. George*, vol. xviii.).

[6] Job Charnock, chief at Patna, entered the Company's service in 1658. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii., p. 45.

desired to be at a Gennerall Councell of the Bay by the first of December next, and it's refered to Mr. Clavell to draw up a letter accordingly.

The Case of Raghu the *Poddār*.

The question of Matthias Vincent's liability for the fine paid to the country government owing to the death of Raghu the Poddār.

The Councell then proceeded to examine the busness of Rugo Podaurs death,[1] and in order thereunto the severall clauses in the Honourable Companys letters dated the 24: December, 1675 to the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George and to their Cheife and Factors in the Bay, with what the Agent and Councell writt thereabouts in their Generall Letter of the 18th July, 1676, and alsoe the Honourable Companys directions concerning the business in Mr. Masters Commissions and Instructions were all read.[2] Whereupon Mr. Master enquired whether any progress had binn made in it since the receipt of the Honourable Companys letter aforesaid. To which the Councell answered in the negative, for that they deferred it untill his arrivall. Then, according to the Honourable Companys orders, Mr. Master in their name demanded the 13000: rupees of Mr. Mathias Vincent to be paid into their Cash. To which Mr. Vincent answered that he had not the money, and that he had given Security to the Honourable Company in England for a greater summe,[3] which, if upon hearing and proofes he should be Justly condemned in, may be well satisfyed thence, and that he paid nothing but by order from the Cheife and Councell of the Bay. Then the Letters which passed in this business were sent for and read,[4] and there was found that there was full

[1] The death of Raghu, the *poddār* or cash-keeper, occurred on the 22nd August, 1673. Matthias Vincent and Anant Rām, the house-broker, were both implicated in the affair.

[2] See paragraph 9 (*d*) of Master's Commission, paragraphs 34 and 36 of the Company's Letter to Fort St. George, and paragraphs 11 and 30 of the Company's Letter to Hugli, on pp. 204, 251, 252, 311, 313.

[3] As factor, Vincent had given security to the Company in £1,000. The sum demanded—Rs. 13,000, at 2s. 3d. the rupee—was £1,462 10s.

[4] See the extracts at the end of this Consultation for all the existing references to the *poddār's* death.

order given by Mr. Clavell, Mr. Townsend,[1] Mr. Hall and Mr. Reade for ending the same without limitation of a summe of money. Then Mr. Master put the Question to the Councell: What Course is to be taken to cause Mr. Vincent to pay in the 13000: rupees into the Honourable Companys Cash according to their order? To which the Councell did all draw up their answers in papers seperately, not communicating their opinions till they were Publickely read, which are as followeth:[2]

Samuell Hervyes opinion.—If Mr. Vincent doth not pay the 13000 rupees of his owne accord, I doe not know what order of the Honourable Companys doth impower us to use force upon his person or goods, which is the only way left.

Edward Littleton's opinion.—Mr. Vincent haveing full and ample orders from the Cheife of the Bay etc. Councell for the payment of moneys for the clearing the said business, and the money being payd upon the said orders for the clearing the said business, therefore it is my opinion that noe force ought to be used on the body or estate of the said Mr. Vincent here, but that examination of the business should pass.

John Smith's opinion.—Though the Company order the Cheife and Councell to cause Mr. Vincent to pay the 13,000: rupees into their Cash, yett they doe not order any force to be used, Therefore my opinion is that the Cheife and Councell can only demand it of Mr. Vincent.

Mr. Marshall's opinion.—I doe not understand that we are impowered to force from Mr. Vincent the 13,000: rupees, soe know not of any course to be taken to cause him to pay it but by perswations.

Edward Reade's opinion.—That Mr. Vincent, haveing binn made acquainted with the Honourable Companys orders for the payment of 13,000: rupees into their Cash, and refuseing to doe it, my opinion is that noe force ought to be used to him, haveing

[1] Gabriel Townsend, elected factor 4th November, 1661, became second at Hugli in October, 1671 (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xvi.).

[2] It will be observed that the 'opinions' are given according to standing in the service of the Company, beginning with the junior—a practice older than Master's time, and still followed in the present day in the Legislative Council of India and at all Courts Martial.

not seen or heard of any order of the Honourable Companys to that purpose.

Joseph Hall's opinion.—If Mr. Vincent stands in contempt with the Honourable Companys positive order, he ought to be dismissed their imployment is the opinion of J.H.

William Puckle's opinion, Cassambazar, the 27th September, 1676. —I, Wm. Puckle, doe offer in answer to the question in Consultation, *vizt.*, What course is to be taken to cause Mr. Vincent to pay the 13,000: rupees according to the order of the Honourable Company? That Mr. Vincent, haveing offered and proved in Councell that the money he payd of the Honourable Companys Cash about the death of the Podaur, was paid by order of the Cheife and Councell in Consultation. That should any course be taken to force payment, before his case be examined, it would justifie the practice of the heathen, which God abhors, to hang a man upon an accusation and then try whether he be guilty of the Fact charged on him. I [k]now noe other way to cause him to pay etc., but to perswade h m to be willing, which hath binn offered to him, but he is not willing to part with his money, and then ask the question of another whether he shall have any part thereof repaid him. But if matter of Fact charged on Mr. Vincent were evident and proved against him, I think the Cheife and Councell are firstly to satisfie the said summe to the Company, and, if they have reason for the same, may recover their dammage from Mr. Vincent. And I offer that if, upon desire or request of the said money, Mr. Vincent (being found guilty) doe not comply, that Mr. Vincent be discharged the Honourable Companys service, and hee and his security left to respond for all dammage to the Honourable Company thereby.

Walter Clavell's opinion.—Alt[h]ough the Honourable Company in their Gennerall to the Bay, bearing date the 24: December, 1675, have required the Cheife etc. Factors at Hugly to cause Mr. Vincent to pay rupees 13,000: in the Companys Cash, yett they have given noe direction unto us in what manner wee shall cause it to be done; but the Honourable Company have in their gennerall letter to the Fort given order to send directions to the Bay how to act according to their orders in this case, and it

is my opinion that wee acquainte the Agent and Councell with Mr. Vincent's answer upon our demands, and that wee waite directions thence.

Streynsham Master's opinion.—That it be refered to the Agent and Councell at the Fort for farther and more ample orders how to proceed thereupon, their being as yett noe directions from them, how, or in what manner to put what the Honourable Company require in execution.

The Result or Summe of the Opinions of the Councell.

That at present they have noe power or directions to use force, that it is left till farther orders from the Agent and Councell or the Honourable Company, and that the Councell doe presently proceed upon the examination of matters of Fact.

Mr. Mathias Vincent was desired and did withdraw upon the debate of the Question and result of the Councell.

Coppy of a Clause in the Agent and Councells Generall Letter dated the 18: *of July*, 1676, *from Fort St. George, to the Cheife and Factors in the Bay, concerning the death of the Podaur, as followeth :—*[1]

Rugo Podaurs business and perticulers of Mr. Hall's charge against Mr. Vincent, and [the] Rupees 13000: thereon disburst, and papish Resort to his Family. . . . Etc. perticulers in the Honourable Companys Gennerall to the Fort and to yourselves, both inclosed [which][2] wee confirme, recommend, and refer you unto.

[1] Preceding and following this clause are copies of paragraph 34 of the Company's Letter to Fort St. George, paragraph 11 of the Company's Letter to Hugli, and paragraph 9 (*d*) of Master's Commission. For these, see pp. 204, 251, 252, 311.

[2] The words in brackets have been added from the copy of the letter in *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii.

CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE LIABILITY OF MATTHIAS VINCENT FOR THE FINE PAID TO THE NATIVE GOVERNMENT IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE DEATH OF RAGHU THE *PODDĀR*.

A letter from Matthias Vincent &c. to Walter Clavell &c. O.C., No. 3837.

Cassumbusar, 22 August, 1673.—Since our last to you of the 23 Ult.' wee received one from you which wee had not time to answer. The occasion of this being to advise you of a bad accident, which happen'd as followeth (according to what wee are inform'd as yet), *Vizt.* Our former Podauer, Ruggoo, being indebted for what short in his Account of Cash delivd into his Charge, besides what money he laid to his Charge, upon a strict Examination of his Account of sale of Silver and Mintage at Rajamaul, hath, with his partners, bin severall times demanded what due, but, making noe payment after twelve or fourteen months demanding, was Imprisoned, and yesterday, in the forenoon, when wee were abroad, was, by our brooker Annuntram, demanded the ballance of his Account, and was alsoe struck with a small Bamboo, after which went home, and this morning about 3 Clock died of Poyson given him by Morari Chund [Murārī Chand], one of his Partners, as Ruggoo himself suspected and said a little before his death, which severall Moores and Hindoes can testifie. Wee have now a great deal of trouble upon it, which know not what may be the Issue of. We desire your advice in this businesse and rest, Yours at Command, MATT: VINCENT. JOHN MARSHALL.

P.S. Dispeeded in the Evening. Wee have written of this to Decca and Hugly that they might be truly Inform'd, and to the former that they might give a true Account, in case the businesse should be asked concerning these, though hope to prevent its going further any way but in a Wacka [*waḳā'a*, newsletter] for us.

Extracts from Letters from Walter Clavell &c. to Matthias Vincent &c. at Kasimbazar. Factory Records, Hugli, vol. iv.

Ballasore, 2 September, 1673.—Loving Friends, wee received yours of the 22th past the primo at night, and are sorry to read that you are likely to bee involved into such troubles, and that in a business of such nature as wee feare may include us and other Factories likewise. Wee therefore hope you have been active on the place where the business happened to compose it, which will bee much Cheaper and on better termes then can bee done any where else, and if done suddainely, your wittnesses, being by you, will not bee suborned to attest contrary to

their knowledge to advance the Nabobs Interest. Wee hope these will bee able to arrive timely enough to give you advice in the case, it being dangerous to delay in this case, you well know it; nor indeed can wee well tell what advice to give you in the case, untill heare more from you, which wee shall longingly expect, that wee may know how to order our selves and our masters affaires, whatever may bee intended against us. If you should have a stop put upon our business with you, it will bee needful that you send Peons to attend our Petre boates, which may now bee on the way, that they make no stop in your Goverment.

Ballasore, 26 September, 1673.—Wee would gladly heare that you had put an end to that unhappy business [the *poddār's* death] and hope that your next will advise it is well termined. . . . We cannot think it convenient to put you to any fixt summe in putting up the Podaurs busines, lest [it] may occasion your not terminating it for want of larger orders. Wee must and doe leave it to you to act as the exegencies of the affaire requires, which you in the place will better know.

Ballasore, the 13 *October*, 1673.—Yesterday wee received yours of the 5th Current, and hope ours of the 25th [? 26th] past is long since come to your receipt, wherein wee gave you as ample order concerning the Podaurs busines as wee could, or as wee think the case requires. Tis our opinion that business will bee terminated best with you, and by how much the sooner, so much the better. Ending it with you, wee shall have but one charge; at Decca wee must expect many and much greater, and a way shewne to the great men there to find any colourable busines to stop all our busines or force from us such unreasonable Summes of mony as they bee pleased to exact. Wherefore, wee order you to put a period to this in Cassumbuzar if you see it feaseable, which wee hope you will find it, and for the Summe, wee limit you not to any, but order you to act according to the exigence of the affaire. According to that account wee have had from you, it must bee with great injustice that they force any thing from you, but, however, duly weighing the Government and usage of the Countrey, wee must act with such caution as may secure us as much as possible from a greater oppression. Wee have hopes the busines will bee over before this can arrive with you; however, wee were willing to add this to our former order, intending for other matters to write you more at large in few dayes.

Extract from a Letter from Walter Clavell &c. to the Council at Fort St. George. Factory Records, Hugli, vol. iv.

Ballasore, 27 October, 1673.—At Cassumbuzar there hath lately happened a very ill accident in Mr. Vincent's absence, as from thence wee are advised. One of the Company's servants beat an other and hee that was beaten dyed the next day, which hath caused us much trouble and will cost 10000 rupees to make an end of.

Extracts from Letters from Walter Clavell &c. to Matthias Vincent at Kasimbazar. Factory Records, Hugli, vol. iv.

Hugly, 15 *November*, 1673.—Wee are glad your Podaurs busines is neere terminating. Wee thought not convenient to write concerning it this time in our Generall to England. Wee have given some small account of it to the Fort and shall give them more at large Per next Conveyance.

Hugly, 6 *February*, 1674.—Your Podaurs account, which you mention at large in yours of the 15th past, being at large entred in your bookes that are now begun, will take away all scruple, especially being plainely entred.

Extract from a Letter from Walter Clavell &c. to the Council at Fort St. George. Factory Records, Hugli, vol. iv.

Hugly, 31 *March*, 1674.—In our former wee acquainted you in briefe with an unlucky accident which happened at Cassambuzar. Coppies and answers of the papers relating thereunto wee send enclosed. With some trouble and difficulty it is taken up with the expence of 13000 rupees, as you will bee informed by the bookes of that Factory when wee have an oppertunity to remit them unto you.

Extract of the 'Fort Generall' to Balasor, the 13th of July, 1674. *O.C.*, No. 3877.

That strange accident, as it is by your selves represented unto us to bee an accidentall quarrell between two of the Honble. Companys Servants, the one killing the other,[1] costing Rupees 13000 the Composure, as you now advise, wee cannot see how it can concerne the Honble. Company to pay for other folkes Sinns, for either the guilty party ought to have made it good himselfe, or have been left to justice.

Extract of a Letter from Fort St. George to the Company, 20th August, 1674. *O.C.*, No. 3992.

We now send your honours a paper of Mr. Halls to us concerning the death of Rugo Podar, one of your Bannyans[2] in Cassumbazar, and expence of Rupees 13000 to salve the same, charged to your Account, which as per annexed coppy of ours to them of 13th July, we suspend our approbation of, untill better enformed thereof.

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[1] Further details of the affair at Kasimbazar were sent to Fort St. George in a letter dated 8th May. This letter does not exist among the *India Office Records*.

[2] *Baniya*, H., a Hindu trader. For the enclosure alluded to, see above; see also the 'Needfull Advices' of 26th July, 1675, which follow.

'Needfull Advices[1] *per Ship Loyall Merchant.' Received in England 26th July*, 1675. *O.C.*, No. 4028.

Yours of date the first of September received from the Coast, where Mr. Clavell and Mr. Vincent sent Joseph Hall, with strong solicitations to the Governor &ca. Councell of Fort St. George to send said Joseph Hall for England, which Mr. Vincent being very Confident would be effected, takes up his old Resolution to put in Execution what had soe long Threatned to doe, So soon as Confirmed in the chiefship of Cossambazar, and Joseph Hall on his Voyage. Which was to force a Pishcash[2] of Rupees 6000 oute of the Shrofcts [shroff, *sarrāf*, banker, cash-keeper] and Braminys belonging to Cassambazar Factory, and, for the better efecting thereof, begins with three of the richest, being Gopaulby [Gopāl Bhāi], Ruga Podar [Raghu (Chand), *poddār*], and Nemo Podar [Nem (Chand), *poddār*], acquainting them with his Resolution, and how long a harvest they had for gitting of mony in Mr. Marches, Mr. Powells and Sheldons time,[3] withoute ever presenting any of these chiefs, though Customary in other Places, Besides Sattisfaction for the abuse in the Companys Concernes, which he would make appear to farr exceed the afforesaid Summ. These Persons, never having met with such a hard text as the Party had given them, was so surprised as could not answer; but the Party, so Impatient with their delays, Committs them to Prison, and in 20 days, after many Bloody encounters at the whipping Post, Gopaulby breakes Prison, making his escape as not to be found. The next in order to Mr. Vincents designe was Rugo Podar, which after the escape of the other was loaden with Irons, and exposed to the more violent use of the Chawbuck [*chābuk*, whip] till at last was found dead in the Dungeon.

By this time Mr. Vincent finds the Devill had wrought his shame by Covetousness, lets Nemo Podar out of Prison, and goes to Compound the Death of the other, and soe was forced to give to the Governor of Cassambazar Rupees 10000 in mony, and Rupees 3000 in do. and goods to under officers; but what the dammage may be for the future to the Companys traid there, a little time [will] make appear what their sufferings will bee. The Duch paid aboute Rupees 200000 on the like occasion, which was the cause of the Dutch Directors removeall from Hughly to Battavia, where was sentenced to pay said summ, and never to be admitted into their Service againe. The Directors pretence was the same as Mr. Vincents, which availed him not, nor no ways stood him in stead.

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[1] The author of these 'Advices' appears to be Joseph Hall, Vincent's implacable opponent. The addressee was probably Nathaniel Herne, Hall's relative and protector.

Peshkash, H.—literally, first-fruits; an obligatory gift to a high official.

[3] The chiefs at Kasimbazar from 1658 to 1671 were John Ken, Daniel Sheldon, Henry Powell, and John March. Matthias Vincent became head of the factory on the death of John March in October, 1671.

This is the substance of a Coppy of attestation sent for England.

Now it is to be feared the English will be Compelled, as well as the Dutch, to pay Custom for goods in all Places. Mr. Vincent now Complaines of new Impositions at Cossambazar and Mr. Job Charnock the like at Pattana and the same Threatens at Ballasore.

Extract of a General Letter from Balasor to the Company, 28th December, 1674. Factory Records, Hugli, vol. iv.

Wee have at learge Informed you in former yeares the Vice [? rise] and Progress of the Dutch Busines a bout the death of a widdo of one of their Servants who died in their Debt, and that the Composing of that Business had cost them a bout 50 Thousand pounds Sterling,[1] which yet hath not Since been so farr buried, but that on Severall occations it hath been caled on. The Mores by this meanes have learned a way to plague both us and them, and have Reduced us to Such a Condition that wee are afraid to Inflict such punishment upon Debtors as have formerly been Customary in these Countries, fearing least they Should in their passions make them selves a way, and Render us liable to their pretended Justice, which chiefly repeats (*sic*) the extorting of mony as much as they can, with out any regard to the cause, but by all Artifices to render Casses of this nature as foule as they can, there by to Inchance our Compositions. And [an] unfortinate Accident of this nature hapned in August, 1673, in Cassumbuzar, which coust much troble and mony, and had it [not] been there taken up but proceded to Decca, it would have Involved your Business in all parts of Bengala and have cost much more. Ruggo, a Shrof and Servant to the Factory, being in Debted unto you on a Ballance of Cash, and Suspected that he and his partener had a bused you in the Saile and Mintage of Silver at Raijamahal, and being caled on for his Debt, and, to make up that Account, reclamed [? restrained] from his liberty for not paying in the one nor making up the other, was, in the absence of Mr. Vincent and Mr. Marshall, by a Broker, who also was [your] Servant, tied up in your Factory and beaten on his feet, rather at that time, as is beleved, to gratifi his one [the broker's] Anger a gainst him then to force your mony from him. However, his beating was not so violent as to lame him or to have been cause of death, nad no other violent meanes [been] used, for after that he was able to goe home to his house, as you may percive by the Companing attestation of John Nayler, George Knipe

[1] This event occurred early in the year 1672. The chief *baniya* of the Dutch died while heavily in debt to his employers. The Dutch officials at Hugli caused his widow to be beaten in order to extort the sum due to their masters. Two days later the woman died. The matter was referred to Dacca, and the Dutch, after suffering many indignities, were eventually mulcted Rs. 200,000 (=£22,500 at that period). The account of the occurrence is to be found in a letter from Walter Clavell to Fort St. George in [January] 1673 (*Factory Records, Hugli,* vol. iv., and in *O.C.*, No. 3671).

and Richard Mosely, who was present and ey witness of what passed. Yet that night he departed this life at his one House, as Supposed by Poyson and in Reveng to the Brookers. However, the Governor of Cassumbuzar would not loock upon it as a matter which had Relation to him or any else but us, and therefore spun out what time he &c. of the Kings officers could to frame the Busines to our greater detriment, and espectily, Regarding how much Mellick Cossum [Malik Kāsim] the Governor of Hugly had gained to his master in a matter of this nature from the Dutch, that they might not be behind hand in advancing his Intrest in there Jurisdiction, Studed to In hance our Composition. Wee Sorrofully Considering the Arbitrary Goverment of these parts and the Continuall Study by raising mony by unreasonable meanes, and that as they are people of no Principals, So they could make what Attestations and Certificates they pleased, there by to make the Busines appear2 more foule and [? fully] Circumstantiated ; [if] it Should proceed to Decca, it would prove a generall stop upon all our Busines, not only in Bengala but in Orixa and Pattana lickwise, and wee shall be forced before the Busines could be taken up to fee all the officers of the Nabobs Durbar over and a bove what must bee given in the name of the Nabob, wee give order and Indeavoured to take it up in Cassumbuzar, the place ware the unlucky Accident hapned, and after Some trouble, wee terminated at Rs. 10000 for the Nabob and, with other Charges, it did in all a mount to a bout 3000 more. The passages at large and orders there upon wee have sent here with, in distinct papers, and to them referr yours ; Craving your favorable Interpretation of what hath been acted herein and that you will Consult your predecessors, who are many of them yet Living, and Throughly Versed in the Customes of these unhapy Countries, and can In forme you that nothing less then what wee have done could have been Acted, and that by any delay or Breach with the Governer, it might have ended in a far worse manner. Wee done [? dare] say that, upon reading the Papers that Concerne this matter, any Indeferent [unprejudiced] Person would Conclude it to be Innocent, and that Such exactions will be Accounted Unreasonable, Unjust. But wee live in a Country ware wee See every day Such and worse practices on the Natives, the Kings Subjects, and now of late is becume a fashon to abuse Strangers in this nature, who formerly, and at the begining of their Arivall, were treated with as much Civillity as is to be hoped for in this Berburous Country. The Agent and Counsell at the Fort are of apinnion, but that came to late, that the busines of Necessity must [? was] long before taken up, that we might have taken up the busines by delivering up the Brooker, but wee are of different opinion, having consulted the Merchants of all places ware wee reside, and Moores with whome wee have frindship, for, had we either neglected to Mollifie the Relations of the Deceased Persons or to protect [? prevent] a worse Condition, the Brooker would, to a void Drubing and it may be torments, have been forced to declare that he was Set on by us to doe what he did.

An attestation of John Nailor,[1] *George Knipe and Richard Moseley*[1] *as to matter of fact concerning the beating of Ruggoo, the Honble. Companys Shroff, at Cassumbazar the 21st day of August,* 1673. *O.C.*, No. 3864.

The said John Nailor, George Knipe and Richard Moseley do all attest that they were present on the said one and twentieth day of August, about eleven of the clock in the morning, when the said Shroff was, by the Factory broker [Anant Rām], bound up by the feet, lying on his back all along on the ground, and, with a small switch of about half an inche in circumference, received some blowes on the soles of his feet, but so few and with such small force that they believe it is impossible it could much prejudice a Child; that he continued in the forementioned posture neer an hour, though received no more blowes any other waies then as aforesaid, and that after he was se[2] about midday. The same day hee walked away very well, to there and all appearance, not halting, nor shewing any sign of prejudice he had received by the said blowes or tying up, and that next morning they understood, by Report of the Natives, that the said Shroff had that night poisoned himselfe or been poisoned by his partners at his one house. And the said George Knipe and Richard Moseley averr that on the said one and twentyeth of August, in the morning, the above said Broker [Anant Rām] had brought to sell to the said George Knipe two sorts of Gold, which hee said were both of one Alloy, which said George Knipe not crediting, sent for the said Shroff [Raghu] to know his advise therein, who told him there was two rupees difference Per tola[3] of the two sorts of Gold, whereupon the said Broker was very angry with the said Shroff, miscalling and[4] they both went away from the Delaun,[5] where this happened, to the Gate. George Knipe also went to his apartment, leaveing Richard Moseley in said Delaun, but presently [immediately] after returned to him, when the said broker had brought the said Shroff to bee tyed up &ca., as aforesaid. Wherefore the said George Knipe and Richard Moseley believe that the said broker did at that time ty up the said Shroff rather to gratify his particular revenge for discovery of his intended cheat then really to recover in what hee was indebted to the Honble. Company. Where upon they verily believe that the said Shroff (or his partners) might bee soe revengefull as to poison him [? himself], being that this broker should take upon him in Matthias Vincents &ca. absence (who went abroad the twentyeth in the morning of do. month) to strike him as aforesaid, which Matthias Vincent, when present, would not suffer to bee done to him, being an

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[1] The Company's silk-dyers.

[2] The manuscript is torn here.

[3] *Tolā*, H., an Indian weight, used chiefly for gold or silver; now fixed at 180 grains. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Tola.

[4] The manuscript is torn here.

[5] *Dālān*, the public room of the factory.

old man. To the truth of which premises wee attest and shall bee ready when called thereunto to make good upon our oathes. *Witness our hands in Cassumbazar this ninth day of October, in the yeer of our Lord one thousand six hundred seventy and three.*

THE DIARY (*continued*).

September 27th, Wensday Afternoone. — Att a Consultation, Present: — STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Councell proceeded upon examination of matter of Fact in the business of the Podaurs death. It is resolved upon the question that all the Councell here present (except Mr. Vincent), who were in the Bay at the same time of the Podaurs death, be examined upon oath, and alsoe soe many of the Companys servants as were then in Cassambazar, or that can give any evidence in this matter.

The Forme of the Oathe was then agreed upon, *Vizt.*—You shall true answer make to all such questions as shall be putt to you in a Cause appointed by the Honourable East India Company to be examined, touching the death of Rugo Podaur, wherein you shall declare the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, soe help you God and the Contents of this booke. (Which Oath is to be administred by Mr. Master).

Mr. Vincent upon desire withdrew.

THE STORY OF THE DEATH OF RAGHU THE *PODDĀR*.

The Evidence.

Samuell Hervy, aged thirty yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, deposeth as followeth :—That this deponent being then at Dacca, Second to Mr. Elwayes,[1] he knowes nothing of that business more then what advised in a gennerall letter from Mr. Vincent etc., which was to the same import of the letters this day read that were wrote by Mr. Vincent etc. to Ballasore.[2] That Mr.

[1] Robert Elwes was elected factor 1st November, 1661 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv., fol. 211). His death, in 1675, is noted later in the Diary.

[2] Only one of Vincent's letters from Kasimbazar in 1673 appears to exist. See *ante*, Papers concerning Raghu the *poddār*.

Vincent etc., desireing their advise from Decca whether it would be more Convenient to end the business at Dacca rather then at Cassambazar, This deponent saith that they returned answer that it was much better, in their opinions, to end it at Cassambazar; for, alt[h]ough tenn thousand rupees was a great summe, yett this comeing soe soone after the Dutch business (of something the like nature) it could not probably be ended there under a far greater summe. And further this Deponent knoweth not. SAMUELL HERVY. *27th September*, 1676.

Edward Littleton, aged thirty yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, deposeth as followeth, Vizt:—That this Deponent was in Cassambazar part of July and part of August 1673, untill the day before Rugo Podaur dyed, when he went towards Hugly in the evening, Mr. Vincent and Mr. Marshall being gone to Molda[1] early that morneing. That whilst he was in Cassambazar, the Podaur, his sonne, and Nemo Podaur were under confinement, but not imprisoned. That they were sometimes brought before Mr. Vincent, but once more perticulerly he remembered (and that about dinner time) that the Podaurs sonne was beaten with a Chabuck half a dozen or few blowes; and this deponent then wondering he had noe more blowes for soe great a debt, and the Podaur his father not beaten, did speak to Mr. Vincent about it, who replyed to this deponent that the Podaur was an old man, and hee feared to beat him, least he should dye and bring a charge upon the Company. To which this deponent replyed that he wondered at his tenderness, haveing seen people much more beaten for triffleing matters in comparisson to this.

This Deponent being asked whether he knew of any direction or order publickely or privately given or intimated to the person that beat the Podaur, Hee replyed that hee never heard of any such thing from one Person or other.

Being asked whether, according to the custome of this place, the house broaker might take upon him to beate them without order or direction from the Cheife. To which this Deponent answered that he knowes of noe such custome, and is of the

[1] An error for Moula—*i.e.*, Mohola, near Kasimbazar.

opinion he ought not to have done it without order from the Cheife.

Being asked whether it had not binn for the Companys Interest and most proper and reasonable to have delivered him up to justice. To which this Deponent replyed that he was in the place at that time, but that at sometimes it may and sometimes it may not be safe so to doe; but he apprehends it had not binn for the Companys Interest to have delivered him up at that time, his reasons being that if he had binn delivered up, the Governour might make use of him as a wittness and comp[el]led him to have sayd what they pleased, and no evidence should have binn heard against him, and soe they might have forced tenn times the summe that was paid thereupon, the Goverment being soe Corrupt.

It being farther demanded of this Deponent whether he knew that Rugo Podaur was loaden with Irons, whipt, put in a dungeon, and there dyed. To which this Deponent replyed that he remembers not whether he was in Irons or not, but that he was never whipt whilst he, this Deponent, was here, that he either saw or heard; that he was not confined to the Factory, but had liberty to goe to his home day and night, though he might for some houres, or small time, be confined to the Factory.

Demanded of this Deponent whether he knew or had heard that Mr. Vincent used the Podaur and his partners hardly to force from them the summe of 6000: rupees, or any other summe for his particular benifitt. To which he answered in the negative, and sayd that he hath severall times heard Mr. Vincent demand from them a debt owing to the Company. EDWARD LITTLETON. *27th September*, 1676.

It was ordered that the Depositions should be entred in the Consultation booke and Subscribed by the persons examined, the Consultations to be signed by the rest of the Councell.[1]

September 28, *Thursday*.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

[1] There appear to be no copies of the Consultations held at Balasor, Hugli, or Kasimbazar in August, September, and early October, 1676, except those contained in Master's Diary.

The Councell continued the examination of matter of Fact in the business of the Podaurs death.

Mr. Vincent upon desire withdrew.

Mr. John Smith, aged about thirty yeares, being duely sworne, Deposeth as followeth, Vizt.—That in June or July 1673 he was in Cassambazar, when he saw Rugo Podaur brought before Mr. Vincent, and that Mr. Vincent demanded money of him. That the Podaur told Mr. Vincent if he would make up his true accompt hee would pay it. Then, when he was at Cassambazar, he did not see or know of the Podaurs being beaten. That this Deponent was at Ballasore when the newes of the Podaurs death came thither, and saw some letters from Cassambazar which advised of the business and desired orders for the takeing it up, and that he saw letters written by Mr. Clavell etc. ordering to putt an end to it.

It being demanded of this Deponent whether, according to the custome of this country, the house broaker might take upon him to beate the Podaur without order or direction from the Cheife. To which this Deponent replyed that he could not (according to his opinion) beat him without order from the Cheife.

Being asked, if the house broaker did beat him without order from the Cheif, it had not binn the Companys interest and most proper and reasonable at that time to have delivered him up to justice. To which this Deponent answered, that in his opinion it had binn better to have delivered him up to justice. His reason, because there was a man killed at the Factory of Pattana before this[1] (as this Deponent hath heard), and that he that killed him was delivered up to justice, and that he never heard that it cost the Company any money. And because there was a boy killed at Hugly Factory[2] since this business

[1] See the account of this affair in John Marshall's deposition which follows.

[2] The only allusions to this incident are in *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv., and are very meagre. It appears that a son of one Mumichan (Manichand) was killed in May, 1674, 'by the hand of a slave boy,' and that the affair was 'desided in an open Durbar.' On the 7th October, 1674, Clavell wrote to Dacca that, 'having had a coppy of the Mohozur' [H., *mahzar*, a public attestation], he had 'good hopes' that the 'business is of it selfe terminated.' Edward Reade, in his deposition, gives further particulars of the affair.

of the Podaur, and he being delivered up to justice, it cost but little money, as this Deponent hath heard.

Demanded of this Deponent whether he knew, or heard at his being at Cassambazar that time, that Mr. Vincent did use the Podaur and his partners hardly to force from them the summe of 6,000: rupees, or any other summe for his particular benifitt. To which this Deponent replyed that he did not know or hath heard that the Podaur or his Partners was beaten or used hardly whilst he, this Deponent, was at Cassambazar, or that Mr. Vincent did demand any money of him or them for his particuler accompt, but beleives what he demanded (when he this Deponent was present) was for the Companys accompt, nor doth he know that ever Mr. Vincent demanded any for his particuler accompt. This Deponent farther saith that he remembers when he was at Ballasore, and this business was in agitation, that Mr. Hall signed a Gennerall Letter to Cassambazar with an exception. Mr. Clavell did not think it Convenient to send forward such a letter, least Mr. Vincent etc. should be discouraged and put a stop to proceedings in takeing it up. Thereupon Mr. Clavell delivered the letter to Mr. Hall which is now produced and is dated the 13: October, 1673,[1] which this Deponent beleiveth to be the same. Then Mr. Clavell wrote another letter of the same Contents, as this Deponent beleives, which Mr. Hall signed to without exception. And this Deponent farther saith that he was then of opinion that this business ought to be taken up, although with expence, rather then runn greater hazard in lyeing longer. JOHN SMITH. *September 28th*, 1676.

John Marshall, aged thirty three yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, deposeth as followeth :—This Deponent saith that he was resident as second in this Factory all the time this business was transacted. That in the yeare 1672, in the monethes of October or November, Rugo Podaur was sent hence to Rajamall to take charge of the silver, which this Deponent left there to be minted for accompt of the Honourable English East India

[1] The letter to Vincent of 13th October, 1673, of which an extract is given above, is signed by Clavell, Townsend, and Reade only. There is no copy of a letter of that date signed by Hall, nor of Hall's 'exception.'

Company, and, in the monethes of June or July following, the said Rugo Podaur returned from Rajamaull to Cassambazar, and, as he remembers, in the moneth of July or in August, this Deponent tooke the said Podaurs accompt of the said silver as it is entered in the bookes of accompts[1] of this Factory for the yeare 1673. And this Deponent farther saith that Mr. Vincent did many times speake to this Deponent to demand the ballance of the said Rajamaull accompt, and alsoe of another accompt of Cash which the said Podaur was charged with in the Companys bookes. Whereupon this Deponent did often demand the money of the Podaur, whose usuall answer was that he had not soe much money, but if Mr. Vincent would put him in imployment it would help his Creditt, and by little and little hee would pay it.

Being asked how the Podaur was afterward imprisoned, This Deponent replyed that he doth not know that he ever was imprisoned or beaten after his said returne from Rajamaull, only remained as a Nuzer Bund [H., *nazr-band*, kept under surveillance], or Prisoner at large, according to the custome of the country, and that Mr. Vincent oft sayd to this Deponent he would endeavour to gett the money by fair meanes, by little, to which this Deponent did often perswade the said Podaur by arguments of incouragement. Farther, this Deponent saith that a day or two before the Podaurs death Mr. Vincent and himself went to Moulda [Mohola] (about eight or ten miles from Cassambazar) to take leave of Mr. Littleton and his wife who were goeing to Hugly, and there lay one night, and the next day evening about seaven a Clock returned to Cassambazar, and this Deponent not being well, presently [immediately] went to bed in the Roome where Mr. Vincent lay. The next morneing, about 3 a Clock, there came an Indian servant and knockt at the Chamber doore, and said the Podaur was dead at his owne house; whereupon Mr. Vincent arose and was much troubled and used this discourse to this Deponent as followeth:— That he feared it would bring much trouble upon the Company, for that Anuntram in his absence had beaten the Podaur, and that one of the said Podaurs partners had poysoned him, which

[1] These 'bookes' do not exist.

Mr. Vincent sayd he thought the Partner might doe to avoid the payment of that debt, which they were concerned with the Podaur in. And this Deponent then replyed, what an impudent Rogue this Anuntrum was for beating him, to which Mr. Vincent answered, 'tis an impudent Rogue, but now it is past what is to be done? Thereupon the Companys Vackeell [*vakīl*], or Solicitor, was sent for and Consulted with, and then, as this Deponent best remembers, the said Vackeell was sent to the Sub-Governour at Cassambazar to acquaint him with the accident; and about sunn riseing there was a tumult of the Country People about the Factory, makeing a great clamour and noise about Anuntram, the Person that beat the Podaur. The Vackeell aforesaid afterward, the same day, acquainted Mr. Vincent and this Deponent that the Podaurs body was carryed away to be viewed, and that upon view and Search of the sayd body it was found that he, the said Podaur, did not dye of wounds or any blowes given him.

It being asked whether Anuntram, who beate the Podaur, was ever demanded to be Surrendred by Mr. Vincent by any order of the Sub Governour from Cassambazar or the Governour who resides at Muxadavad. This Deponent answered that he doth not know that any of the Governours ever sent to demand him, but that the clamour of the tumult (in which might be some of the Governours Peons) was to deliver him up, and upon this Deponent askeing Mr. Vincent whether they should send Anuntram to the Governour in that time of clamour and tumult, Mr. Vincent answered that, if they should then send him, he feared they would make him say what they pleased, to make the business as they pleased, but if Bull Chund [Bāl Chand] should afterwa[rd]s demand him, they would then consider what was best to be done (or words to that effect); in which this Deponent acquiest, as thinking it the best way of proceeding.

Being asked whether there was any direction or order publickly or privately given or intimated to Anuntram, the house broaker, for his beating the Podaur. To which this Deponent answered that, upon this business, since the Podaurs last returne from Rajamaull, there was no publick direction or

order given or intimated that he knows off, and he beleives there was none private for these reasons:—Because that in all particular discourses with Mr. Vincent concerning this business he seemed very unwilling to use any Severity to the Podaur, he being an old man; and a few dayes before the Podaurs death, he, the Podaur, and his sonne was sent for before Mr. Vincent, and upon refusall then to pay the money demanded, Mr. Vincent caused the sonn to be beaten half a dozen blowes or thereabouts with a Chabuck, and upon some persons speaking to Mr. Vincent why he did not cause the Father to be beaten alsoe, Mr. Vincent replyed that he was a crasy [infirm] old man, and if he should beat him and he should dye upon it, it might bring the Companys business into such like trouble as the Dutch are in, or words to that effect. Upon which this Deponent said that he thought it very unjust for the sonn to be beate for his Fathers sake, and that he could not doe it in any case. To which Mr. Vincent replyed that Parents in these parts are very indulgent to their children and if he could gett another sonn more, a Darling, into his possession, whome he had layd out for, he did beleive he should gett the money without much trouble, or words to that effect.

Being farther asked whether, according to the custome of the country, the said house broaker might take upon him to beate the Podaur without order or direction from the Cheife. To which this Deponent answered that he might not doe, never haveing seen the like practized in four yeares last past at this place.

It being asked whether the house broaker doeing the same without order, it had not binn the Companys interest and most proper and reasonable at that time to have delivered him up to justice. To which this Deponent answered that he beleives it had not binn the Companys interest to have delivered him up at that time, for that the Governour would have made him say what he pleased and forced money accordingly from the Company. And farther said that the Vackeel told him the reasons that Bull Chund gave, upon the demanding the tenn thousand rupees, were that he had binn Governour here many yeares and would never take any valuable present from the Company, and therefore, if he should demand tenn thousand

rupees upon no other account then only a present, it could not in reason be denyed him; for [as] a Governour he could easily have prejudiced our business more then that summe, and wee not sensible of it, therefore as a freind he advised us to pay it, for, if it should goe to Dacca, it would cost much more then he demanded, besides he could not but carry the Nabob something, that Petty fellow Mellick Cassim, the Governour of Hugly, haveing gott vast summes of the Dutch upon a like pretence, or words to that effect.

Being asked to declare the truth concerning the death of Sybram Millick [Sivarām Malik], the Companys servant, who was killed in the Companys Factory at Pattana in Singee, *alias* Johnabad.[1] This Deponent answered that he was then in the Companys Factory, and haveing taken note in his booke of that passage, he sayes it appeares to have happened on Friday the 8th of March, 1671-2, about 9 a Clock at night. Bysumber [Bishambhar], a person he understood was in debt to the Company, formerly imployed in their service, but then out of service, as he beleives, being a Nuzar-bund [*nazr-band*], or prisoner at large, for the payment of his debt, and Mr. Job Charnock, Cheife of the Factory, upon the day prementioned, askeing Sybram Melleck [Sivarām Malik] (in the hearing of this Deponent) whether he received the money due from Bysumber, and understanding he had not, the said Mr. Charnock ordered the said Sybram Melleck to urge the said Bysumber more earnestly for it. After which the said Sybram Melleck went to the doore, and, as this Deponent understood, meeting with the said Bysumber, prest him in most earnest words for the payment of his debt. Upon which the said Bysumber gave Sybram Melleck bad language; upon which the said Sybram Melleck ordered the Chubdar [*chobdār*, mace-bearer] to lay hold on him, the said Bysumber. And the Chubdar laying hold on his Sheet, which Bysumber wore over his Shouldiers, Sybram Melleck being then sett downe at the doore amonge the writers, the said Bysumber, letting goe his Sheet (under which he had concealed a dagger), immediately stept to Sybram, and

[1] Singhiya, about fifteen miles north of Patna. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii., p. 241, *n*. It was known as Jahānābād for a short time only.

with his dagger Stabed the said Sybram Melleck in the breast, saying, See, or take it; of which wound Sybram Melleck fell downe dead imediately. Bysumber, the murderer, seeking to make his escape, was takeing by the Chubdar and kept in the Factory that night, and the next morneing, very early, the murderer and the Corpes of the murdered was sent by Mr. Charnock, with the Companys Vackeell or Solicitor, to Pattana to demand justice of the Governour upon the person of Bysumber, the murderer, who, after examination, was kept in prison and there remained dureing the time of this Deponents stay, which was about three weekes, dureing which time the Vackeell constantly brought word to Mr. Charnock that the Governour promised to deliver him up to be executed as Mr. Charnock thought fitt. But some few dayes before this Deponent left the Factory, the Vackeell brought word that they could not deliver him to Mr. Charnock, but to the nearest relation of the Person murdered, according to the Mahometan Law, and he might execute him or doe his pleasure on him, which the said Deponent had from the Vackeell. And since, this Deponent hath heard that the said Bysumber, his family and relations being turned Moores [Muhammadans], he is sett at Liberty.[1]

Being asked whether he knew or had heard at that time of the Podaurs death, or before, that Mr. Vincent had demanded of him or his partners six thousand rupees as a present for his particuler benifitt, or any other summ more then the Podaurs debt in the Companys bookes. To which this Deponent answered that he doth not know, neither did he heare (to his best remembrance) of any such pretence or demand then of the Podaurs debt in the Companys bookes.

These Depositions, or the sume of them, is true to the best of my knowledge and present remembrance. JOHN MARSHALL. *September 28th*, 1676.

[1] I have been unsuccessful in a search for any other account of the murder of Sivarām Mālik by Bishambhar at Singhiya in 1672. Clavell appears to allude to the event in a letter from Hugli to Fort St. George of the 23rd August, 1672 (*O.C.*, No. 3671). He writes: 'The Dutch notwithstanding the Kings Phirmaund which they have few years since procured, are in the same predicament with us at Pattana.'

September 28th, Thursday afternoone.—All the Councell present except Mr. Vincent.

Edward Reade, aged forty yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, deposeth as followeth :—This Deponent saith that all the time of the transaction of this business of the Podaurs death in Cassambazar hee was in Ballasore, and all the knowledge hee has therein was by the Gennerall Letters from Cassambazar to Mr. Clavell etc. Councell in Ballasore, to which for particulers referrs to the said letters.

It being asked whether, according to the custome of the Country, the house broaker might take on him to beate the Podaur without order or direction from the Cheife. This Deponent answereth, *viz*t., that in his opinion he ought not to have done it, and that he never knew any such thing practised dureing almost his seven yeares Residence in the Companys Service in the Bay.

It being asked whether the house broaker doeing the same without order, it had not binn best for the Companys Interest and most proper and reasonable at that time to have delivered him up to justice. To which this Deponent answers it is his opinion that it had not binn best for the Companys Interest to have delivered him up at that time. First, because the Corruption of justice in this Country is such that the Governours upon such occassions rather seeke to gett money then to doe justice, and if he had binn delivered up (being a poore fellow) they would have made use of him to have said against us what they should have dictated to him. Secondly, That from his owne experience of one boyes killing another at Hugly by the Casuall goeing off of a Gunn, upon which he sent their Occoon [*akhūn*, Muhammadan schoolmaster], the house banian, and the Offending boy to the Nabobs Governour of that place, who, examineing the business and finding it an accident, sent for the Gunn, kept that as a forfeit and dismissed the boy, who with others returning to the Factory, were mett by the Nabobs Ameins servants,[1] who beate them, tooke the Rings out of the Banians ears, carried them to the Ameines house and

[1] *Viz.*, the servants of the Nawāb's *amīn*, or 'Nabobs Governour.' The *amīn* was an administrative officer under the Nawāb.

their (*sic*) kept them Prisoners. Some houres afterward he discharged the Occoon and Bannian, but kept the boy, and afterward putt him in Irones, useing him very hardly, and endeavoured to make him say (and afterwards they pretended he did say) that this Deponent killed him, or that the boy killed him by this Deponents order. Whereupon they sett a gaurd upon the Factory, suffering noe business to be done, and puting the English to much trouble, soe that afterward they were faine to take it up by Presents and money to the Ameine and other officers, which he beleives might have binn prevented if they had not had the boy in their possession, the Governour haveing cleared him before.

It being asked whether he knew or had heard at the time of the Podaurs death, or before, [that] Mr. Vincent did demand of him or his partners 6000: rupees as a present for his particuler benefitt, or any other sume more then the Podaurs debt in the Companys bookes. To which this Deponent answered that he doth not know nor doth he remember that ever he heard before, or at the time of the Podaurs death, that Mr. Vincent, or any other in his behalfe, did demand of the Podaur or his partner any summe of money more then the debt due to the Company.

It being asked whether he knew or had heard since the Podaurs death that Mr. Vincent, or any other for him, demanded of the Podaur or his partners any sume of money for his owne benefitt. To which this Deponent answereth that he knowes of noe such demands, and has heard of it from Mr. Halls mouth by the Coppy of some letters that were sayd to be written by Mr. Joseph Hall. EDWARD READE. *September 28th*, 1676.

The Depositions aforegoeing of John Smith, John Marshall and Edward Reade were taken in the presence of the Councell here Subscribing, STREYNSHAM MASTER; WALTER CLAVELL; WM. PUCKLE; JOSEPH HALL; EDWARD READE; JOHN MARSHALL; JOHN SMITH; EDWARD LITTLETON; SAMUELL HERVY.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

September 28.—This evening the Dutch passing by our Factory in their Pleasure Boate or Budgrow landed and stayed a small while, and informed us that there was eight ships of theirs arrived from Batavia, of which two were Convoyes of 50 Gunns a peice, they haveing some feare of the French.

September 29, *Fryday*.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

THE STORY OF THE DEATH OF RAGHU THE *PODDĀR*.

The Evidence (*continued*).

The Councell continued the examination of matter of Fact in the business of the Podaurs death.

Mr. Clavell haveing drawne up a letter to Mr. Job Charnock etc. at Pattana, it was read and approved of by the Councell.

Mr. Vincent upon desire withdrew.

Mr. Joseph Hall, aged forty-five yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, deposeth as followeth:—This Deponent saith, in the yeare 1673 (the moneth hee cannot tell), that there was a letter that came from Cassambazar,[1] whether Gennerall or Perticular he remembers not, but beleives it was a Gennerall letter, because Mr. Clavell delivered it to him, the said letter, wherein was advised of an accident that had happened at Cassambazar Factory of one servants killing another. Thereupon Mr. Clavell wrote a letter to the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George that one servant had killed another, desireing their Favourable construction of it to the Honourable Company (or words to that effect),[2] which said letter this Deponent said he signed; and this Deponent farther saith that the Agent and Councell wrote a letter to Mr. Walter Clavell in the yeare 1673, wherein they, the Agent and Councell, tooke notice of the receipt of a letter from Mr. Clavell etc. Councell, adviseing that one servant had killed another in Cassambazar Factory; and

[1] The date was 22nd August, 1673. See *ante*, p. 336.

[2] There are no 'words to that effect' either in the letter of the 27th October, 1673, or in that of 31st March, 1674 (see the extracts given on pp. 337, 338). The first of these only is signed by Hall.

the said Agent and Councell wrote to this effect, why he that killed the other was not delivered up to the justice of the Country, and that money which was expended upon it ought not to be on the Companyes accompt, but on Mr. Vincents, or words to that purpose.[1]

Being asked whether that letter from the Agent and Councell was received before or after the business was taken up and ended with the Governour of Cassambazar, according as Mr. Vincent etc. advised from Cazambazar. To which this Deponent answereth that he cannot say positively, but he beleives the Agent and Councells letter arrived afterward, and refers that to the Register or coppy booke of letters.

Mr. Hall delivering in a paper of the 15th and 18th Instant, sayd to be the Confession of Anuntram taken by himselfe, It was asked him whether that was the first information hee had from Anuntram. To which this Deponent answereth that the said Anuntram hath severall times binn telling him (since he came to Cassambazar in June last) of the matters relating to the Podaur, and not before, and this paper was the first that he tooke from him in writeing.

Being asked whether, before he tooke the information in writeing, he had not promised the said Anuntram to take him into service. To which this Deponent answereth that a long time before he thought to take this information in writeing, since the midle of June last, he did promise Anuntram, if Mr. Vincent did not take him into his service, he would.

Being asked whether he hath not imployed the said Anuntram in Buying of silk for him and promise[d] to give him farther imployment since his last comeing to Cassambazar. To which this Deponent answers that he hath imployed him, being formerly his servant, in gathering in some small debts for him and buying in some things for him.

Being asked whether he had not promised the said Anuntram a certaine Stypend of wages of ten or fifteen rupees a moneth, whereas he used to have but four or five rupees per moneth.

[1] There is no letter extant from Fort St. George to Hugli in the autumn of 1673. Hall appears to be quoting from the letter of 13th July, 1674. See *ante*, p. 338.

To which this Deponent answereth that the said Anuntram hath asked him a certaine Stypend, as ten or fifteen rupees per moneth, but this Deponent hath not by himselfe or any other promised him any certaine Stypend, telling him he would not come to any certaine agreement with him yett.

Being asked whether he hath formerly received any information concerning the business of the Podaurs death. To which this Deponent answereth, that formerly, at Ballasore, he hath heard many things relateing to the Death of the Podaur near unto the Contents of this paper of Anuntrams information.

Being asked of whome that he had the information, or who were his informers at Ballasore. To which this Deponent answereth that he had it from severall natives of the Country which were blacks, whose names hee remembers not, nor the places of their residence.

Being asked whether those blacks were Christians. To which this Deponent answereth, that he supposes they were noe Christians, nor doth he know nor ever did he know the names of any one of them.

It being asked whether he knew that Mr. Vincent did put the Podaur in prison. To which this Deponent answereth that he was at Ballasore and knowes nothing but by hearesay.

It being asked whether he knew whether Mr. Vincent did cause the Podaur to be beaten. To which this Deponent answered that he was at Ballasore and knew nothing but by hearesay.

Being asked whether he knew that the Podaur was laden with Irons, whipt, put in a dungeon and there Dyed. To which this Deponent answered that he was at Ballasore and that he knew nothing of the Podaurs death but by hearesay.

Being asked whether at the time of the Podaurs death, or before, he did know or heare of Mr. Vincents demanding 6000: rupees or any other summ for his particuler benifitt. To which this Deponent answereth that of his owne knowledge he knowes not, but that, being at Ballasore, he did heare that Mr. Vincent did demand of and imprison severall persons on accompt of 6000: rupees to be presented him for his particular benifitt, and since his comeing to Cassambazar he heares that it was

5000: rupees which was demanded of Goe Paule-by [Gopāl Bhāi] and severall black writers, but not of the Podaur and his partners, and that Goe-Paulby broak prison and fled to Bull-Chund [Bāl Chand], the Governour, for protection, and sudainly after, Rugo Podaur dyeing, Mr. Vincent released all the other[s] out of prison.

It being asked of whome Att Ballasore he heard that Mr. Vincent did demand the 6000: rupees aforesaid. To which this Deponent answered that he heard the same of the same natives before mentioned, whose names, places of abode or Persons he knowes not nor ever did.

Being asked of whome he had the information at Cassambazar of the 5000: rupees demanded of Goepaulby etc. writers. To which this Deponent answereth that he heard the same severall times from Anuntram, but from no others, and that Anuntram said it was for their Cheating Mr. Vincent and his predecessors in the prizes of Taffatyes.

Being asked whether he knew or had heard of any direction or order publickely or Privately given or intimated to the house broaker for his beateing of the Podaur. To which this Deponent answereth that he not being at the place doth not know but by hearesay from the Forementioned persons, that is to say, Anuntram and other persons at Ballasore and Hugly unknowne to him.

Being asked whether, according to the custome of the Country, the house broaker might take on him to beate the Podaur without order or direction from the Cheife. To which this Deponent answereth that he never knew of any such liberty granted to the housebroaker to beat anybody without order or direction from the Cheife.

Being asked whether the housebroaker beating the Podaur without order, it had not binn the Companys Interest and most proper and reasonable at that time to have delivered him up to justice. To which this Deponent answered that he beleives it had binn to the Honourable Companys Interest to have delivered him up at that time, his reasons, *Vizt.* Because after the business of this accident was over at Cassambazar, there happened another at Hugly Factory when Mr. Reade was there,

of a boye being killed and (as this Deponent hath heard) the party that did it was delivered up to justice; it cost the Company but little money, as appeares by their bookes.

Being asked what his opinion was when he was in Ballasore, in October, 1673, concerning the takeing up of the business of the Podaur in Cassambazar, as is directed in the Gennerall letter which he signed. To which this Deponent answereth that he was then in the opinion that it ought to have binn ended long before it was, which if the party had binn delivered up to justice might have binn, but in regaurd he was not, it was then his opinion to take it up with money, which ought to be for Mr. Vincents accompt. JOSEPH HALL. *September 29th*, 1676.

September 29th, Fryday afternoone.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, Esq: [and Council as before].

There ariseing a debate in the Councell aboute the examination of Anuntram [Anant Rām], the former housebroaker, who is the party concerned for the beating the Podaur the day before he dyed, it being moved that Mr. Vincent might be present, who ownes not himselfe a party, as Anuntram had done.

The question was put whether Mr. Vincent should bee present at the examination of Anuntram about the business of the Podaurs death. It was carried in the affirmative, and Mr. Vincent was then sent for, who tooke his place in Councell, and being late this night, the examination was referred till to morrow morneing.

The Depositions aforegoeing of Mr. Joseph Hall were taken in the presence of the Councell.

September 30, *Saturday.*—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, Esq: [and Council as before].

The Councell continued the examination of matter of Fact in the business of the Podaurs death.

The examination of Anuntram, house broaker at the time of the Podaurs death.

This Anuntram saith that, two or three dayes before Rugo Podaur dyed, Mr. Vincent goeing out of Towne called this Anuntram to him before the Peons, and gave him order to putt

some raw [undyed] taffaties into the Sun and measure them, that he might make them ready to be valued at his returne, and for the money oweing by Rugo Podaur, which was 818: rupees or thereabouts (of which 150: rupees was paid), that he should fickarcur,[1] that is, consider and contrive how to gett it, for that he was not satisfied of the tenta Zameins[2] or pittifull security he had given, being servants of the Governours. And Mr. Vincent being gone, he sent Peons after Rugo Podaur, who was then at Muxadavad [Murshidābād] at his owne house, about four miles from Cassambazar, and the Peons bringing him to the Companys Factory over night, the next morneing, about seaven a Clock, this Anuntram came to the Factory and asked the Peons whether Rugo Podaur was come, who answered yes, he was come. Then he ordered the Peons to bring the said Podaur before him with his sonn and two Partners, of whom he demanded the money they owed the Company; and they makeing excuses, he ordered his Sonn and Nemo Podaur to be carried within the Factory, and upon their bare bodyes to be beaten with a bamboe switch four or five blowes apeice, soe that a little blood came from them. Upon which, Rugo Podaur giveing this Anuntram some ill language, he spake to the Peons to give him twoe or three boxes of the eare or blowes over the mouth, upon which the Peones beate him upon the head 10: or 05: blowes, not many, and then he ordered them to beate him upon the feete. Then the Peones tooke of his girdle, and with it held up one of his feet, and with a small stick as little as the pen this is written withall, gave him a few blowes on the soles of his feet, four or five, not layd on with any strength, but lightly. Yett the stick not being very smooth, some blood came like the scratch or prick of a thorne. Afterward, the same houre, Rugo Podaur rose up and went away to his shop that he kept in Cassambazar, not anything limping or complaineing of the blowes he received. And that evening, Mr. Vincent comeing home, this Anuntram, the said Rugo Podaur, his sonne and Partners, and all the rest of the servants great and small came to the Factory and made their Sallam

[1] H., *fikr kar*, take trouble or thought.

[2] Query: *ṭhoṇṭa* (for *ṭuṭa*) *zāmin*; inadequate (*lit.* broken) surety.

[*salām*] to him; and that night, about four a Clock towards morneing, there came two Peones to this Anuntrames house and brought him to Mr. Vincent, telling him Mr. Vincent called him. And when he came to the Factory gate, the Cheife Peon told him that Rugo Podaur was dead of poyson, supposed to be given him by Morad Chun [Murād Chand] one of his partners. Afterward, in the morneing, there was a great tumult about the Factory and about this Anuntrames house, calling for the Murderer (by the instigation of Morad-Chun). And farther, this Anuntram saith that, early that morneing, the said Rugo Podaurs body was carried to Muxadavad, and being washed, Bull-Chun [Bāl Chand], the Governour, ordered it to be viewed, to certifie him in what nature he was killed, whether with sword or blowes. And it being viewed and nothing appearing of either cutts or blowes, Bull-Chun said that some Rogue had killed him with poyson, which he would afterwards inquire into. And this Anuntram speakes from reports, and not from his owne knowledge, but that his brother was there and gave him this relation of that passage.

Being thrice asked whether the Relation now given was the true account of the business, The said Anuntram answered that this was the true account which he had now given and that he knew no other.

Being asked concerning a paper given into the Councell by Mr. Hall, sayd to be his voluntary Confession, dated the 15: and 18: of this present September, and signed by Joseph Hall. To which this Anuntram answered that Mr. Hall did inquire of him concerning this business, and if there be any difference between that paper Mr. Hall hath written and the account he hath now given, that this account he hath now given must be true and the mistake must be in Mr. Halls paper, for he doth not understand what he hath writen therein.

Being asked whether he told Mr. Hall that the Podaur was beaten upon the head fifty blowes with a Slipper and fifty blowes upon the feet with a bamboe. To which this Anuntram answereth that he might say ten or fifteen, but never named the name of fifty, and farther saith the said Podaur was never in his life (to his knowledge) beaten on the head with a

Slipper, or on the feet with a bamboe untill the day before he dyed.

Being asked whether he told Mr. Hall that the Podaur dyed in a Prison or dungeon. This Anuntram answered, lifting up his hands to his head, God forbid he should say any such thing, for that he dyed at his owne house, which a thousand people knew as well as himselfe.

Being asked whether Mr. Vincent gave him any order to beate the Podaur on the said Mr. Vincents goeing out of Towne. To which Anuntram answered that Mr. Vincent did not give him any order to beat him, but to Ficarcur [*fikr kar*] contrive or find a way to gett the money, for that was it he looked after.

Being asked whether Mr. Vincents servant had binn with him within these foure or five dayes, and upon what account. To which Anuntram answered, that it is true that Mr. Vincents servant Sheak Atcha [Shekh Achchhā] had binn with him and warned him to be sure to speak the truth in this business if he should be called, for, if he did not speake the trueth and told any lyes then he should spoile himselfe and his livelyhood and all would be lost, and if he spake the truth he would have an imployment and livelyhood.

Being asked whether Mr. Hall had promised him ten or fifteen rupees per moneth wages to serve him. To which Anuntram answered that Mr. Hall did offer him ten rupees a moneth wages to go to serve him at Decca, but that he was not content or willing to leave Cassambazar to goe thither, and that his former wages was five rupees a moneth besides his gratuityes.

This examination taken and interpreted by ——.[1] *In Presentia Nostra*, STREYNSHAM MASTER [and the rest of the Council].

Anuntrames Confession concerning the death of Rugo Podaur, taken by Mr. Hall and by him delivered to the Councell.

Anuntram, Servant to Mr. Vincent in the yeare 1673-4, Saith that his master, Mathias Vincent, haveing difference with Rugo

[1] The name is not recorded.

Podaur, concerning an account depending ever since the time of John March[1] being Cheife of Cassambazar Factory, and sending said Rugo Podaur to Rajamaull with silver to coyne, and said account not being perfected before the death of said John March, Mr. Vincent, succeeding in the Cheifeshipp of Cassambazar Factory, imprisoned the said Rugo Podaur in a dungeon in said Factory for non payment of what said Mathias Vincent conceived to be due to Mr. March deceased, but finding imprisonment without punishment might much retard the payment, did often pu[n]ish him, by sending for him out of prison, ordering his hands to be tyed up, and his feet tyed downe to the ground with weight, chabucking this old man, Rugo Podaur, very much. And farther Confessing that the last time of Rugo Podaurs punishment being in the morneing, and that the following night [he] dyed, was by direction of Mathias Vincent given to said Anuntram, who confesseth he sent for said Rugo Podaur out of prison, and telling him, in Mr. Vincents presence, the order given him to punish the said Rugo Podaur in Mr. Vincents absence. Whereupon, Mr. Vincent imediately leaving the Factory, by rideing or goeing out of towne, whilst Anuntram put in execution his order for punishing Rugo Podaur, giveing him fifty blowes on the feet with a bamboe till the blood sprung out of his feet, and then gave him fifty blowes more with a Slipper on the head, and at the same time punishing his Sonn and Nemo Podaur, prisoners alsoe on the demand of Mr. Vincent on Rugo Podaur, who had binn prisoner, with his Sonn and Nemo Podaur, about four monethes before he dyed.

And farther attesteth for real truth that there was Gopaulby and severall black writers prisoners at the same time in Cassambazar Factory, Mr. Vincent pretending they had cheated him and his Predecessors, Cheifes of Cassambazar Factory, by assisting in the Taffatyes yearly bought to the value or amount of 5000: rupees, which required them to pay him. But Goepaulby breaking prison, and flying to Bull-Chun the Governour for protection, and Rugo Podaurs death soone after said punish-

[1] Elected factor 4th November, 1661 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv., fol. 211). See *ante*, note on p. 339.

ment made Mr. Vincent aquitt Goepaulby of all pretences and demands, and the rest, releasing them out of prison and giveing Rugo Podaurs sonn 1000: Rupees, part of the 13000: pretended to have [been] paid the Governour and discharge him of his fathers debt, to engage him from prosecution and to alleadge, if examined, that his father was poysoned.

And farther, Anuntram atteste[t]h that Mr. Vincent did lay Rugo Podaurs death to his charge, by saying that one servant had killed another in the Factory in his absence, which quickly came to the notice of Bull-Chund, Governour, who sent Souldiers to Mr. Vincent, requireing him to deliver up Anuntram to his justice, as said to be the murderer of Rugo Podaur; but Mr. Vincent Refuseing, and applying himselfe to the said Governour, did take the business up with a summe of money, and kept Anuntram in the Factory four moneths after the payment of said money to the Governour, for noe other reason, as Anuntram beleiveth, then to keep from the Governours knowledge that Anuntram acted by Mr. Vincents order in the punishing Rugo Podaur, and soe be forced to pay a greater summe for the death of Rugo Podaur, who dyed the same day at night that said punishment was inflicted on his person by Mr. Vincents order to Anuntram.

This is the Voluntary Confession of Anuntram taken, the 15th day of September 1676, *per* JOSEPH HALL.

Anuntram farther sayeth that, some time before the last punishment was inflicted on Rugo Podaur, he did release him out of prison, takeing security for satisfying Mr. Vincents demands within a few monethes, but Mr. Vincent not approveing thereof, he was returned to prison againe, and there kept till the time of his death. And when his son desired of Mr. Vincent one rupee to buy wood to burne his father, Mr. Vincent sayd he would not allow anything, as not concerning him, biding Anuntram give out that said Rugo Podaur was poysoned, but upon his sons complaint to Bull-Chund, gave the rupees 1000: and discharged him of his fathers debt to forbeare farther proceeding and declare his father was poysoned.

Examined per JOSEPH HALL, *The 15th day of September*, 1676.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

September 30*th*.—This afternoone Mr. Clavell, myself and some others went to visitt the Dutch at their Factory, where they entertained us with fireing of gunns and other Civillityes. Their Factory is built square with a quadrangle in the midst, much more large and spatious then is ours. They shewed us their Warehouses, which are very large, and one was all lined with boards to keep their silk in. They have one large square place where they use to keep silk weavers at worke, besides the Lodgeings and appartments for the Cheife, the second and others of the Factory. There is one very good appartment which is not used, but kept empty for the Directore when he comes to visitt the Factory, which was now repaireing, and all the Timbers laying new. They have good space of wast ground, and a great Tanck that lyes before their Factory where their stables alsoe stand, and behind their Factory their Gardens which are large and well kept.[1]

October 2. This day Mr. Clavell, Mr. Vincent and myself made a visitt to the Kings Foosdar,[2] and to Bull-Chund, the Nabobs Governour of Muxadavad.

October 3, *Tuesday*.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

Mr. Master haveing formerly acquainted the Councell of his dissatisfaction in the way of proceeding of examineing wittnesses by requireing the party accused or charged to withdraw, not well knowing whether it be according to the customes and lawes of England, especially he not haveing any directions in his commission and Instructions soe to direct such proceedings, as Mr. William Puckle hath in his Commission, which was the ground of the Councells observeing that method,[3] did

[1] In 1671, John Marshall (*Notes and Observations of East India*, British Museum, *Harleian MS.* 4254, fol. 40) remarks that 'The Dutch Factory [at Kasimbazar] is made of brick, very large, and hath handsome gardens belong[ing] to it. It is about a mile from the English Factory.'

[2] *Faujdār*, a military commander or military governor of a district.

[3] The clause referred to in Major Puckle's Commission was the following: 'That the Agent and Councell, whereof you are Third, examine the truth of all such informations as are given against any of our Servants, and if any of the

at this time desire the Councells Result [decision] or opinion for his Vindication. To which the Councell answered that, as to what was passed or to come in the Podaurs business, it is their opinion that if Mr. Vincent doth acquiesce therein, it is sufficient for Mr. Master's Vindication.

Whereupon the question being putt to Mr. Vincent, The said Mr. Vincent doth hereby declare that, as to the business about the Podaurs death (wherein he is Sollicitous to vindicate and cleare himself from all kind of imputation and Suspetion) he doth acquiese in the method already used in that proceeding, and is willing to submitt himself to the same for the future, that is to say, to withdraw out of Councell upon examination of wittnesses in that case.

Upon Mr. Vincents desire and request that the paper given in to the Councell the 29th September by Mr. Joseph Hall (as the voluntary Confession of Anuntram examined by said Mr. Hall) might be registred in this Consultation booke. It was put to the Question and granted, and the said Paper ordered to be entered imediately after the examination of Anuntram taken by the Councell and before this present Consultation.

A letter to Hugly drawne up by Mr. Clavell was read and approved.[1]

There being a want of Vessells with Deckes to carry the saltpetre from Hugly secure from raine and weather, to shift the shipps in Ballasore Roade before the storme [season] is over, it is thought fitt to freight a Sloope of Mr. Reades called the *Marrigold* at the usuall freight of 20: rupees for one hundred maund.

THE STORY OF THE DEATH OF RAGHU THE *PODDĀR*.

The Evidence (continued).

The Councell then continued the examination of matter of Fact in the business of the Podaurs death.

Councell are concerned, that they withdraw when the information against them is examined, and in consulting about it that they have noe vote in Councell' (*Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 158).

[1] No copy of this letter exists.

Mr. Vincent withdrew.

Walter Clavell, aged thirty seaven yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, deposeth as followeth:—This Deponent saith that at his being at Cassambazar in the yeare 1672, Mr. Vincent, then Cheife in the said Factory, did acquaint this Deponent that he had reason to suspect that Rugo Podaur and some others had wronged the Company in a trust that was comitted to them, but that he was fearefull to use any extremity to the said Rugo, an old man, least he should dye, and bring some such trouble on the Companys business as the Dutch had at that time upon theirs. And what was afterwards done in the business this Deponent knowes not, but by advices after the Podaurs death, all which advices and the answers thereunto from this Deponent, then Cheife, and the Councell with him in Ballasore, were transcribed and sent in their packetts to the Honourable Company in England. And this Deponent saith that when the business was debated by himselfe and the Councell (Mr. John Smith being present), that it was then the opinion of himself, the Councell and said Mr. Smith, that it was best to take up the business in Cassambazar as soone as they could, and not to deliver up Anuntram, for these reasons:—That it would be a discreditt to the English, and discouragement to their servants, and that the fellow might be forced by the Moores to say what they pleased, and bring great charge and trouble upon us.

Being asked whether he knew or had heard that Mr. Vincent had demanded five or six thousand rupees, or any other summe, of Rugo Podaur or his Partners for his particular benifitt. To which this Deponent answered that he doth not or ever did know of any such demands, but he hath had information of it by a coppy of some clauses of a letter sent from the Fort and sayd to be Mr. Joseph Halls advice thither.

Being asked whether, according to the custome of the Country, the house broaker might take on him to beate the Podaur without order or direction from the Cheife. To which this Deponent answereth that he is of the opinion that he ought not to doe it, but he knowes that the house broaker hath done it, perticulerly in the time of Mr. Shem Briges being

Cheife,[1] and this Deponent Second at Ballasore, where the house broaker, takeing upon him to beate the Companys Prisoners (without the Cheifes knowledge and direction), was fined a sume of two hundred rupees for his soe doeing, which summe was payd into the Companys Cash, as appeares in Journall L. folio 30: the 20th October 1669.[2]—WALTER CLAVELL. *October the third*, 1676.

October 3, *Tuesday afternoone.*—The Councell then continued the examination of matter of Fact in the business of the Podaurs death.

Mr. Vincent upon desire withdrew.

George Knipe, aged twenty six yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, deposeth as followeth:—This Deponent saith that he was in the Factory of Cassambazar the 21st August,[3] the same day that Rugo Podaur was beaten by order of Anuntram the house broaker, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Richard Edwards being then absent at Mola [Mohola], to which place they went the day before. This Deponent saith that in the forenoone, about ten or eleaven of the Clock (he being in the Delawne [*dālān*] or dineing roome), Anuntram shewed to this Deponent two parcells of gold which he offered this Deponent to sell, saying they were of one and the same alloy and price; whereupon this Deponent sent for Rugo Podaur, who was at the door, to have his opinion of the said parcell of gold, who told this Deponent that there was 2: rupees per tola difference in the said two parcells of gold, whereupon Anuntram miscalled Rugo Podaur and seemed very angry with him, useing threatening Speeches.

Then this Deponent went to his Chamber, and Rugo Podaur and Anuntram went towards the Factory doore or gate house. And this Deponent, returneing presently [immediately] after-

[1] Shem Bridges was elected factor 'at the Coast' on the 4th September, 1661. He had then been in India at least four years. In 1663 he went to Bengal, and on the 23rd December, 1667, was appointed by the Court of Committees to succeed William Blake as Chief in 'the Bay.' Bridges returned to England in the *Rainbow* in January, 1671 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv., fol. 190, vol. xxvi., fol. 83; *O.C.*, Nos. 2643, 3246; *Factory Records. Fort St. George*, vol. xvi.).

[2] I can find no allusion to this event in the Records for the year 1669.

[3] See *ante*, p. 342, for Knipe's Attestation, dated 9th October, 1673.

ward towards the Delawne or dineing roome, being near dinner time, he saw the said Rugo Podaur and Anuntram at the weighing place hard by the delawne. The said Anuntram ordering the Podaurs coate to be pulled off and setting him downe upon the ground, his feet were tyed up and beaten a few blowes, as he can remember about six or eight, upon the soales of his feet with a small bamboe switch, which he beleives could doe him noe hurt or Prejudice. But, in this manner, setting upon the ground with his feet tyed up, he continued near the space of an hour, and then Anuntram, first giving him a blow with a slipper in his owne hand, ordered him to be loosed, and being loose he walked away, not limping or shewing any signe of harme received. And that day, in the evening, this Deponent saith that Mr. Vincent and Mr. Marshall came home, and the next day morneing, being the 22nd of August, it was reported that the Podaur was dead at his owne shop or house neare the Factory gate where now the stables are, and he dyed of poyoson given him (by Moraud Chunn [Murād Chand] one of his Partners) in a bowle of Sherbett.

Being asked whether the said Rugo Podaur had binn beaten any time before since his returne from Rajamaull. To which this Deponent answereth that he never knew that Rugo Podaur was beaten, but heard Mr. Vincent severall tymes say he should not be beaten, being an old man.

Being asked whether he knew that the Podaur was Loaden with Irons, whipt, put in a dungeon and there dyed. To which this Deponent answereth that he remembers he hath seen the Podaur sometimes to have Irons on him, a small ring upon each legg, two small barrs and a ring in the middle, all which together may weigh about two or three seer [four to six pounds]. But that morneing, when he called him to aske his opinion about the Gold, he had noe irons on, nor at the time of his being beaten upon the feet; that he never knew him whipt; and that he did not dye in a dungeon, but at his owne house or shop, as before declared.

Being asked whether he knew or had heard that Mr. Vincent demanded five or six thousand rupees or any other summe of the Podaur or his Partners as a present, or upon any other

account, for his perticuler benifitt. To which this Deponent answereth that he never knew or hath heard of any such thing all the time of his being at Cassambazar, neither formerly or late, excepting that since the business hath binn in examination within these few dayes, he hath heard Mr. Vincent hath binn accused of such a thing.

Being asked whether he knew or hath heard of any direction or order, publickly or privately given or intimated to Anuntram the house broaker, to beat the Podaur. To which this Deponent answereth that he never heard or knew that Anuntram had any such direction or order from Mr. Vincent, but that the said Anuntram, being asked by this Deponent why he beat the Podaur, did say, at the time of his beating the Podaur, that he had order for his soe doing from Mr. Vincent to gett in the Companyes money.—GEORGE KNIPE. *Dated in Cassambazar, the 3rd October,* 1676.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October 3.—This day, about noon, Senr: Verburgh,[1] Cheife of the Dutch in this place, went hence toward Hugly, being sent for by the Directore to consult of their affaires.

October the 4th, Wednesday.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

There was an addition made to the letter to Hugly[2] for the freighting of the *Ava Merchant,* a vessell belonging to Mr. John Smith, with saltpeter to Ballasore, and it is left to them at Hugly to see that she is well provided with Cables, anchores and a good Pylott.

THE STORY OF THE DEATH OF RAGHU THE *PODDĀR.*

The Evidence (*continued*).

The Councell then proceeded to examine matters of Fact in the business of the Podaurs death.

[1] See *ante,* note on p. 329. 'Senior Vauburdg' was 'Cheife' and 'Senior Fensall second' of the Dutch factory at Kasimbazar in 1671, when John Marshall 'supped there' on the 8th May (*Notes and Observations of East India,* British Museum, *Harleian MS.,* 4254, fol. 40, reverse).

[2] This letter does not exist.

Mr. Mathias Vincent upon desire withdrew.

Richard Edwards, aged twenty eight yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, deposeth as followeth:—This Deponent sayth that he was a Resident in the Factory of Cassambazar, and that he was at Moula [Mohola] with Mr. Vincent that day that Rugo Podaur was said to be beaten by Anuntram, and came home about 7 a Clocke that night to the Factory in Cassambazar; and presently after, heareing that the Podaur was very sick, he went to the doore or gate of the Factory inquireing after the Podaurs condition, and this Deponent, walking a little without the Doore or gate of the Factory, stood and called to the people that were at the doore of the Podaurs house or shop (which was night (*sic*) the Factory gate), askeing how the Podaur did; upon which, some among them at the Podaurs dore spake to them within the house that this Deponent inquired after his health. Upon which he, this Deponent, heard somebody from within say, 'Mr Edwards, it is noe fault of the Englishes,' and that he thinkes was the Podaurs voyce, seeming to be spoaken by a man sicke and in paine, but cannot certainely affirme it, by reason he did not see him. And this Deponent farther saith that the same night, about the same time, upon inquirey how the Podaur came in that condition, he was told by severall of the natives (some the servants of the Factory and some neighbours) that the Podaur himself cryed out that he was poysoned by Moraud-Chunn [Murād Chand], his partner, in a Cup of Sherbett he gave him that afternoone, and this the said natives told this Deponent they heard the Podaur severall times cry out.

Being asked whether the Podaur was whipt, loaded with irons, and dyed in a dungeon. To which this Deponent answereth that he cannot certainely affirme that he never saw him in Irons; he never heard that he was whipt, but hath heard by the Gennerall report of the Country that he dyed at his owne house and not in a Dungeon.

Being asked whether he knew or had heard that Mr. Vincent demanded 5: or 6000: rupees, or any other summe, of Rugo Podaur or his partners as a present for his particuler benifitt. This Deponent answereth that he never knew or heard that

Mr. Vincent ever made any such demand, but of late he hath heard he was accused of such a thing.

Being asked whether he knew or hath heard of any direction or order, publickly or privately given or intimated to Anuntram, to beate the Podaur. This Deponent answereth that he never heard of any such order or direction given, but he well remembers that a day or two before Mr. Vincent went out of Towne to Mola, he heard Mr. Vincent call Anuntram to him in the Delawne, and asked him why the money oweing by the Podaur upon Rajamaull account was not yett gott in, and that Anuntram answered him, 'how can I gett it if you will not suffer mee to trouble or vex him;' and Mr. Vincent did then reply to Anuntram with some earnestness, 'no, noe, doe not speake to mee of it, for he is an old man and I will not have you lay hands on him,' or words to that effect, as this Deponent best remembers.—RICHARD EDWARDS. *October the 4th*, 1676.

Richard Moseley, Dyer, aged thirty one yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, deposeth as followeth:—This Deponent saith that he remembreth that Anuntram and the Podaur that is dead fell out in the Delawne [*dālān*] about a parcell of gold that Anuntram had brought to Mr. Knipe, and that they went from the Delawne to the Doore quarrelling; and a small time afterward Anuntram brought Rugo Podaur, his sonn and partner from the Doore to the weighing place, and tyed Rugo Podaur and his sonn to the weighing place, and his partner to a tree, who was afterwards loosed from the tree and tyed alsoe to the weighing place. Afterwards this Deponent saw Anuntram strick the old man Rugo Podaur with a slipper. And after that the said old man was hunght with the elboes, and then his feet were tyed up, and with two small bambo switches beaten a few easy blowes on the soales of his feet. After that the said old man and the rest were all lett loose, and his sonn put in pryson, and the others went out of the doore, not any wayes complaineing or limping. And afterwards, that night, this Deponent heard the Countrey people say that Rugo Podaur was poysoned by one of his partners.—RICHARD MOSELEY. *October the 4th*, 1676.

John Naylor, Dyer, aged thirty yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, deposeth as followeth[1]:—This Deponent saith that whilst he was in the Delawne or Dineing roome, it being neare dinner time, he saw Rugo Podaur, his sonn and partners all three made fast to the weighing place by the hands, and this Deponent askeing why they were tyed there, he was answered by some of the natives that they owed the Company money. Afterwards he saw the old man Rugo Podaurs hands loosed and lett down upon the ground, his feet tyed up very slack, and beaten on the soles of his feet a few blowes with a small switch, not soe big as his little finger, which he thinkes could doe a child noe prejudice; afterwards they were loosed, and he saw the old man Rugo Podaur walk away as [well as] ever he was, to his thinking. And the next morneing this Deponent heard that Rugo Podaur was dead, and that he was poysoned by one of his partners.—JOHN NAYLOR. *October the 4th*, 1676.

The Depositions before goeing of Mr. Walter Clavell, George Knipe, Richard Edwards, Richard Moseley and John Naylor were taken in the presence of the Councell here Subscribing.[2]

The Examination of Sheak Muttaloob [Shekh Matlūb], the Companys Vackeell or Solicitor, about the business of Rugo Podaurs death.

All the Councell present except Mr. Vincent.

This Examinant saith that the same day Rugo Podaur was beaten, he, the said Rugo Podaur, meet (*sic*) with this examinant neare the Factory, and gave him information of the manner of his being beaten by Anuntram, and that he did not know by what order he had done it, Mr. Vincent being abroad, who had never used him soe. And this Examinant farther saith that he hath heard it from Hindoes and Mohometans, persons of good Creditt, that Rugo Podaur, the night before he dyed, called his sonn to him and told him that he should not give the

[1] See *ante*, p. 342, for the Attestation of Moseley and Naylor, dated 9th October, 1673.

[2] The names are those of Streynsham Master, William Puckle, and the seven members of Council present at all these Consultations.

English any trouble about his death, for they were not in fault, but that his partners Nemo and Morar-Chunn[1] [Nem (Chand) and Murārī Chand] had poysoned him.

And this Examinant further saith, that the First time he went to Bull-Chund [Bāl Chand] the Governour upon this occasion, he ordered him to bring Anuntram (who was accused to have killed the Podaur); and when he went to Bull-Chund the Governour the second tyme (by Mr. Vincents order) he carryed Anuntram with him; and when Bull-Chund saw him, he sayd, 'What shall I doe with this fellow? He is a servant to your master and can doe but what he is bid: Therefore the Master must answer for his fault. For who inquires after a servant upon such accounts? Therefore, carry him away againe, I have nothing to say to him.'

And farther this Examinant sayth, that, upon the Podaurs kindred chargeing the English with the murder of the Podaur, he offered to bring Bull-Chund the Governour good testmony of Mohometans, in writeing, to prove that the English were noe wayes guilty of it, and that his partners had poysoned him, but the Governour would not accept of any such writeing, but sayd the English had killed him. Upon which this Examinant replyed that, if they had killed him, it must appeare by some wounds or markes on his body which did not appeare, and that the English lived in the Countrey upon the Kings favour and protection, and kept noe armyes for to deffende themselves, and if it was in his mind to use force, he might, if he pleased, robb the Factory of all that was in it, for the English were not able to contend with him. *This Examination was taken and Englished the 4th October*, 1676, *In the presence of us*, STREYNSHAM MASTER [and the rest of the Council].

October the 4th, Wednesday afternoone.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, Esq: [and Council as before].

It being moved that Anuntrams goeing along with the Vackeell to Bull-Chund [Bāl Chand] the Governour was not

[1] 'Morar,' 'Morari,' 'Morad,' are no doubt intended to indicate the same individual.

spoken to by any of the partyes examined, but only the Vackeel, and being a Circumstance, which if made out, will be very satisfactory to the Honourable Company, and Mr. Vincent being asked about it, he offered to depose upon oath that upon Bullchunds first demand of him, he ordered the said Anuntram to goe with the Vackeell before him, and that he did goe accordingly (as he beleives), and that he kept him in the Factory upward of two monethes for noe other reason but to deliver him if he should be demanded.

But the Councell haveing, in their Consultation of the 27: September last, excepted Mr. Vincent to be examined upon oath, doe not thinke fitt to receed from that Resolution.

The Question being put whether there was any person that any of the Councell did know could give any farther testimoney in the business of the Podaurs death. They all answered in the Negative.

The Question being put whether the Councell thought Mr. Master had proceeded in the examination of this business of the Podaurs death without favour or affection therein, as the Honourable Company have directed him in his Commission and Instructions. They all answered in the Affirmative that they did beleive he had not shewed any favour or affection to any in his proceeding therein.

Commercial Measures at Kasimbazar.

October the 5th, Thursday.—Att a Consultation, Present:—Streynsham Master, Esq: [and Council as before, except Major Puckle].

The Councell haveing severall times debated the Honourable Companys orders for provideing of Cossaes and mullmulls to be sent home [by] these yeares ships, and being informed by those that have lived at Dacca that, by reason of the lateness of the yeare, there cannot any quantityes be had there. And some of the Councell doubting whether it was agreeable to the Honourable Companys rules to provide those Callicoes at any other place but at Dacca, by reason they will come out much dearer. The Honourable Companys orders in their

letters by their ships, dated the 24th December, 1675, were thereupon perused, which are as followeth, *vizt.*,

'6000: Cossaes made at Dacca, very fine, $1\frac{1}{16}$ yds. broad.

'4000: Cossaes from 4: to 7: rupees, 18: or 20: yards long, $1\frac{1}{16}$ broad.

'1000: Fine mullmulls, 1: yard broad.

'The Cossaes No. 1: 2: 3: per the *Lancaster* are a good sort of this. Be sure to send the quantityes before enordered, and what procurable as above directed. Wee expect for the future that you comply exactly with our orders, which you might have done this yeare by the Cossaes and Mullmulls, [that] we find are procurable, by the great quantityes brought home in private trade, especially in the *Lancaster* which were very good Goods.'[1]

The said orders being read and debated, The Question was put whether the Councell thought the said Cossaes and mullmulls ought to be bought for the Honourable Companys accompt at Hugly or Ballasore, or any other place procurable besides Dacca.

The Councell answered in the affirmative, that orders ought speedily to be sent to Dacca, Hugly and Ballasore to procure what quantityes there can be gott of the prementioned sortes of Cossaes and Mullmulls to be sent home by these ships. And that in the letter to Ballasore Mr. Bugden bee advised to give notice to the Commanders of the ships that neither they nor any of their ships companyes doe buy any fine Cossaes and mullmulls. And Mr. Reade was desired to draw up said Directions and advices accordingly.

Enquiry into the Charges against Matthias Vincent.

Upon Mr. Hall's motion that the Councell would examine Anuntram to that part of his confession said to bee taken by Mr. Hall about 5000: rupees demanded of Gopaulby [Gopāl Bhāi] by Mr. Vincent, The Councell did thinke fitt to make inquirey thereinto, haveing omitted the same in Anuntrams

[1] The passages quoted are parts of paragraphs 41, 46, and 48 of the Company's General Letter to Hugli.

former Examination, by reason it concerned not the Podaurs death. Mr. Vincent upon desire withdrew.

Then Anuntram, being called in and asked what hee knew in the business, sayd That Mr. Vincent ordered him to examine and find out what the writers at the doore[1] had cheated the Company of, by takeing money from the weavers in his and former Cheifes time. Accordingly he did, and found they had wrongfully taken from them upward of 5000: Rupees. Afterwards Mr. Vincent called the said writers and demanded the money of them, which they denyed to have received. Whereupon Mr. Vincent sent for the weavers, and when they were present, the writers Confessed they had cheated and spent it (whether it was one, foure, or five thousand rupees), and desired his pardon, with promise to doe soe no more, and to the same purpose gave a writing Publickly at the doore [of the Factory] (such writeings being customary to be taken in such cases in this Countrey). And he knowes at that time Mr. Vincent received noe money of them, and doth not know or hath heard that he hath received any since.

Mr. John Marshall being at that time second in the Factory when this business was transacted, was asked what he knew concerning it. Who declared that about February, 1672 [1672-73], Mr. Vincent understanding that Goepaulby and the writers at the doore had a custome to take money from Taffaty weavers, ordered him to call severall of the weavers and make inquirey into it, which accordingly he did. And by his incourageing the weavers to tell the trueth, did find out that the writers had used such a custome, which he acquainted Mr. Vincent with, who, inquireing farther into it, did afterwards tell Mr. Marshall that he did beleive they had taken 5: or 6000: rupees in his and former Cheifes time, but thought they had spent the greatest part of it; yett he was in hopes to gett two thousand rupees out of them to bring into the Companys Cash. But about two monethes after, Goepaulby, the principall of them, escapeing out of prison, and the others being poore, he beleives Mr. Vincent could gett nothing out of them; but Mr.

[1] The native clerks in the Company's pay, usually called the 'black writers.'

Vincent told him hee had tooke a writeing from them would keep them in awe and from playing the Rogue hereafter.

Mr. Vincent was then sent for into Councell and desired to produce the said writeing, which accordingly he did, the translation of which is ordered to be entered after this Consultation.

It was then put to the question whether any of the Councell had anything more to offer or could bring any farther proof to this matter. The Councell answered in the Negative.

Major Puckle was very sick and therefore not present at this Consultation.

The translate of Goe Pauleby [Gopāl Bhāī] and Ramnissaads [Rāmēsardās] paper in referrence to their takeing money from the weavers.

In the Name of God Amen. Wee underwritten have given a writeing to Mr. Vincent, *vizt.*, Wee Goepauleby and Ramnisserdas [Rāmēsardās] doe give a writeing of agreement, in the yeare 79 (the Bengala accompt), that if, as long as wee have binn in the Companyes service, wee have taken 8: annas in a hundred rupees [one half per cent.] out of money given out to the weavers (as Dustore money) [*dastūr*, commission or percentage, *lit.* custom], and as Mr. Vincent hath binn acquainted, in case it be proved against [us], wee will be content to be fined to the Company in the summe of five thousand rupees each man. *Dated the* 30: *Cheet* [*Chait*] *or March*, 1673. (Signed) GOEPAULEBY. RAMNISSERDAS.

(Witnesses) RAMNISSERMIND OF PIPPER GOUTA [RĀMĒSARNAND OF PIPAGOTA]. SERRA PURSERRE, SEERDARR OF BISHNAPOORE [SRĪ RĀMPARSĀD, SIRDĀR OF BISHNUPUR]. BISSUE CADDE OF CASSAMBAZAR [BISHU KAITH OF KĀSIMBĀZĀR].

The Translate of a paper from the house servants of Cassambazar about frauds committed by them in the time of Mr. Vincent and former Cheifes.

In the Name of God, The underwritten persons have given a writeing to Mr. Vincent, *vizt.*, Wee Sheck Metloob [Shekh

Matlūb], Nairaindas [Nārāyan Dās], Danungagoes [Dumindo Ghos], Goepaulby, Ramnisserdas, Rogonautdas [Raghunāth Dās], in the yeare 79 (after the Bengala account), being all servants to the Company, acknowledge that Ramnisserdas, the Overseer of Muxadavad [Murshidābād], hath informed Mr. Vincent that in every hundred rupees there is received halfe a rupee by us of the weavers. And wee doe all confesse that wee have done it, and that if ever wee shall be found in the same fault againe wee acknowledge our selves to be fineable, Mr. Vincent haveing given betle [*betel*] and pardoned our former faults, giveing us an assurance. Wee have therefore given this writeing. *Dated the 14th Bissack [Baisākh] 79, or Aprill the 13th* 1673. (Signed) ROGONAUTDUT. RAMNISSERDAS. DANUNGAGOES. SERI NAIRANDAS [SRĪ NĀRĀYAN DĀS]. SHECK METTLOOB.

(Wittnesses) MUTSDUM SURMA [MAḲDAM SARMĀ]. KISNARAINDAS [KRISHN NĀRĀYAN DĀS]. SYBRAM MOODY [SIBṚĀM MŪDI].[1]

The two preceeding writeings, dated the 30th of March and 13th Aprill, 1673, were translated by us [the 'house servants'], *In presence of us*, STREYNSHAM MASTER [and the rest of the Council].

October the 5th, Thursday afternoone.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Dacca bookes of accounts were examined concerning neare tenn thousand rupees expence there, to take off the demands of the sonn of Desoito, a Portuguez, upon the Company for goods sent in a ship that went to Persia in the yeare 1651 [1652]. And finding there was an order from the Cheife and Councell at Ballasore of the 15th May, 1676, signed by Mr. Clavell, Mr. Puckle, Mr. Hall, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Bugden, Mr. Smith, to Mr. Hervy etc. at Dacca for their proceedings in that business as appeares in said letter,[2] The said Mr. Hervy is ordered to draw up the state of that business to be represented

[1] There is a marginal note here: 'Goepaulby was absent.'

[2] This letter does not exist.

to the Honourable Company in England for their better understanding the state of that business.[1]

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October 5.—Major Puckle being very sick, it was not thought convenient for the Councell to sett in his chamber this day, as they had done for two dayes past, by reason of his indisposition: and therefore now were convened in the usuall place.

October 6, *Fryday*.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Letters drawne up by Mr. Reade (according to the order of Councell yesterday) to Hugly, Dacca and Ballasore, were now read and approved off.

THE CASE OF RAGHU THE *PODDĀR* (*continued*).

Decision with regard to Anant Rām.

The Councell entering into Debate how to proceed with Anuntram, by reason it appeared by the Depositions of severall examined in the business of the Podaurs death and by his owne confession in his examination, that he beate Rugo Podaur without order or direction from the Chiefe of the Factory. Mr. Vincent thereupon acquainted the Councell that the said Anuntram was concerned with another in a debt to the Company, about three hundred rupees, but he loockt upon the other, his partner, whose bill he had for it, as a Responsable person. Mr. Hall did then acquaint the Councell he had some old debts standing amongst the weavers, which he could not gett in but by the assistance of Anuntram. Thereupon Mr. Vincent and others offered to Mr. Hall that, if he would give them the particulers of his debt and debtours, they would undertake to gett them in for him better then Anuntram could doe. But Mr. Hall, upon second thoughts, desired the Councell that they would not concerne themselves for his particuler affaires. And Mr. Clavell and Mr. Vincent acquainted the Councell that Anuntram had

[1] The 'State and Relation of De Soito's business . . . drawne up by Samuell Hervy,' will be found with the Consultation held at Hugli on the 25th November, 1676.

this day morneing complained to them that Mr. Hall owed him 394 rupees.

The Councell thought fitt (before they would enter into farther consideration of the meritts of his case least he should pretend to have injustice done him) to call Anuntram in about the same, who, after some discourse, at last did confess that he had given Mr. Hall a discharge upon the Receipt of thirty two rupees; and though the said Anuntram pretended the discharge was forced from him, yett the Councell esteemed his pretence as frivolous, by reason he was under no restraint, and made noe complaint either to the Cheife or Governour of the Towne at that time.

The Councell entering then into Consideration of the Demeritts of the case, Did think fitt, that by reason of the notice the Country had generally taken of the stirr that hath now binn made in the Factory upon examineing of business of the Podaurs death, That Anuntram should be made a publicke example, by reason he hath not wherewith to satisfie a pecuniary mulct, to lett the Country know that the English doe not lightly pass over such irregular actions, and alsoe to prevent the like for the future. And by reason the Consequence may be bad to inflict a corporall punishment such as he deserves, It is therefore ordered that the said Anuntram for his offence of beating Rugo Podaur when the Cheif was absent, and without his order or direction, be called to the doore in the presence of all the servants, and there publickly, with disgrace, turned away, and never hereafter be admitted into this or any of the Honourable Companys Factoryes in the Bay of Bengala, or any wayes imployed in the Honourable Companys service, or in the service of any other of our nation.

And in case anyone shall be found to infringe or Contradict this order, wee doe hereby declare that he is and shall be responsible for all dammage that shall accrew to the Honourable Company or any of the nation thereby, and suffer such further penalty as the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George shall thinke fitt to impose. [Signed by all the Council except JOSEPH HALL.] What is mentioned of Anuntrams beating Rugo Podaur without order is excepted against per JOSEPH HALL.

Commercial Measures at Kasimbazar.

October the 9, *Munday.* — Att a Consultation, Present:— Streynsham Master, Esq: [and Council as before].

Mr. Master haveing with the Councell this day viewed the warehouse, examined the warehouse bookes, the weavers bookes and Cash booke, and inquired into the sorts, quallityes and prizes of Taffatyes and silks, desired Mr. Vincent to give him an accompt in writeing of the sorts which are best, and the seasons when and the weights by which and in what manner raw silk is bought and payd for, and the manner of provideing Taffatyes [and] dyeing them. And alsoe desired Mr. Hervy to give an accompt in writeing of the manner of buying Cossaes etc. at Decca, and what Europe goods are vendible there, that he may have the opinion of the Councell thereupon, and return to the Honourable Company the account thereof as they have directed.[1]

The Councell haveing long waited for the Merchants who used to buy the Honourable Companyes treasure, and they not being yett come (excuseing themselves by reason of the new moone and feast),[2] and the time soe spending that the Honourable Companys occasions cannot admitt of farther delay, It is therefore resolved to dispose of the 14 Chests of silver and one of gold now in the Factory as followeth, *vizt.*, 11: Chests Silver, 1: Chest Gold to be sent to Rajamaull [Rājmahāl] to be coyned in that mint; 3: Chests of Silver to be sent to Pattnana [Patna]. And it is ordered that Mr. Richard Edwards and Mr. George Knipe shall, in two dayes, be sent with the said treasure in charge thereof. And that Mr. Knipe doe proceed from Rajamaull to Pattana with the three Chests ordered thither, and to Returne againe by the said boat.

And by reason that the Honourable Companys occasions in this Factory for money are soe urgent for the carrying on of

[1] These 'accompts' were produced on the 4th November, 1676, and are to be found with the Consultation for that date.

[2] The allusion is to the Durgā Pūjā, the well-known festival in Lower Bengal, held in the month of Āsin (September-October), when no commercial business is transacted for about ten days.

the Investment of browne Taffatyes[1] (or tares[2]), fine Taffatys, and Floretta Yarne,[3] that they cannot awaite the comeing of the prementioned treasure from the mint, least the weavers, wanting our imployment, should take worke from others, and wee might be disappointed both of the Taffatyes and alsoe of the quantity of Floretta Yarne required by the Honourable Company, there being at this time by the Cash booke but six rupees remaineing. It is therefore resolved to take up 60,000 rupees (or what part thereof is procureable) at Interest, at the best rates it can be gott at, untill such time as the money comes from the mint. And for the 500 bales of raw silk required by the Honourable Company to be sent home this yeare, there being upward of 100 Bales already in the Factory of Octobers winding off, brought in in January last yeare, to late to send home by the last shipps; and that winding being of the worst sort, it is not thought fitt to have more of it. And the winding off of December being the best of all the yeare, It is therefore ordered that there bee money then impressed [advanced] to the Merchants for 400 Bales of the said silk, and soe much as can be gott ready thereof by the first of January, to be dispeeded hence to Hugly to be sent home this yeare. And if soe much money should not be returned from the mint at Rajamaull by the first of December as will discharge the money resolved to be taken up at Interest, and alsoe be sufficient to be impressed to the Merchants upon the aforesaid 400 Bales of raw Silke, it is then thought fitt that what money shall bee returned from the mint be imployed to secure this raw silk investment, and the money taken up at Interest to be discharged as the money shall come from the mint afterwards.

It is thought fitt that some Cloth etc. for Presents be sent to Rajamaull by Mr. Richard Edwards.

1 Plain woven silks (P., *taftān*). See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Piece-goods.

2 Sir James Murray tells me that 'tare' is a rare word, used to describe linen or flax (and possibly silk) of the finest kind.

3 By 'Floretta Yarne' is meant the rough or floss silk enveloping the cocoon of the silkworm. See Murray, *Oxford English Dictionary*, *s.v.* Floret and Floss.

Enquiry into the Charges against Messrs. March and Vincent.

October the 10, *Tuesday.*—Att a Consultation, present:—Streynsham Master, Esq: [and Council as before].

Mr. Master demanded of the Councell whether Mr. Puckle had gonn through the examination of the Charge exhibited by Mr. Hall against Mr. March and Mr. Vincent,[1] that if the same were not done, he might now proceed upon it, according to the clause of the Honourable Companys letter to the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George, dated the 24th December, 1675, *Vizt.* . . .[2] To which the Councell all severally answered that the said Charge had binn fully examined as much as could be done according to the information given.[3]

Mr. Hall was then asked whether he had any other information or proofes which he had not allready produced. To which Mr. Hall answered in the negative that he had none.

Then Mr. Master proposed to the Councell that the late charge given in by Mr. Hall against Mr. John March deceased and Mr. Mathias Vincent, dated the 2: August, 1676,[4] about taken (*sic*) rupees two, thirteen annaes per Cent. of the money paid to the Merchants and weavers might be farther inquired into. And in order thereunto, that Mr. Vincent and Mr. Hall may be sworne as to what concerned Mr. March, they being in the Factory at that time; And Mr. Hall, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Littleton as to what concernes Mr. Vincent (they being resident in his time); and that some of the Merchants and weavers be examined upon this matter. To which the Councell all agreed.

The Oath to be administered by Mr. Master according to his Majestyes Charter to the Honourable Company and their Commission and Instructions to him.

[1] Major Puckle's instructions on this head were only general. He was ordered 'with the Agent and Councell to examine the truth of all such informations as are given against any of our Servants' (*Letter Book*, vol. iv., p. 153).

[2] The clause quoted is paragraph 35 of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George. It has already been given on p. 252.

[3] See Puckle's account, at the end of this Consultation, of what he had done in the matter since his arrival in 'the Bay.'

[4] I can find no trace of a paper of the 2nd August, 1676. See the allusion to it in the extract from Major Puckle's letter which follows this Consultation.

The forme of the Oath agreed upon.

You shall true answer make to all such questions as shall be put to you touching a charge exhibited by Joseph Hall against John March deceased and Mathias Vincent for chargeing one hundred rupees to accompt of the Honourable East India Company, when they payd the Merchants but ninty seaven rupees, three annaes; wherein you shall declare the trueth, the whole trueth, and nothing but the truth, Soe help you God and the Contents of this booke.

Which Oath the Councell are of opinion is not Repugnant to the Lawes of England.

Extract from a letter from Major Puckle to Sir William Langhorne, dated 19 *August*, 1676. *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 61.

After Mr. Hall had advice from Europe, Mr. Hall charged Mr. March and Mr. Vincent that they tooke 2 Rup: 13 a. per Cent. of the Silke merchants and Weavers for what of the Companies money they delivered. When he should prove it, he produced a Paper of these Contents. Mr. Clavell adminstred the oath that he should make true answer to such things as should be demanded of him by Wm. Puckle relating to that Paper, but before Mr. Hall kissed the Booke he said, 'the contents of the Paper is true,' and would not bee examined further or give any other proofe or evidence.

October the 11, *Wednesday*.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Councell proceeding to take depositions of those persons who were Yesterday agreed upon to bee sworne concerning the Charge exhibited by Mr. Hall against Mr. March deceased and Mr. Vincent. And it was first proposed to Mr. Hall to take the Oath then agreed upon, which he declineing, Mr. Master, in the Honourable Companys name, did require said Mr. Hall to make out his charge of the 2d August last, by takeing the said Oath and suffering examination thereupon, if he could doe it with a safe conscience. To which Mr. Hall made answer that the 2d August last he made affidavitt about Mr. March and Mr. Vincents takeing two rupees, thirteen annaes per Cent. out of the money paid the merchants and weavers, and that he will

not take any other Oath as to that matter, then that the Contents of that paper is true. Whereupon the Councell desired Mr. Hall to withdraw whilst they debated the matter how to proceed further.

Then the question was [asked] whether Mr. Hall had made affidavitt of his charge of the 2d August last, as he saith. Which being debated, the Councell who were then present all agreeing that these words following, *Vizt.* 'The Contents of this paper is true,' were not inserted in the forme of the oath then administred by Mr. Clavell the Cheife, The Councell here present doe declare (Except Mr. John Smith) That in their opinions Mr. Hall hath not made affidavitt of his charge against Mr. March deceased, and Mr. Vincent of the 2d August last. Mr. John Smith, not well understanding the nature of an affidavitt, doth not give his opinion therein, but agrees that those words, 'the Contents of this paper is true,' were not incerted in the forme of the Oath.

And the Councell doe farther declare that Mr. Joseph Hall, for not suffering examination upon the Oath administred the 2d August last, and now refuseing to take the Oath yesterday agreed upon, is unfaithfull to his trust and duty to the Honourable Company and Lyable to such Rules and orders as the Honourable Company in such cases have directed, which is left to farther consideration.

Whereupon Mr. Hall was sent for, and the resolves of the Councell in his absence read to him.

October the 11, *Wednesday afternoone.*—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

Mr. Hall delivered in a paper to the Councell of this date, the contents of which followeth, *Vizt.*,

To the Worshipfull Streynsham Master, Esq: and Councell.—The Second of August last I did, in Consultation, make affidavitt of Mr. Marches and Mr. Vincents takeing of the Marchants and weavers 2: rupees 13: annaes per Cent. out of what money they delivered them for the Honourable Companys accompt. But Mr. Clavell administring an oath Contrary to that of an affidavitt, I did declare, before I kissed the booke, that the

Contents of the paper was true. Whereupon you have this day declared your opinions that I did not then make affidavitt. Therefore I doe now declare myself ready to make affidavitt of the same to cleare up that business to the Honourable Company, and wipe of that you seem to Charge me with, of being unfaithfull to my trust and discharge of my duty to the Honourable Company, which I desire you in their names and behalfe to accept of from him that will prove himselfe their faithfull and your humble servant, JOSEPH HALL. *In Cassambazar, 11th October*, 1676.

After Reading of which, the Councell proceeded upon the Debate, and haveing read the Clause in his Majestyes Charter to the Honourable Company[1] wherein there is power granted to administer an oath in these words following, *Vizt.*,

'And for the better discovery of abuses and injuryes to bee done unto the Governour and Company or their Successors by any of their servants by them imployed in the East Indies or voyages thither, It shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governour and Company and their respective Presidents, Cheife Agent, or Governour in the said East Indies to examine upon Oath all Factors, Masters, Pursers, Supra Cargoes, Comanders of Castles, Forts, Fortifications, and Plantations or Colloneys, or other Persons Touching or Concerning any matter or thing which by Law or usage an oath may be administred, soe as the said oath and the matter therein Conteyned be not repugnant to the Lawes of this our Realme.'

And then perused the clause in Mr. Masters Commission and Instructions in these words following. . . .[2]

The Councell are of opinion that both his Majestyes Charter and the Honourable Companys Comission doe direct, for the discovering of abuses and injuryes done to them, to take examinations upon Oath. And the Councell are farther of opinion that the takeing of an affidavitt in this case (the Person being Present where he may bee examined upon Oath) is a way rather

[1] *Viz.*, the Charter of 13 Charles II., 3rd April, 1661. See *Charters granted to the East India Company from* 1601 (published 1774), p. 77 *et seq.*

[2] Here follows paragraph 4 of Master's Instructions, already given on p. 202.

to conceale then to discover the truth, and therefore doe not thinke fitt to take Mr. Halls affidavitt to his charge of the 2d August last. And the Councell doe further declare to Mr. Hall that if he doth yett refuse to take the Oath agreed upon yesterday for the makeing out of the truth of his charge, he is really unfaithfull in his trust and in the discharge of his duty to the Honourable Company, his and their Masters.

Mr. John Smith is not satisfied in his opinion but that an affidavitt might be taken.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October 11th.—This day there happened a fire in one of the out houses of this Factory, which was soone extinguished by pulling done (*sic*) the thatch. A like accident happened in the Cooke roome the same day I arrived here, which was burnt Downe, but did noe farther harme.

ENQUIRY INTO THE CHARGES AGAINST MESSRS. MARCH AND VINCENT (*continued*).

October the 12th, Thursday.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

Mr. Master asked Mr. Hall whether, after this time of Consideration, he was now willing to take the Oath agreed upon. To which Mr. Hall answered that he will not take the oath unlese his affidavitt may be taken first. Mr. Master Replyed he would make no bargaine with him; and the Councell are not satisfied in their opinions that the Kings Charter doth authorize the takeing of Affidavitts, nor that the Honourable Companys Commission and Instructions doth direct thereunto, Therefore doe not thinke fitt to receed from their Resolve yesterday, for reasons given in last Consultation. Mr. John Smith is not satisfied but that an affidavitt may be taken.

The Councell then proceeded to take the Depositions.

Mr. Vincent being sworne, some of the Councell moved that Mr. Hall, not submitting himselfe to this way of proceeding by examineing upon oath, as the Honourable Company have directed, might be desired to withdraw whilst others were

examined upon oath in that business. Mr. Hall being first desired to give in what questions he had to put in the case; which being put to the vote, it was carryed by the majority that he should be desired to withdraw.

Mr. Hall being then desired to give in what questions he had to Put, Replyed that he could not tell what questions to put if he must withdraw, and soe withdrew.

Mr. Marshall and Mr. Littleton being to be sworne concerning the Charge against Mr. Vincent, it was put to the vote whether Mr. Vincent should be desired to withdraw, and by the Major part carried that he should. Whereupon Mr. Vincent withdrew.

After each person was examined and had given their answers, it was asked by the others in Councell whether they had any other questions to put before each examinant signed his depositions.

After each person had signed his depositions, Mr. Hall was sent for, and the Depositions read to him, and then asked if he had any other questions to put which Concerned this Charge. To which Mr. Hall answered that he desired one question might be put to Mr. Vincent in the case of Mr. March. To which Mr. Vincent was accordingly sworne and [it] is entred in his depositions signed by himselfe.

Then Mr. Hall desired that the same quesition (*sic*) to which Mr. Vincent was sworne might be put to Mr. Littleton in the Case of Mr. Vincent, which was accordingly done.

Then Mr. Hall was asked if he had any other question to put Pertinent to the Charge. To which he answered in the negative, he had no other.

Mathias Vincent,[1] *aged thirty yeares*[2] *or thereabouts, being duely sworne, was examined and Deposeth as followeth* :—This Deponent Saith that he was in Cassambazar with Mr. March in the yeare 1670, and not in 1671 with Mr. March.

What doe you know concerning the Charge against Mr.

[1] From this point to the beginning of the Consultation of 30th October, 1676, there is another copy of the proceedings in Consultation at Kasimbazar in *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i. The duplicate varies slightly in wording, and the entries of the Diary (apart from Consultations) appear only in Master's copy.

[2] 'Thirty two yeares' in *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i.

March? I doe not know that ever Mr. March did take 2: rup: 13: ann: out of every hundred Rupees that he paid to the merchants and weavers for the Honourable Companys accompt.

Doe you know that Mr. March tooke or detained any other Summe more or less out of the money charged to the Honourable Companys accompt as paid to Merchants and weavers? I doe not know that Mr. March did take or detaine any summe of money more or less out of the money soe charged to the Honourable Companyes accompt.

Doe you know that any other Person, for Mr. Marches accompt or in his behalfe, did take or detaine any summe more or less out of the moneyes Charged to the Honourable Companys accompt as paid to merchants and weavers? I doe not know that any Person, for Mr. Marches accompt or in his behalfe, did take or detaine any summe more or less out of the moneyes charged the Honourable Companyes accompt as paid [to] Merchants and Weavers.

Doe you know that Mr. March did receive any summe of money more or less as an allowance, by the name of Dustore [*dastūr*, commission], upon accompt of the Honourable Companys money delivered out to the Merchants and Weavers to provide goods? I doe not know that he received any summe of money more or less as Dustoor upon accompt of the Companyes moneyes delivered out to the Merchants and Weavers to provide goods.—MATHIAS VINCENT. *Cassambazar, 12th October*, 1676

John Marshall, aged thirty three yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne and examined, deposeth as followeth:—

What doe you know concerning the charge against Mr. Vincent? I doe not know anything of it to be true.

Doe you know that Mr. Vincent hath taken or detained any summe more or less out of moneyes Charged to the Honourable Companyes accompts as paid to merchants and weavers? I doe not know that he hath taken or detained any summe more or less of any moneyes soe Charged as paid.

Doe you know that any person, in Mr. Vincents behalfe or for his accompt, hath taken or detained any summe more or

less out of any part of the moneyes charged to the Honourable Companyes accompt as paid [to] Merchants and Weavers? I doe not know that any Person, in his behalfe or for his accompt, hath taken or detained any summe of money more or less out of any part of the moneys soe charged as paid.

Doe you know that any person, by Mr. Vincents order, hath taken or detained any summe more or less out of any part of the moneyes Charged in the Honourable Companyes accompt as paid to merchants and weavers? I doe not know that any person, by his order or direction, hath taken or detained any summe more or less out of any part of the moneyes Charged in the Honourable Companys accompts as paid to Merchants and Weavers.—JOHN MARSHALL. *Cassambazar, le (sic) 12th October*, 1676.

Edward Littleton, aged thirty two yeares or thereabouts, being duely sworne, was examined, and deposeth as followeth:—

What doe you know concerning this Charge of Mr. Vincent takeing 2: rupees 13: annaes out of every hundred Rupees paid to Merchants and Weavers for the Honourable Companys accompt? I doe not know that any of that Charge is true.

Doe you know that Mr. Vincent hath taken or detained any summe more or less out of the moneys charged to the Honourable Companys accompt as paid to merchants and weavers? I doe not know that he hath taken or detained any summe more or less out of the moneys soe Charged as paid.

Doe you know that any person, for Mr. Vincents accompt or in his behalf, hath taken or detained any summe more or less out of any part of the money charged to the Honourable Companys accompt as paid to Merchants? I doe not know that any person, for his accompt or in his behalfe, hath taken or detained any summe more or less out of any part of the moneyes soe Charged.

Doe you know whether any Person, by Mr. Vincents order or direction or by his leave or Permission, hath taken or detained any summe more or less out of any part of the moneyes charged to the Honourable Companyes accompt as paid to Merchants

and Weavers? I do not know whether any Person, by his order or direction or by his leave or permission, hath taken or detained any Summe more or less out of any part of the moneyes soe Charged.

Doe you know that Mr. Vincent did receive any summe of money more or less as an allowance, by the name of Dustore, upon accompt of the Honourable Companys moneyes delivered out to the Merchants and Weavers to provide goods? I doe not know that he received any summe of money more or less as Dustore upon accompt of the Honourable Companys moneyes delivered out to the Merchants and Weavers to provide goods.

Did Mr. Hall acquaint you that he inte[n]ded to make Oath of this Charge of 2: Rupees, thirteen annaes per Cent. allowed by the Merchants and Weavers, and did you thereupon answer Mr. Hall that you knew it, but if it should be taken from the Cheifes, who would serve the Company, or words to that effect? I doe declare upon the Oath I have taken that Mr. Hall did never acquaint mee that he intended to make Oath of any such Charge as two Rupees, thirteen annaes, allowed by the Merchants and Weavers, nor did I answer Mr. Hall that I knew it, but if it should be taken from the Cheifes, who would serve the Company.—EDWARD LITTLETON. *Cassambazar, the 12th October, 1676.*

October 12th, Thursday afternoone.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

Mr. Master desired Mr. Hall to name to him or direct him to some of the merchants or Weavers that he might send for them and examine them upon the matter of 2: Rupees thirteen annaes per Cent. Mr. Hall answered that it is soe long since, that he cann remember none of their names, nor doth he beleive it is to any purpose to send for them, for that none of them will declare anything against the present Cheife of the place, whoever it bee.

Then Mr. Master proposed that Mr. Hall, haveing acquainted him that Supall [Sibpāl], the present Podaur to the Factory, had an allowance of one anna upon a hundred Rupees, and that Mr. Vincent had taken it from him, therefore the said Podaur

might be sent for and Examined. The most part of the Councell replyed that this was a new accusation and noe wayes relateing to the Charge of the 2d August last, yett thought Mr. Master might call him and examine him if he pleased. Whereupon the said Podaur was sent for and asked how long he had served the Company, who answered he had served them formerly in Mr. Kenns, Mr. Sheldons, and Mr. Powells time [1658–1669], and not afterward, till about a yeare agoe, and then Mr. Vincent entertained him.

Being asked what dustoor [commission] was taken of the Merchants and weavers, Hee answered there was Dustoor taken, but how much he cant tell, but whatever it was, it was writen in his bookes. Being asked what Dustoor he had for himselfe, hee answered that formerly he had had two annas upon 100: rupees, and now the weavers gave him one Cowry upon a Rupee, and his wages was now 8: Rupees per moneth.[1]

Then he was ordered to fetch his bookes, and a Peon went with him to bring them imediately, and they being brought accordingly, the Writers were sent for from the doore [the entrance hall], and one of them did read severall accounts in the bookes of money given out to Merchants and weavers; and in some of the said accompts, wherein Sicca Rupees were charged, there was Batta [premium] Charged at about 1¼ per Cent. for the most part,[2] and there was no Dustore found Charged in any of the said accounts in the bookes. Then the Podaur was told that there was batta written in his bookes, but noe Dustore. To which he replyed that whatever was, was there written in those bookes, and that he had noe other bookes.

Then there ariseing a debate in the Councell between Batta and Dustoor, the most part of the Councell understanding the Language and the use of those words, did agree that they were

[1] Taking the rupee as worth 3,200 cowries (*vide* Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 200), he meant to say that he used to get four cowries in the rupee, whereas now he only got one.

[2] It must be understood that in Master's time the 'sicca' rupee meant a newly coined rupee, in favour of which there was a batta (H., *bhaṭṭa*), or premium of 4, 5, and 6 per cent., as against rupees which had been already in circulation.

very often promiscuously used, especially amongst the Sheroffs or Podaurs.[1]

And for the Podaurs one Cowrey upon a Rupee (which the weavers give him), the Councell are of opinion that he well deserves soe small a matter, being something less then tenn pence Sterling upon a thousand Rupees,[2] for which he warrants all the money to be good that is received in and paid out, and keepes four or five servants and Writers to assist him. And the Councell doe know that there is a Sherofferage[3] more or less allowed in all these parts.

The foregoeing Depositions of Mr. Vincent, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Littleton, were taken in the Presence of the Councell, as mentioned in the preceeding Consultation of this day.

October the 13th, Fryday.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Councell haveing debated how to proceed upon the examineing of the Merchants and Weavers, as they resolved the 10th Instant, they came at this time to this result [decision]:—That Mr. Hall declareing he could remember none of their names, and if he could direct to any, yett it would be to noe Purpose to examine them, And the Councell being alsoe satisfied by the light they have had in the business, that it will be of little import or advantage to the Honourable Company, They doe therefore thinke fitt to desist from it, Since it may bring a disrepute upon their Cheife here, and consequently some prejudice to their affaires, and the doeing of it not like to prove beneficiall.

THE COMPANY'S CHARGE AGAINST MATTHIAS VINCENT.

The Councell then proceeded to examine matters relateing to the following Clause in the Honourable Companyes Letter to

[1] The *sarrāf*, or shroff, was the assayer, and the *poddār* was the weigher of money tendered or paid. Both were necessary officials, and both entitled to commission.

[2] Taking the rupee at 2s. 6d. at this period, this statement proves that rather more than 3,000 cowries went to the rupee in 1676, as Bowrey says.

[3] Assayers' or money-changers' commission, a word coined from 'shroff' (Ar., *sarrāf*, broker).

the Agent and Councell, *Vizt.* 'Wee are informed that our Factory at Cassambazar is frequently Visited by Jesuitts and Romish Preists that goe up and downe to Mr. Vincents wife and familey, which wee require to be wholly refrained if he stay and remaine in our Service.'[1]

In order whereunto the following Persons were examined who were Residents in this Factory dureing Mr. Vincents time of being Cheife, *Vizt.* Mr. Hall, Resident about four monethes at Mr. Vincents first comeing; Mr. Marshall, second here about four yeares an[d] a halfe; Mr. Littleton, Resident at times neare three yeares; Mr. Edwards, Resident all Mr. Vincents time and before; James Harding,[2] Resident about two yeares; John Naylor, Resident all Mr. Vincents time except the first three weekes.

The two first, Mr. Hall and Mr. Marshall, did never see any Jesuit or Romish [Priest] in this Factory. Mr. Littleton, Mr. Edwards, James Harding and John Naylor did never see any Jesuit or Romish Preist in the Factory untill about May last, when a Franciscan passed by in his way to Agra, as he pretended. And it is well knowne to all persons that have lived in Cassambazar that there is noe Convent house or place of Residence for Jesuits or Romish Preists to reside in at this towne or nearer this place then Hugly. And the Councell, after inquirey, are well Satisfied that none do use to live in this towne, and that Mr. Vincents wife and familey have not binn at Hugly since the yeare 1672; and for the Education of Mr. Vincents Children, which are three, one five yeares, one three yeares and the other nine monethes old,[3] that of five yeares comes dayly to prayers with the Factory, and is this yeare a goeing for England to be Educated there, the others not yett capable of Education.

October 13, *Fryday afternoone.*—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

[1] This is paragraph 36 of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George. See also paragraph 30 of the Company's General Letter to Hugli on p. 313.

[2] Elected writer 1st November, 1671 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 184).

[3] Two only of these children, Vincent and Theodore, outlived their father.

THE CASE OF RAGHU THE *PODDĀR*.

Decision with Regard to Mr. Vincent.

The Councell upon the debate did agree that it was requesite for them to take notice of and proceed upon the following clause in the Honourable Companyes Letter to the Agent and Councell:—'And if Mr. Vincent shall be found to have any hand in the death of Rugo Podaur or accessary thereunto, or hath binn unfaithfull in discharge of his trust, that then he be discharged our imployment and sent home.'[1] Then Mr. Vincent was desired, and did withdraw.

The Depositions and Examinations which have binn taken concerning the Death of Rugo Podaur haveing at this time binn debated, The Councell doe declare that, according to the evidence in the said Depositions, they doe not find that Mr. Matthias Vincent hath had any hand in the death of Rugo Podaur or binn accessary thereunto; but they find according to the said Depositions that Mr. Vincent was tender of him.

Mr. Hall dissents from the Councell as thus:—he finds that Mr. Vincent had noe hand in Rugo Podaurs death, but is not satisfied but that he might be accessary.

THE CHARGES OF JOSEPH HALL AGAINST MATTHIAS VINCENT.

The Council's Decision.

The Charge against Mr. Vincent in Mr. Halls narrative and his late Charge of the 2d August last and that in the Consultation of the 5th of this Instant October, Mr. Vincents answer to the former, and the Depositions and examinations which have binn taken upon all of them, haveing at the time binn debated, The Councell doe declare that, according to the Evidence, and as it appeares to them, they doe not find that Mr. Matthias Vincent hath binn unfaithfull in his trust.

[1] This clause is the latter part of paragraph 36 of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George. See p. 252.

Mr. John Smith is unsatisfied how to passe his judgment as to Mr. Vincents unfaithfullness, by reason that Mr. Halls and Mr. Edwards depositions Concerning the weight of silke[1] seem to differ.

Mr. Joseph Hall dissents from the Councell and saith Mr. Vincent is unfaithfull.

Upon the whole the Councell doe not find any reason that Mr. Mathias Vincent should be discharged of the Honourable Companyes imployment, nor sent home, but that he be Continued and incouraged in his imployment in the Honourable Companyes service, as a good and faithfull Servant, and recomended home accordingly.

Mr. John Smith only excepts against the wordes faithfull, for the reason in his former exception.

Mr. Joseph Hall excepts as he did before.

Upon some debates in the Councell, and Mr. Hall saying if the Cheife should refuse to give an Oath, 'twas the opinion of some that came lately out [of] England that an attestation under persons hands sent home might serve as well. Mr. Master thereupon replyed that it could not be said he had refused to give an oath, and for confirmation of it, tooke the *Holy Evangelist* in his hand, read the oath to Mr. Hall agreed to be taken in Consulation the 10th Instant, and requireing Mr. Hall to take the oath, tendred the booke to him, ordering the oath to be read over againe. But Mr. Hall refused to lay his hand on the booke, saying, I will not take that Oath, I will make affidavitt first and then I will take that oath. Mr. Master Replyed he would give him no other Oath but that. To which Mr. Hall answered (turning away), I shall not take it.

Mr. Vincent was then called in and the proceedings of the Councell in his absence read to him.

October 14, *Saturday*.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

[1] The 'weight of silke' is nowhere mentioned in Master's Diary. Possibly this remark refers to the evidence given before Major Puckle. In a letter to the Company of 12th November, 1671 (*O.C.*, No. 3600), Hall had accused March and Vincent of a 'Cheate on Rawe Silke' of four 'tolas per seer.'

THE DIARY (*continued*).

Mr. Master being informed by some of the Councell well experienced in these parts, that Maulda[1] (a Towne a dayes jorney from Rajamaull,[1] on the other side Ganges, where the Dutch have lately built a Factory) is a place where great Quantityes and Varietyes of Course goods, proper for Europe, are made and procured, as Cossaes, Hummums, Mulmulls, Alatches, Sushes,[2] and many other sorts very Cheape. And haveing direction in his Commission and Instructions that if any other sorts of goods may be found out proper for Europe, he shall advise with the Cheifes and Councell, touching the same, Did thereupon propose to the Councell that there might be a summe of 4 or 500: rupees layd out in Samples of 5 or 6 peices of each sort of goods procurable at Maulda, to be sent home by this yeares ships. To which the Councell agreed.

And Mr. Richard Edwards, being now goeing with the Honourable Companyes treasure to the mint at Rajamaull, It is thought fitt that, as soone as he shall put that business in a good forwardness, he doe make a Step over to Maulda to lay out the sume in all sorts of goods before mentioned, and to informe himself well of the manner of the trade in the place, and to give the Councell an account thereof in writeing.[3] And Mr. Vincent is desired to draw up instructions for him accordingly, and by reason he hath a Correspondence with the

[1] Mālda Town, or Old Mālda, at the confluence of the Kalindri with the Mahānanda, a tributary of the Ganges. Rājmahāl, formerly Agmahal, became the capital of Bengal in 1592, after the conquest of Orissa by Mān Singh, Akbar's Rājpūt General (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*). Rājmahāl lies about twenty miles north-west of Mālda.

[2] For 'Cossaes, Hummums, and Mulmulls,' see *ante*, notes on p. 307. Alatches, often called allejaes (Turki, *alācha;* H., *ilācha*), were silk cloths with a wavy pattern running lengthwise. Sushes, commonly called soosies (Pers., *sūsī*), were also silk cloths. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*, Alleja, Soosie, and Piece-goods.

[3] In compliance with these orders, Richard Edwards compiled the account of 'Maulda, the Scituation and Trade thereof,' which follows this Consultation. His report led to the foundation of a factory at English Bazar or Angrezabad, often called Englishavad, on the right bank of the Mahānanda, and lower down than Mālda. The settlement was, however, generally known as 'Maulda factory.' See Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. vii., p. 48 *et seq.;* and Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. i., pp. 87-89.

Governor at Maulda, it is thought Convenient he write a letter of Recomendations to him for Mr. Edwards to Carry. And by reason of Mauldas neare Sittuation to Rajamaull, The Councell are of opinion (if it shall be thought fitt to settle a Factory there) that it will be a great Convenience to the Honourable Companyes affaires to Consigne the treasure (which is usually sent hence to Rajamaull) to that Factory to be minted and sould under their Charge and care.

Mr. Clavell was desired to answer the Letter lately received from Dacca, and that a Letter be directed in Persian to the Nabobs Duan to stop the eager demands of the Present by promise of some horses lately come from Persia, which he, haveing notice of, hath desired.

Coppy of Mr. Richard Edwards Letter about Maulda, the Scituation and Trade thereof.[1]

Rajamaule, December 6th, 1676. — Worshipfull Sir, etc. Councell. The 26: past moneth dispeeded from Maulda one Bale No.M.qt. [containing] the severalls bought there for musters [samples], amounting, as per Invoice sent with them, to Rupees 845:, each peice being ticketted according to order. What I could observe of the Place and trade dureing my small stay there, please to take as followeth :—

The Towne is small, but conveniently seated on a branch of the Ganges and a small river from Morung which joyne a little above the Towne,[2] which is of great resort, being the staple of cloth etc. for that part of the Countrey, and comes in from all parts within thirty or fourty myles. The cheife trade driven there is by Factors of Agra, Guzzaratt [Gujarāt], and Bannares Merchants, who yearly send them from fifteen to twenty five Pattelaes [*paṭelā*], whose Ladeing consists of Cossaes and mull-mulls from 1½ Rupees to five rupees per peice, and mundeels [*mandīls*] and Elatches of all sorts, valued at about one Lack

[1] This paper comes fifth in order in the appendices to Master's Diary. It is given here for the sake of sequence.

[2] The streams of the Mahānanda and Kalindri rivers, both tributaries of the Ganges, meet at Mālda, the Kalindri being the continuation of the Panar, which rises in the Murang district of Nepal.

each Pattella, and about the halfe of that amount by landing said goods and raw silk (in goodness inferiour to that procured about Cassambazar). What goes by land is send hence in Aprill or May, and that by water as soone as the river begins to fall, which is usually about the latter end of August, and in September; and about three Lack of Rupees yearly goes to Dacca in Elaches and course cloth, and about the same value to petty merchants of Rajamaule and Muxadevad [Rājmahāl and Murshidābād] and other places below. The weavers very willingly ingage in any new sort of worke, either of white cloth or silk of different Lenghts (*sic*), breadthes, fineness, colour, or stripe, is [? if] bespoake. Elce for the usuall vend of the place they seldome exceed 36: Covids long and two Ditto broad, and 5: rupees price for Cossaes and mullmulls; and 15: Covids long and 1½ broad Elatches to 4: rupees price; Ditto of nine Covids long and one and halfe broad to 2: rupees 8: annaes; and Soosyes and Chundenyes[1] of 15: Covids long, 1½ broad, to three rupees to the finer and Larger sorts. Money is given out by the merchants, but indeed cheifely by the Dutch, who first brought them to 40: Covids Long and 2¼ Ditto broad and from 6 to 11 rupees, and now to 40 Covids long and three broad from 9: to 15: per peice, Cossaes and Mullmulls, and used to carry on their Investments all the yeare, but cheifely from February to September; and what merchants give out money doe it the same time alsoe, but the Factors above mentioned, who make the most considerable part of the trade, buy all in with ready money, and beging [begin] at the same season somewhat latter or thereabouts, but to be ready about the fall of the river. The greatest Investment the Dutch have made there was 50000 rupees. Neither Hummums, Baftas nor Checklas[2] are made there, but at Seerpoore Merchua,[3] soe that sent noe Samples of them, being not many procurable, and those that are, very deare, and indeed soe are most of the Samples now sent, they being of those sorts the Dutch buy and not common

[1] H., *chāndnī*, a white cloth for spreading over a carpet, a drugget.

[2] Bafta (Pers., *bāfta*), a kind of calico. Checkla (H., *chaklā*), a mixed silk and cotton fabric. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*, Bafta and Piece-goods.

[3] Perhaps the two small villages in the Mālda district, Syāpūr and Mochiā, are meant.

to that markett; soe that, upon giveing out money, I beleive they would come out 8: or 10: per Cent. cheaper. The merchant of whome [I] bought these hath by him a parcell of cloth which beleive would afford cheaper, The Dutch haveing upon a quarrell betwixt them and their merchants turned them upon his hands againe, who will hardly find any chapman [trader] for them but we or they; the quantity and Contents as followeth:—

	Rupees.	
150: peices of Cossaes, 40: Covids Long, 3: Dto. broad - - -	13: to	14:
50: peices Dto. - - - -	11½	12½
25: peices Dto. - - - -	10:	11:
100: peices Dto., 40: Covids long, 2½ Dto. broad - - - -	9:	10:
50: peices Dto. - - - -	7½	8½
50: peices Dto. - - - -	6¾	7½
400: peices Dto., 35: Covids long, 1¾ Dto. broad - - - -	5:	7:
300: peices Mullmulls, 36: Covids long, 2: Dto. broad - - -	5:	7:

I have sent [of] each sort of the musters 6: peices, except three which I cannot tell whether fitt for England, and therefore bought noe more then two peices each, *Vizt.*, Adathyes,[1] Elatches Nehallewar,[2] and Mundeels,[3] which last are much in request for Persia. The vend of imported goods is very inconsiderable, some small quantityes of Pepper, Copper, Tynn, Tuttenagg[4] may goe off, but they usually supply themselves from Sudelapore [Sa'adu'llāhpūr, Sadoolapore] which is about four or five myles distance. Saltpeter there is made in or night [*sic*] that place, and [? but] I conceive the Countrey not fit for it, being low and marish and full of Tancks.

At my returne, found the business at the mint had gone on

[1] Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, suggests that Adaty is derived from H., *ādhā*, half, and was used to indicate cotton goods of half the ordinary length. The word is really *adhotar*, *dhotar*, *dhotrī*, *dhotī*, a fine, loosely woven material, a loin-cloth.

[2] Silk cloths for bedding (H., *nihālī*).

[3] P., *mandīl*, *mindal*, towel, napkin, table-cloth, loin-cloth.

[4] Port, *tutenaga*, spelter—*i.e.*, zinc or pewter.

exceeding Slowly, the cheifest obstruction being the sickness of the workemen. The next day after I came the Coyner dyed, and, haveing with much adoe got another, hee proves soe bad a workman that whereas a good Coyner would Stamp in a day 10000 [? 1000] rupees, we gett not now 700: or 800: rupees; and of those a quarter part or more bad stampt, but hope, with what have in the house, in three dayes more to send away about 15000: rupees, and in three or four dayes after 10000: rupees more. Mr. Knipe haveing at last got out a Dustick,[1] left this place the 17: past moneth while I was in Maulda, hope he is safe in Pattana ere this time.

Not more offering at present, save tender of my due respects, Subscribe, Worshipfull Sir etc., Your most humble Servant,

RICHARD EDWARDS.

October 16, *Munday*.—Att a Consultation, Present :—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Gennerall Letters to Pattana and Dacca drawn up by Mr. Clavell were Read and approved off. Instructions to Mr. Richard Edwards for his goeing to Rajamaull with the Honourable Companyes treasure, and to Maulda, were read and approved off.

Mr. Richard Edwards and George Knipe sealed new Indentures for three yeares, the former as Merchant, the other as factor, and new bonds for two thousand pounds a peice. Mr. Clavell tooke the said Indentures and bonds into his possession, which are to be sent home this yeare.

Mr. Edwards nominates for his security Mr. Christopher Thomlinson, Mr. Richard Hamerson,[2] Mr. Henry Powell, Mr. William Street, of London, Merchants.

Mr. Knipe nominates for his security Mr. Edward Knipe, his Father, at Chelsey; Mr. Edward Watts, his Unckle, of Mark laine, London.[3]

[1] P., *dastak*, a pass, or permit.

[2] This name is given as Hammerton in *Factory Records*, *Kasimbazar*, vol. i.

[3] These were the same sureties as those given when George Knipe was elected writer, in 1670 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 72).

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October 16*th*.—This Evening, about 8: a Clock, it pleased God that Major Wm. Puckle dyed; haveing kept his Chamber of a Delirium about 12 dayes.

October 17*th*, *Tuesday*.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

It haveing pleased God to take Mr. Wm. Puckle out of this world last night, The Councell considering what was fitt to be done with those Concernes he hath left behind him, have thought fitt to appoint Mr. John Marshall and Mr. Edward Littleton to take an Inventory thereof, with Mr. Samuell Puckle his (*sic*) eldest son of the deceased, and to leave them with him. And for the Papers which were in his custody, relating to the Honourable Companys affaires, to take a list of them and deliver them to Mr. Master. It is thought fitt to write to Fort St. George to give the Agent and Councell an account of Major Puckles deceased (*sic*).

The treasure ordered to the mint haveing taken up soe much time to be weighed here, Mr. Edwards and Mr. Knipe could not be dispatched untill this day, when their dispatches were delivered them.

MR. WM. PUCKLES INVENTORY.[1]

Inventory of Goods and Necessaryes of Major Wm. Puckle deceased, taken the 18*th October*, 1676.

Imprimis.

2: peices of Sannoes.
1: peice of course mullmulls [*malmal*].
1: peice of Silk elatche [*alācha*].
6: small Looking glases plates.
1: Concave mettle [looking-glass].
2: Glases for small Pictures.
2: Japan Fanns.
1: Persia Standish [inkstand].
1: paire of gold Scales and weights.
1: pair of corrall Scales.
1: Microscope.
2: Brass chaines Small.
1: Tobacco box turned.
1: English Touch Stone.
1: Burning glasse.
1: Touchstone.
2: Razzors.

[1] This list is given with the miscellaneous papers at the end of Master's Diary.

2: pair of Sissers.
1: Silver hilted Sword.
1: Belt.
1: Cane with a Silver head.
A Japan caine covered with Sealeskin.
A Staff of Buffaloes horne, head and foot tipp't with Silver.
5: Mocco Stones [moss agates].
1: Single peice of Maldiva Cocon[ut].
1: Case of medicines.
1: Case of Spirits.
1: Large Bible.
1: Printed Booke in folio.
3: Ditto in quarto.
1: Ditto in Octavio.
1: Manuscript in quarto.
5: Ditto in Octavio.
Sellers Mapps.[1]
1: Velvett Coate.
1: Elatche [*alācha*] coate with gold stripe[s].
1: Hatt.
1: Perrewigg.
2: Suites moores [Muhammadans] clothes.
20: Small gold Buttons.
1: pair large gold Ditto.
3: Small Ditto for Shirts.
1: gold box with 2: Snakes Stone[s].[2]
1: gold ring with his coate of armes.
1: Silver Tobacco box.
1: Jebee [*jībhī*] or Tongue Scraper.
1: pair of hookes for curtai[ns].
1: Silver tooth picker in a case.
3: Small Japan boxes.
1: Chanck [conch] shell tip't with gold.
1: Ditto tip't with Silver.
1: Boors tuske tiped with Silver.
1: Flaske or touch box[3] of an Alligators tooth tipped with Silver.
A Penknife.
A Tuttenagg Coozer [H., *kūza*, goblet] with a Silver head.
A Small cup of Buffaloes horne.
4: cups of Rehnocers horne.
1: Ditto large, tip't with Silver.
One case with a large glasse and some Tobacco.
One Tobacco Stopper tipped with Silver at both ends.
4: Gasper Antonio Stones.[4]
1: Cup Zeilger wood.[5]

[1] John Seller, a map maker and publisher in the seventeenth century. He was afterwards hydrographer to King William III.

[2] A popular antidote in India for snakebite.

[3] A box for powder for priming matchlocks; part of a soldier's equipment when matchlocks were used. I am indebted to Sir James Murray for this definition, as well as for instances of the use of the word from 1549 to 1780.

[4] Goa stones, so named from Gasper Antonio, a Paulinist lay-brother, who dispensed them. The stones had a supposed medicinal value. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Goa Stone.

[5] Zeilger wood is *lignum aloë*, commonly known as eagle-wood. The name in the text no doubt represents that by which it was commercially known at the

4: Spoones.
1: Ring with a Seale.
1: paire of Pearle measur[es].
1 Tobacco Stopper.

1: Chaine small.
8: Rings with falce Stone[s].
7: Fannames [fanams] of Madrass.

A List of Papers that were in Mr. Puckle's Custody, 1676.

A List of Papers of Mr. Wm. Puckles, belonging to the Honourable East India Company, taken upon his decease, and sent to England upon ship Johanna by Mr. Samuell Puckle his Sonn, Vizt.[1]

Proceedings upon the Auditors papers[2] No. 1: being all in one booke intire (two copyes, whereof one left in the Bay, one Ditto at the Fort),[3] qt. [containing] *Vizt.*

1st. Mr. Clavells answer to what of the Narrative[4] concerne[d] him, and the Proceedings thereon.

2d. Mr. Edward Reades answer to his part and the proceedin[gs] thereupon.[5]

3dly. Mr. Mathias Vincents answer to what concerned hi[m], and the proceedings thereupon.[6]

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time. It is found in Rumphius' *Herbarium Amboinense*, lib. ii., cap. xi., tom. ii., pp. 29-31 (1741), as *xylaloë*, or wood-aloe. The Malay term is *gahru, garu, garo*, whence xylgaru, or colloquially, zeilger. I am indebted to Colonel Prain and Dr. Stapf, of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, for hints leading to this identification.

[1] This list is among the Appendices to Master's Diary.

[2] These papers had been delivered to Puckle, with his Instructions, before he left England, in 1674.

[3] The words in round brackets appear as marginal notes in the original.

[4] The full title of Hall's charge is 'A Narrative relating to the Honble. Company's affairs in Cassumbazar, Huglie and Ballasore, during the small time of Joseph Hall's being admitted to their service.' A copy of the document, dated in Madapollam, 2nd January, 1673, is to be found in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., pp. 142-152.

[5] These 'proceedings' took place on Puckle's arrival at Hugli, in June, 1676 (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 41).

[6] Major Puckle began the examination of the charge of Joseph Hall against Messrs. Clavell, Vincent, and Reade in May, 1676, at Balasor. 'The 15 and 17 Instant Mr. Hall was sworne by the Cheife for the proofe of his narrative against Mr. Clavell, Mr. Vincent and Mr. Reade, sent the Honble. Company 1672 [1673], to which he hath hitherto produced little more evidence then his owne, and little of that positive, especially what relates to Mr. Clavell and Mr. Reade,

Proceedings upon the Auditors papers No. 4:, contained in 13: papers, numbred one, and soe onward (One Copy at the Fort, No. 4).

Proceedings on the Auditors paper No. 6:, contained in 7: papers, num[bered] one, and soe onward (One Copy at the Fort, No. 6).

Proceedings on the Auditors paper No. 9:, contained in 2 paper[s], No. 1: and 2:, the Originalls from England (One Copy at the Fort, No. 9).[1]

Proceedings of the Councell about Mr. Nurse,[2] containeing 10: pa[pers], numbred 1:, and soe onwards (2: Copyes, whereof one Coppy in the Bay, 1: Ditto at the Fort, No. A).

Proceedings of the Councell about Mr. Halls account,[3] contained in 9: papers, numbred 1:, and soe onward successively (2: Coppyes, whereof 1: Copy in the Bay, 1: Copy at the Fort).

Proceedings of the Councell about Mr. Smithes account,[4] contained in 6: papers, No. 1:, and soe onward (2: Copyes, whereof 1: Coppy in the Bay, 1: Copy at the Fort, No. C.).

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insisting much upon reports of deceast and absent Persons, and it is doubted that upon Mr. Clavells evidence, Mr. Hall will appeare more of hate then master' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 41). The examination of Vincent was conducted at Kasimbazar in the August following: 'Arriving at Cassumbazar, Mr. Vincent answered the Narrative so farr as it concerned him, but Mr. Hall refused to be examined againe to prove the matters charged on Mr. Vincent, saying hee had been twice sworne and examined to his Narrative, therefore refused to bee examined any more, or to produce any Witnesses' (*op. cit.*, p. 61).

[1] While at Kasimbazar in August, 1676, Puckle wrote to Fort St. George, and remarked: 'Sundry Papers received from the auditors charging this Factory [Kasimbazar] with Irregular entryes, expences, &ca. examined and answered' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 61).

[2] This was the first of the cases examined by Puckle. The inquiry took place in May, 1676, at Balasor. Nurse charged Clavell with 'Impeeding his succession, and detaining his Arrears of Sallary, dyet money &ca.' Clavell retaliated by accusing Nurse of 'many misdemeanours and debaucheries.' 'Sufficient irregularities' were proved against Nurse to warrant his dismissal from the Company's service; but, on consideration of his being 'an antient Servant, his great necessitie,' and his promise of amendment, he escaped with a warning, and was ordered to serve the Company at Dacca with a salary of £10 per annum.

[3] A claim of Rs. 2,326 10¼a. against Hall was examined on the 25th May, 1676, by Puckle, 'who reduced it to Rupees 493' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 42).

[4] The claim against Smith was for Rs. 941 2½a. This also was reduced, after the inquiry, to Rs. 345 7a. In the case of both Hall and Smith, their 'dyet money, servants wages, &c.,' were deducted for the time they absented themselves from their posts without leave (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 42).

A Charge of Mr. Halls against Mr. Vincent[1] and the proceedings thereon in 3: papers, No. 1: 2: 3: (One Copy at the Fort, D.).

A Charge of Mr. John Smithes against Mr. Walter Clavell,[2] contained in one booke intire (Two Copyes, whereof 1: Coppy in the Bay, 1: Copy at the Fort, E.).

A Charge of Mr. Mathias Vincents against Mr. Joseph Hall,[3] qt. [contained] in two papers, No. 1: 2: (One Copy at the Fort, F.).

Auditors papers, No. 1: to No. 12: inclusive; of these No. 4: 5: 6: 10: left in the Bay, No. 1: 2: 3: 7: 8: 11: 12: at the Fort, No. 9: returned for England.

Sundry Mixed Papers, Vizt.

Mr. Mathias Vincents answer to severall perticulers in Mr. Puckles commission (One Copy at the Fort).

Mr. Edward Reades answer to said Perticulers (One Copy at the Fort).

Mr. John Marshall his reason against dealing with one merchant (Copy taken since at the Fort).[4]

Mr. Bugdens reasons against the same (Copy since for the Fort).

Mr. Joseph Hall his reason against dealing with one merchant and registring of private trade (Copy taken since for the Fort).

Mr. John Smithes reason against the same (Copy since for the Fort).

Account of English at Ballasore not in the Companyes service,[5] drawne up by Mr. Bugden (Entered in Diary, p. 24).

Account of remaynes of goods in Ballasore the 22: Aprill, 1676 (Entered in Diary, p. 27: 28:).

[1] This charge (*O.C.*, No. 3600) was received by the Company in 1672, and sent back by them for an inquiry to be made.

[2] This charge was delivered to Puckle at Balasor on the 18th May, 1676, and was examined at Hugli in the following month, when Puckle found it 'had but very slender proofes' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 41).

[3] This is probably the 'charge' which is given in full with the proceedings of the 26th October, 1676. See the Consultation of that date which follows.

[4] In Puckle's Instructions (*Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 157), he was ordered to find out whether it was to the Company's 'interest to deal with one, or two, or many merchants.'

[5] This list was drawn up in accordance with a clause in Puckle's Instructions.

Mr Joseph Halls reasons for not signing severall Consultations at Cassambazar (Entered in Consultation booke, p. 65: 66:).[1]

Mr. John Smithes request to reside in Dacca for one yeare[2] (Entered in Consultation booke, p. 29).

The Honourable Company's Title to Rajamaull house[3] (Copy since for the Fort).

An Index of papers, No. A. B. C. D. E. F. (Copy since for the Fort).

Coppy of Mr. Puckles letter to the Honourable Company, 1675 (At the Fort).

2: Coppyes of Mr. Puckles Diary from the 3d February, 1675-6 to the Primo September, 1676 inclusive (Sent to England; at the Fort).

Sundry papers relating to Madras and Metchlepatam, being 49, numbered one, and soe onwards (Sent for England).

Copy of Mr. Puckles Diary for the Yeare 1675 (At the Fort).[4]

One Sticklack weight, 5: Seer, of Cassambazar Factory[5] (Sent for England).

One parcell of 27: Sicca rupees, Sealed with 4: severall seales (Sent for England).

The Perticulers above mentioned for England are put into a box covered with wax cloth, sealed and directed to the Honourable Company, which I doe acknowledge to have

[1] There are no copies extant of Consultations at Kasimbazar in 1676 prior to Master's arrival in October. In his letter of the 19th August, 1676, already noted (see *ante*, p. 385), Puckle remarked: 'Mr. Hall refuses to signe severall Consultations where sundry Particulars in his narrative are disproved.'

[2] There is no other record of this request.

[3] This appears to refer to the house occupied by the Company's servants when they were sent to Rājmahāl to superintend the coinage of silver into rupees. In 1683 the house was in need of repair. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. i., p. 98.

[4] This and Vincent's charge against Hall appear to be the only two documents among those left by Puckle that now exist. The Diary is preserved at the India Office, and is catalogued as *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. xii.

[5] In his letter of the 19th August, 1676, Puckle wrote: 'The weight used in receiving and packing Silke, being of sticklack, tryed, and found good, ordered to be sent for England.' Hall had complained in 1671 (*O.C.*, No. 3600) that weights made of lac were used at Kasimbazar in order that Vincent might, without detection, substitute lighter for heavier weights to serve his own ends.

received from Streynsham Master and promise to deliver when, please God, I arrive in England.—SAMUELL PUCKLE. *January 15th*, 1676-7.

The perticulers above mentioned, noted for Fort St. George, I doe acknowledge to have received of the Worshipfull Streynsham Master, Esq:, to keep in the Register.—JOHN NICKS, Secretary. *Fort St. George, 20th January*, 1676-7.

CASSAMBAZAR, 1676.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October 17th.—This day, about ten a Clocke, the Corpes of Major Wm. Puckle was burried in the Garden, five Persons of the Dutch being at the Funerall, the Herse carried by the Young men in the Factory, The Pawle being held up by four of the Councell, and three Volleyes fired at the grave by 14 Musqueteers Composed of the Souldiers, weavers, dyers, Throwsters and Servants.[1]

This night there arrived[2] Chests of silver from Hugly, but it was not thought fitt to stop Mr. Edwards and Mr. Knipe to send it with them to the mint, the Councell thinking that what already laden to goe with them was enought to be adventured at one time.

October 18th, Wednesday.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

A Letter to the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George was read and approved off.[3]

[1] Writing of the ceremony to Fort St. George on the following day, 18th October, 1676, Master remarked: 'Wee Interr'd him [Major Puckle] yesterday with as greate solemnitie as the place afforded, though not according to his merrits and our Inclinations' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 68). On the 31st October the construction of 'a tombe over the Major' was in progress (*O.C.*, No. 4228).

[2] Hiatus here in the manuscript.

[3] This letter, to be found in *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 68, gives a brief account of affairs in 'the Bay' from the arrival of Major Puckle and Walter Clavell at Kasimbazar in May, 1676, until the coming of Master in October, and the further 'proceedings' after that date.

THE CHARGES OF MESSRS. HALL AND SMITH AGAINST WALTER CLAVELL AND EDWARD READE.

The Council's Decision.

Mr. Clavell haveing made a motion to the Councell that they would peruse and examine Mr. Halls narrative and Mr. Smithes Charge against him and his answers thereunto, and the Depositions and Examinations taken thereupon,[1] and to declare their opinions or Judgment wherein he is innocent or Culpable in the same, And Mr. Reade requesting the like as to what [hath] benn alledged against him in the said Narrative, Both of them profering to be examined upon their Oathes for the Honourable Companyes full satisfaction therein, The Councell resolved to enter upon the debate, and desired them to withdraw, which accordingly they did.

Upon the debate of the said motion and request, it was propounded to Mr. Hall and Mr. Smith whether they had any farther proofes to produce for the makeing out their Charges and allegations against Mr. Clavell and Mr. Reade.[2] To which they answered in the Negative.

The Councell then long debateing concerning the said Narrative and Charge, did find nothing of importance to the Honourable Companys dammage, or of unfaithfullness in Mr. Clavell and Mr. Reade made out against them, And thought fitt to leave it to the Honourable Company whether their examinations upon their oathes in this Case shall be taken.

[1] This refers to the examination of the case before Major Puckle: 'The 18th [May, 1676] Mr. John Smith delivered a Charge to Major Puckle against Mr. Clavell qt. [containing] 27 Articles, their contents in appearance of greate consequence, to which Mr. Clavell is now preparing his Answer and seemes unconcerned, Referring it to the decision of proofes upon oaths, the examination of which is referred to their arrivall in Hugley' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 41).

[2] In his 'Narrative' Hall charged Clavell with deceiving the Company, especially in regard to John March's effects; with hurrying him away from Kasimbazar, and thereby preventing him from collecting his dues; with appropriating, in collusion with Reade, 5 per cent. on the Company's goods at Hugli; and also, with Reade's support, of poisoning the Company's mind against him. Reade was further accused of untrustworthiness, of sorting cloth to the Company's disadvantage, and of extensive private trade.

Mr. John Smith gives not his opinion of the importance of his charge,[1] how far it is made out against Mr. Clavell, but leaves it to the Honourable Company to judge thereof.

Mr. Hall leaves it to the Honourable Company to judge what of importance or unfaithfullness is made out against them.

Mr. Clavell and Mr. Reade was sent for and the proceeding of the Councell in their absence read to them.

Mr. Nurse haveing made it his desire to Mr. Master that he might have some better imployment in the Bay then was allotted him in the Consultation of the 8th May last,[2] or elce that he might have leave to goe to the Fort, The Councell thought fitt to grant the latter, and doe premitt him to goe to the Fort by these Shipps.

October 19th, Thursday.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

Mr. Vincent acquainted the Councell that the Merchants were come to treate about the Floretta Yarne to be provided and sent home this yeare.[3] The Councell left it to Mr. Vincent, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Littleton to contract with the Merchants for the same and to make report thereof.

WALTER CLAVELL'S CHARGE AGAINST JOHN SMITH.

The Councell thought fitt now to proceed upon the takeing the proofes of Mr. Clavells charge against Mr. John Smith, delivered in the first of September,[4] the examination of which was formerly deffered untill Mr. Masters arrivall.

Mr. Clavell nominated for wittnesses Mr. Read, Mr. Hervy, and himselfe, besides some papers under Mr. Smithes owne hand for further evidence.

The forme of the Oath agreed upon.

You shall true answer make to all such questions as shall be put to you touching a Charge exhibited the first day of September last by Walter Clavell against John Smith, in behalfe of

[1] There is no copy of Smith's 'Charge' extant.
[2] *Viz.*, to 'Recide at Dacca with Mr. Hall.'
[3] The quantity ordered was 50 bales.
[4] The copy of the 'Charge' follows the Consultation of the 20th October.

the Honourable East India Company, wherein you shall declare the trueth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, soe help you God and the Contents of this booke.

Which oath the Councell are of opinion is not repugnant to the Lawes of England, and is to be administred by Mr. Master, Cheife, according to his Majestyes Charter to the Honourable Company, and their Commission and Instructions to him.

Mr. Clavell desired that himselfe and wittnesses might have time untill to morrow morneing to recollect themselves, by reason their thoughts have of late binn diverted and imployed in many other businesses. To which the Councell agreed.

October 20th, Fryday. — Att a Consultation,[o] Present :— STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

Mr. Vincent etc. acquainted the Councell that they had agreed with the Merchants for Floretta Yarne at 2 rupees 6 annaes for a Seer of seaventy rupees Sicca, or Tollaes Coucha,[1] according to musters now produced, which is cleane boyled out of the Gumm, in the three sortes, *Vizt.*, Head [first quality] 40: Seer, belly [second quality] 25:, and foot [third quality] fifteen seer. The Councell approved of the bargaine and recomended it to them to gett the quantity desired.

WALTER CLAVELL'S CHARGE AGAINST JOHN SMITH (*continued*).

It was moved that Mr. John Smith might withdraw whilst the wittness[es] were examined upon Oath upon the charge exhibited against him, as had binn practised in the case of Mr. Clavell, Mr. Vincent, and Mr. Reade. Which being debated, and Mr. Masters declaring that unless Mr. Smith would willing[ly] submitt thereto, as Mr. Vincent[c] did in the business of Rugo Podaur, he was not satisfied that it was according to the custome and usage of England, and soe might incure some inconveniency to himselfe thereby. And it being put to Mr. Smith whethere he would submitt to that method, Hee answered he was not willing to withdraw without order.

Whereupon Mr. Master, not thinkeing fitt to put it to the

[1] *Viz.*, *tolās* cutcha (*kachhā*). The cutcha *tolā* was the smaller, as compared with the pucka (*pakkā*) or full-sized *tolā*.

Councell whether he should be ordered to withdraw for the reason aforesaid, Mr. Clavell, Mr. Vincent and Mr. Reade thought themselves hardly dealt withall that they had not had the same priveleidge and liberty which the Custome and Usage of England allowes them, and desired that such their Resentments might be entered in the Consultation.[1]

Then the Charge and the answer thereto was reade.

When the Councell was riseing, Mr. Vincent delivered in a Charge against Mr. Hall, in the Honourable Companyes behalfe, Consistin of 26 Articles,[2] which was read, and a Coppy thereof ordered to be delivered to Mr. Hall, And Mr. Vincent minded to gett his wittnesses and Proofes ready when the Councell shall thinke fitt to take their examinations, that time might not be lost, nor the wittnesses surprized.

Coppy of Mr. Walter Clavells Letter to W. P. [William Puckle] about a Charge exhibited by him against John Smith [dated 1st September, 1676].

Major Wm. Puckle, Sir, I promised you in my answer to Mr. John Smithes charge to give you a paper apart of his miscarraidges, but was all [?at] that time prevented by suffering Mr. Smith to goe on with his pretended proofes against me. And though I have severall proofes to bring in my vindication to the matters conteyned in that Charge, and explanatory of somewhat which is maliciously inserted in Mr. Smithes Depositions, yett some of my wittnesses being expected as yett to come to Bengala, and others absent, whome I knew not I should have occasion to make use of untill I heard where the Stress of

[1] Under Major Puckle the examinations of the various charges of the Company's servants against each other had been conducted as follows: 'The method of proceedings are, what ever charges or complaints are exhibited against any person, the defendant hath Coppie of it and gives his answer thereto in writing. After which the Complainant proceeds to his proofes, to which the Cheife doth, without Scruple, administer oaths to all whome the Plaintife requires it. Upon which the Cheife withdrawes when any thing concernes himselfe, and Refers the Examination and Interrogatories to the Major &ca., which way of oaths they more urge themselves then desired by the Major' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 41, Letter to Fort St. George, dated Balasor, 25th May, 1676).

[2] Vincent had already brought a 'Charge' against Hall in Major Puckle's time.

Mr. Smithes evidence would lye against me, I remitt that part till your comeing to Ballasore, when I doubt not I shall be able to wipe off the blemish Mr. Smith hath endeavoured to throw upon me.

And as I formerly offered you to administer an Oath to any that should be produced as wittnesses against me, and refer the examination thereof to you, soe I shall now, upon Mr. Masters arrivall, subject myselfe (upon Oath) to his and your examination, if you shall think it reasonable to demand it of me, that thereby the staine which the mallice of Mr. Hall, Smith and Nurse would cast upon me might be removed. The whole matter I shall referr to the Companyes justice for a finall determination.

I now exhibit a Charge against Mr. John Smith, which I desire he may have a Coppy of, and give answer too, and then I shall not be long in produceing my proofes.—I am, Sir, Your very humble Servant, WALTER CLAVELL.

Walter Clavells Charge against Mr. John Smith, late Resident at Dacca, exhibited against him the primo September, 1676.

1st. That dureing his Residence in Hugly, anno 1669,[1] he tooke severall quantityes of broad cloth, Quicksilver, Lead and Tinn out of the Honourable Companyes warehouses there, which he sent or carried with him to be sold in other Factoryes to his owne advantage and the Companyes lose.

2d. That at his leaveing Hugly and proceeding to Dacca,[2] he tooke with him the Honourable Companyes Cash Hugly, amounting from 3 to 4000: Rupees.

3d. That he tooke out of the first Investment he made at Dacca for the Company the summe of 600: rupees.[3]

4th. That he did throw in upon the Goods bought for the Company his perticuler extraordinary Charges.

[1] John Smith was at Hugli from the 5th March till the end of April, 1669 (*O.C.*, Nos. 3255 and 3270).

[2] John March was sent to represent the Company at Dacca at the end of April, 1669, and Smith went with him as his assistant (*O.C.*, No. 3270).

[3] When March left Dacca in September, 1669, Smith remained as head of the Company's affairs there.

5th. That he kept a Servant commonly Resideing at Hugly to buy goods out of the Companyes warehouse at the prizes there, to be transmitted to him at Dacca, where he made a perticuler gaine to himselfe by that which would have gone towards the defraying the charges of the Factory.

6th. That, whereas it is customary at Dacca to have abatements on Callicoes bought, he hath brought no such to the Companyes Creditt.

7th. That he tooke up severall summes of money at Interest in the Companyes name without order.

8th. That he traded with the Companyes stock to his owne behoofe and made their Investments with his owne goods.[1]

9th. That he assigned his perticuler debts for goods in Dacca to the Company to ballance his accounts there.

10th. That he left in Dacca[2] in the Companyes Factory 20: maunds lead, Dacca weight,[3] of the Companyes marke, conceived to be the over weight of their lead since the first settlement there,[4] which hath binn since sold and brought to his perticuler Creditt.

11th. That he hath throwne a debt of Tulluck Chund [Tilok Chand] of about 6000: Rupees on the Company,[5] which they

[1] There is no actual proof of this charge in the correspondence still existing, but letters of September, 1669; March, April, August, 1670; and January, 1671 (*O.C.*, Nos. 2339, 3411, 3419, 3463, 3532), show that Smith was trading in pepper, swords and Dacca piece-goods on his own and Richard Edwards' account. He does not seem to have profited by his ventures, for on the 23rd January, 1672, he wrote to Edwards (*O.C.*, No. 3622), 'Your successe as well as mine is bad in trading,' and complained that there will be 'Little or noe proffit' on 'our Pepper.'

[2] By Clavell's orders of the 17th January, 1673, John Smith was superseded at Dacca by Robert Elwes (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.).

[3] In the *Copy Book of Henry Vansittart*, British Museum, *Add. MS.*, 34123, fol. 3, the weight of the Dacca factory maund is given as 35 seer, or 71 pounds, and the bazar maund as 40 seer, or 80 pounds.

[4] The settlement of a factory at Dacca was sanctioned by the Company in a letter to Hugli, dated 24th January, 1658 (Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii., p. 195). Jean de Thévenot comments on the English house there in 1666 (*Travels*, ed. 1674, p. 199); but until September, 1669, when Smith succeeded March in the management of the Company's affairs, Dacca does not appear to have had a 'Chief,' or to have been a recognised factory.

[5] On the succession of Elwes to the chiefship of Dacca, he wrote to Clavell, in April, 1673, for instructions regarding this debt left outstanding by Smith (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.).

ought not to beare, or at least but their proportion, by which meanes he hath secured his own debt which ought to have borne part.

12th. That whereas he was defficient in his Correspondence with the Cheife and Councell in the Companyes business, and the Cheife etc. did thereupon send James Price to reside at Dacca and to acquainte them from time to time of all transactions there, Hee, the said John Smith, did returne the above named James Price to Hugly, anno 1672, by his owne authority, without haveing order from or consulting with the Cheife etc. thereabout.[1]

13th. That since Mr. John Smithes Returne from Dacca and admittance to consult about the Companyes affaires, anno 1673,[2] after his being present at a Contract of sales of maunds 2000: Lead in Hugly, he forced 400: maunds of that quantity from the Merchants, which very lately was not satisfied for.

14th. That he hat[h] severall times deserted the Honourable Companyes imployment: Proceeding from Ballasore to the

[1] James Price is first mentioned as a servant to Gabriel Boughton (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxx., p. 36), and was 'a man well knowne' in Bengal in 1658 (*O.C.*, Nos. 2090, 2705, 2780). He had been employed in the Company's affairs at Dacca previous to 1669, when he incurred the displeasure of the Council at 'the Bay.' In their instructions to John March, in April, 1669, they ordered him, on his arrival at Dacca, to seize James Price, 'whome wee have found negligent and expensive, if not treacherous, in managing what committed to his charge . . . and send him to us in fetters . . . with secrecy and expedition' (*O.C.*, No. 3265). There is no further mention of Price until the 20th June, 1672 (*O.C.*, No. 3652), when Smith wrote from Dacca to Richard Edwards at Kasimbazar: 'By James Price received a letter from you and thank you verry kindly for your advice concerning him. Wee have used him accordingly and never imployed him in a Cowryworth of service. We doe this day dispeed him with a Letter. . . . Thank God wee have now ended most of our troubles and got two Phirwannas which will send in few days; hope shall now please them all. If you hear of James, as 'tis like he will, that he ended this business, doe mee the favour to tell him from me that hees a lying Rogue and never was imployed.'

When Price returned to Dacca is uncertain. He was there early in 1676, and is mentioned again in Master's Diary on the 15th December, when he is spoken of as the Company's accredited legal agent. In 1680 he received a grant of Rs. 200 as a reward for a *parwāna* procured by him. In May, 1682, at his 'earnest desire,' he was permitted to 'come to his house and family' at Hugli In December, 1682, he was again at Dacca, and was acting as *vakīl* there as late as 1685 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vols. ii. and iii.; *Dacca*, vol. i.; *O.C.*, No. 4087. See also Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. i., for various allusions to James Price).

[2] Smith arrived at Balasor at the end of June, 1673 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol iv.).

Coast without leave, anno 1674;[1] Proceeding from Ballasore to the Coast without leave, anno 1675; Leaving Ballasore and proceeding to Hugly and the adjacent places, and Returning thither at his owne pleasure without acquainting the Cheife etc., anno 1675.[2]

15th. That the important entryes of the Dacca bookes are forged to the Companyes great prejudice, and contrary to the nature of his dealings there.[3]

16th. That his servants have paid Custome in the Companyes name, to the hazzard of the Companyes Privelleidges.

17th. That he himself hath charged a certaine summe for packing goods in Dacca, which is supposed doe much exceed the true rates of embaleing, and more then in any other Factory. WALTER CLAVELL.

John Smithes answer to a Charge exhibited against him by Mr. Walter Clavell, September primo, 1676.

1st. That dureing my Residence in Hugly, anno 1669, I did take a parcell of goods out of the Companyes warehouse for which I payd the height of the markett, made good the money to the Companyes Cash, and sent the goods into the Country, by which I made no advantage to myselfe; and haveing no order from the Cheife and Councell to send them farther then

[1] On the 28th December, 1674, the Council at the Bay wrote to Fort St. George (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.): 'These may also informe you that Mr. John Smith, against our order, is proceeded on the ship *Nossa Sentusa de Monte* . . . upon pretence, as wee are informed, that he may recover some debts which he pretends are due unto him on the Coast, but wee can informe you that if any such Debts are, they are long since assigned to perticuler persons to whome he is considerably indebted, and therefore wee presume his Clandestine departure hath been to evade the disquisition of what he maliciously wrote to the right Worshippfull Agent the 4th of May last.'

[2] The records for 1675 are very scanty, but the existing correspondence for that year shows that, in May, Smith was at Hugli, whence he wrote to Edwards that, owing to 'some differences created by Mr. Clavell,' he was 'resolved by the next shipps for the Fort' (*O.C.*, No. 4091). He seems to have remained at 'the Coast' until March of 1676, when he left Fort St. George in company with Clavell, Puckle, and Marshall, and returned to Bengal.

[3] That some of Smith's books were not made up until after he reached Balasor is proved by a letter from him to Edwards, dated 13th May, 1674, in which he says he has 'ended' his 'Dacca accounts . . . of its successe shall advise when know my self' (*O.C.*, No. 3964).

Hugly for the Companyes account, Mr. Clavell would doe well to demonstrate which way the Company lost by those goods and what advantage was made on them, and to who, he best knoweing, haveing had the perusall of the accounts of the deceased [John March], for whose account they were. For my owne part, I gott nothing by them, nor doe I know that any elce did; if Mr. Clavell doth, he will do well to make it appeare.

2d. This I deny as falce and malicious, and Mr. Clavell well knoweth, by my account then sent to Ballasore,[1] that I carried none of the Companyes Cash then with me, which letter and account I desire may be produced.

3d. & 4th. I never tooke out of any Investment made for the Company any money, or threw any charges on goods more then was really expended on them. If Mr. Clavell beleives I did, I desire he would prove it.

5th. That I kept a perticular servant at Hugly I confesse, and this is the first time I knew that to be a Crime, though not the first and only servant that hath binn soe kept, my accuser and others haveing done the same; but that I kept him there to buy goods out of the Companyes warehouse, I deny, it being notorious falce, I never haveing received any such goods from him, nor doe I know that ever he bought any. If Mr. Clavell doth, lett him prove it, and for whose account they were.

6th. I never made any abatements on Callicoes bought for the Company but what they had Creditt for, and if Mr. Clavells prejudice and malice to me would have premited (*sic*) him to peruse the contracts when money was delivered out, and alsoe the parcells as received and entred, he would have seen the Contrary to what he affirmes, and need not have given himselfe and me the trouble.

7th. I never tooke up money at Interest in the Companyes name but what was for the Companyes use. If Mr. Clavell beleives the Contrary, I desire him to prove it.

8th. I utterly deny ever to have traded with the Companyes

[1] That Smith did send an 'account' to Balasor is shown by a letter from Shem Bridges and the Council, dated 28th May, 1669 (*O.C.*, No. 3282), to William Bagnold, who was ordered to Hugli to take charge of the warehouse *vice* Smith. Bagnold was furnished with 'an accompt of what goods Mr. Smith at his leaving Hugly put into the hands of Mr. Gabriell Townsend'

Stock or made their investments with my owne goods; the contrary lyes on my accuser to prove.

9th. I deny that ever I assigned any of my perticuler debts to the Company, either to Ballance my accompt or otherwise, though by the Cheifes malicious way of removeing me, I left many debts and goods behind me, which [I] might have brought away with me, had I had due notice of my removeall.[1]

10th. That I left twenty Maunds of Lead at Dacca is true, and my accuser well knoweth that he, as well as others, have sold lead etc. the Companyes goods in Hugly and Ballasore, and given Dusticks [*dastak*, pass] to conveigh them to the Inland Factory[es],[2] of which some were to Dacca; and this lead was part of it,[3] which, being common, and, as I conceive, not at all prejudiciall to our Masters, I suppose I need not goe to Perticulerize, yett if required am still ready to doe it, and doe deny ever to have made any advantage by the overweight of any of the Companyes goods. But if Mr. Clavell, because I had twenty maunds lead, conceives it is to be the Companyes, with as much equallity the Company may conceive the greatest part of his Estate to be theirs, because gotten since he was in their service, which hee would thinke hard measure to himselfe, though soe freely imposeth the like on others.

11th. As to the debt of Tulluck Chund [Tilok Chand] I doe not know whether I proportioned it aright or not, but to the best of my Judgement I did, what I sold him being part of the Companyes and part Mr. Clavells; and as I received money of him, brought part to the Companyes and part to Mr. Clavells account; and since, severall summes have binn received of that merchant by others and brought to Mr. Clavells account. But if the Company ought to [be] satisfied first, then they know where to receive the remainder of their debt; and if one may

[1] The order for Smith's removal from Dacca was dated in Balasor, 17th January, 1673, and he was directed to leave the place within ten days after the arrival of his successor, Robert Elwes. Smith disregarded the order, and remained at Dacca until the 9th June, 1673 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.; and *O.C.*, No. 3798).

[2] Kasimbazar, Patna, and Dacca were styled the upper or inland factories.

[3] In December, 1671, Smith wrote, in his official capacity, to Clavell, that he could find a market at Dacca for the Company's lead or tin (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., p. 122).

judge by the event of things, then I beleive Mr. Clavell to be the cause of his insufficiency to Comply now with his Creditors, there being a considerable quantity of Mr. Clavells Copper, Tynn and Pepper sold to that Merchant when the markett was very high, and in few dayes those goods, by oppenness of trade, which before was stopt, fell, *vizt.*, Copper from 50 Rupees a maund to 41 Rupees per maund, Tinn from 42 Rupees per maund to 29 Rupees per maund, Pepper from 25 Rupees per maund to 17 Rupees per maund, which proved a great loss to the Merchant, and that was the first time I knew his Creditt to be suspected.

12th. If I was, as is said, defficient in my Correspondence with the Cheif and Councell,[1] it was many times by delayes at Durbarrs [*darbārs*, courts], where wee are not Governours, but must wait their pleasure and Slow movealls in affaires. And they sent James Price to assist in the Durbarr; I supposed it was to put an end to the troubles began with the Governour at Hugly, which being ended before James Price's arriveall, the business being done, I returned the said Price with a Surpaw [*saropā*, suit] from the Nabob to the Cheife.[2]

13th. Though I was present at the sale of 2000: maunds Lead, yett, to the best of my knowledge, I never bought a Rupees worth of goods from that Merchant [Jāirām Malik], nor doe I know that I have seen him twice in my life.

14th. That I deserted my imployment to goe to the Coast, I deny. But the reason why I went to the Coast, 1674, was Mr. Clavells unjust dealing towards me, and I went to Complaine to them as superiour to any in Bengala. The

[1] The explanation given to Fort St. George by the Council 'at the Bay' for the removal of Smith was that they had 'many just reasons to complain of the slackness of Mr. John Smith in Decca, as well in giving us advices, as in dispatching away the Company's goods provided by him' (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv., March 16th, 1673).

[2] The 'troubles' alluded to were caused by the exactions of Malik Kāsim, Governor of Hugli, who endeavoured to make capital out of the alleged tampering with some boxes consigned to Mīr Jumla, *per* William Blake, in 1665. It was to appeal to the Nawāb, Shāistāh Khān, against these exactions, and to prove that the factors in Bengal were not privy to the flight of Thomas Pratt (an Englishman employed by the Nawāb), that March and Smith were sent to Dacca in 1669.

relation is at large in a paper[1] given in at Fort St. George, anno 1674-5, in answer to the Cheifes letter and consultation then sent to Fort St. George, wherein they dismissed me the Companyes service, which [was] wholly disapproved of by the Agent and Councell. And they appointed me the Cheife of Dacca by a Letter to the Cheif and Councell of the Bay, anno 1674-5, which order Mr. Clavell refused to obey, telling me I should never goe to Dacca as long as hee was Cheife; nor did he, notwithstanding the Fort orders, looke upon me as the Companyes servant. Whereupon, and hearing Mr. Clavell had Seized a Considerable quantity of my goods at Hugly, I went to free them, and in few dayes returned,[2] but still continued without imployment, Dyett or Lodgeing; and soe Mr. Clavell left me when he went to the Fort, which caused mee to follow him to know the Result.

15th. This I utterly deny, never haveing practiced any such thing.

16th. I doe not know that ever any servant of mine paid custome in the Companyes name or otherwise, nor ever did I allow them any such payment, or ever [did] they demand of mee or acquainted mee [with] any such thing; but to my knowledge Mr. Clavell hath put in practice the same he here accuseth me with.

17th. [In] The first investment that was made and sent thence, it will appeare that I sent the perticulers of the Charges packing goods, and afterwards Computed what each bale stood in, and charged the same in grose, and considering the fineness of wrappers which must necessarily be used to those goods, and the dearness of all packing stuff in Dacca, I know not why what charged should be supposed not to be the true rate. JOHN SMITH. *Cassambazar, September* 11, 1676.

[1] The 'paper' itself does not exist, but there is a record of the Consultation held at Fort St. George on the 18th February, 1675, when it was considered, and when orders were given for the reinstatement of Smith in his chiefship at Dacca (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. i.).

[2] Smith was at Hugli in May, 1675, and in want of money 'to adjust with some creditors' (*O.C.*, No. 4091).

The Examination of Mr. Walter Clavells Charge against Mr. John Smith, taken in Councell.

Mr. Clavell, Mr. Reade and Mr. Hervy were all sworne together.

To the first Article.—Mr. Clavell Produced a wast entry of the Hugly accounts from March the 5th, 1668 [1669] to Aprill the 25th, 1669 under Mr. John Smithes owne hand, now acknowledged by him, and therein there is one parcell dated the 7th Aprill, wherein Rupees are Dr. to Red and green Cloth for 16 peices of distinet [distinct] numbers, of which these following were part, *vizt.*, No. 1367: yds. 23; No. 1370: yds. 24; No. 1667: yds. 19¾; Ditto: yds. 19¾; No. 1668: yds. 19½; Ditto: yds. 20¼, at Rupees 6½ per yard.

Alsoe in said parcell is entered tynn, 2 blockes, qt. [containing] 6½ maunds at 23 Rupees per maund. And then Mr. Clavell produced an Invoyce under Mr. Smithes owne hand, now acknowledged by him, and sundry Goods laden upon one of the Honourable Companyes Pattellaes [*paṭelā*] in Charge of and Consigned to Mr. Thomas Hassellwood[1] for account of himselfe and John Smith, wherein the broad cloth above mentioned by the same Nos. and qts. [contents] was mentioned, *vizt.*, No. 1367: yds. 23, [No.] 1370: yds. 24, [is] 47 yds. Reds at 8½ Rupees per Yard. No. 1667: Yds. 19¾, Ditto [yds.] 19¾, No. 1668: [yds.] 19¼ Ditto [yds.] 20¼ [is] 79¼ yds. Green at 7¼ Rupees per Yard.

Alsoe in the same Invoyce there is mentioned Tynn 2 Blockes qt. 6 maund, 20 seer, at 23 Rupees per maund. Alsoe Mr. Clavell produced a coppy of the said Invoyce attested by Robert Elwes in Pattana, the 5 September, 1676.[2]

Mr. Clavell being asked, doe you know that the Company lost

[1] Thomas Haselwood petitioned for employment in the Company's service in November, 1655, but was refused. Six years later—in November, 1661—he was elected factor 'for the Coast and Bay' (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiii., fol. 239; vol. xxiv., fols. 211 and 221). He served the Company in Patna, Kasimbazar, and Hugli, and died at the last-named place on the 20th July, 1670, 'in the flower of his age and rise of his fortunes' (*O.C.*, Nos. 3452 and 3461).

[2] The date of the year must be wrong. Elwes died at Dacca on the 4th December, 1675. Probably 1670 is meant.

or Mr. Smith gott any thing by those goods at the rates they are made good to the Company.

Walter Clavell, this Deponent, answered, I know nothing of my owne knowledge more then by these papers produced.

To the 2d. Article.—In the said wast entry of the Hugly accounts before mentioned, Mr. Clavell directed [attention] to a parcell, dated Aprill the 25th, 1669, wherein Bull Melleck [Balrām Malik] is Dr. to cash, rupees 3600:, and produced a letter from Mr. John March, dated Aprill the 8th, 1670,[1] which Mr. John Smith agreed to bee Mr. John Marches owne hand writeing, wherein he adviseth in the following, *vizt.*, 'I have received from Mr. Vincent an account from Jerome Bullam Melleck [Jāirām Balrām Malik].[2] With the former I have an account, but never had anything to doe with the latter. By the account which I have herewith inclosed sent you, you will find he is indebted to me Rupees 1266:03½; but by his account they make my account to ballance, chargeing me with 4400: Rupees Mr. Smith owed them. 'Tis true, there is Rupees 2550: Of that sume I advised Jerome [Jāirām] from Dacca and here that I was to make good to him for a parcell of goods I bought of Mr. Smith, which he sent with Mr. Hassellwood for Pattana.[3] But he [Smith] informed me his Contract with Jerome Melleck (Jāirām Malik) was to pay Interest for the amount of those goods no longer then from the time Mr. Bridges drew the money out of his hands, or ordered the disposall of it, which pray doe me the favour to inquire into, and from what time he disburst that money, and from thence lett him make up the account of Interest of Rupees 2550:.'

Mr. Clavell was asked, doe you know or can you make further proofe of this Article?

Walter Clavell deposed, he knoweth no further but the Bannian Jerome Melleck [the *baniya* Jāirām Malik] and Bull Melleck [Balrām Malik][4] have often times told him that the 3600: rupees charged as paid Bull Melleck was not paid them

[1] This letter does not exist.

[2] This should apparently be the firm Jāirām Malik and Balrām Malik.

[3] Haselwood was sent to Patna at the end of March, 1669 (*O.C.*, No. 3259).

[4] The duplicate copy of this section (*Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i.) has 'Bullum Melleck.'

as the Companyes, but Mr. Smith was to allow them Interest for the same after Mr. Bridges (then Cheife)[1] had ordered it out of their hands, and not before.

To the third Article.—Mr. Clavell produced a letter to Mr. March from Mr. John Smith, dated the third of May anno 1671,[2] which he now owned to be his hand writeing, wherein, speaking of T. J. [Thomas Jones],[3] these words are expressed :—'Alsoe at ⅓ of the Dustoore [*dastūr*] [he] was much disatisfied, asking what difference there was betwixt us that I should have more then he.'

Alsoe Mr. Clavell produced another letter to Mr. March from Thomas Jones, dated the[4] of December 1670, wherein these words are inserted :—'Mr. Smith and Melleck had shared all the Dustore money before I came here, they saying I was to have none, because I was not here when the money was given out; but I thinke I have as much right to it as they.'[5]

Walter Clavell did further answer upon his oath, that Jerome Melleck [Jāirām Malik] and Annum Melleck [Anand Malik] did tell him that Mr. Smith had taken 600: rupees out of that first investment, which was the reason the Cloth came out soe deare. And Walter Clavell, the Deponent, further saith, that in discourse with Mr. John Smith, the said John Smith did tell this Deponent that he had taken somewhat, not mentioning Dustore or Batta nor any summe, but that he would not do soe againe.

To the 4th Article.—Mr. Samuell Hervy being asked what he could say to it. The said Hervy answered upon the oath he had taken, that in the moneth of March, 1672-3 he arrived at

[1] Shem Bridges was chief of the Company's affairs in Bengal for one year, 1669-70.

[2] There is no trace of these letters among the records of 1670 and 1671.

[3] Thomas Jones was elected factor for the Coast and Bay on 22nd November, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 67). He was at Kasimbazar from April, 1669, until April, 1670, when he was ordered to Dacca. He disappears from the records after 1670.

[4] There is a blank here in the original.

[5] Jones was ordered to Dacca in April, 1670, was taken ill immediately on his arrival, and returned to Kasimbazar. On his recovery he was again sent to Dacca, 24th June, 1670 (*O.C.*, Nos. 3419, 3424, 3426, 3436).

Dacca,[1] and in June following Mr. John Smith went from thence. And in or between them monethes of March and June, this Deponent, being in discourse with John Smith, did inquire of the said Smith about the manner of Investments at Dacca, and perticulerly what advantages he made thereby. To all which the said Smith answered, and perticulerly did tell this Deponent, that he had taken three Rupees upon a hundred Dustoore, but never by the name of Dustoor but Batta.[2]

Doe you know upon what summe or summes of money the said three rupees per cent. was taken?

Samuell Hervy, the Deponent, answered he knowes not of any perticuler summe, but as his inquirey was gennerall of the advantages of the Investment, soe was Mr. Smithes answer in Gennerall, that he had taken three per Cent., not nameing any perticulers.

To the 5th Article.—Mr. Walter Clavell answered upon his oath, that he knew that Mr. John Smith had a servant who lived at Hugly, by the name of Pursadore or Pursadut [Parshād Datt], and produced Hugly bookes, Journall M., folio 44, Aprill the 25th, 1670, wherein Pursadut is Dr. to lead, maunds 299:7: at Rupees 10: annas 8: per maund, Quicksilver 5: maunds, at rupees 3:2 ann: per Seer.

Doe you know that this Pursadut entered in the bookes is the same that was Mr. Smithes servant?

This Deponent answered in the Negative, and further that he doth not know or remember there was any other by that name in Hugly, but Pursadut, Mr. John Smithes man.

Doe you know that Mr. John Smith was concerned in that parcell of goods soe Charged to Pursadut?

This Deponent answered in the Negative, but saith Pursadut, Mr. Smithes servant, was a poore fellow and not to [be] trusted with soe much money on his own accompt.

Doe you know that Pursadut was Mr. John Smithes man in April, 1670?

[1] Samuel Hervy was ordered to Dacca with Robert Elwes (who superseded Smith as chief) in January, 1673 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.).

[2] Smith attempted to legalise his appropriation of *dastūr*, or commission, by calling it *bhaṭṭa*, or extra allowance.

This Deponent answereth in the negative, but Mr. Smith hath confesed in his answer that he kept a perticuler servant at Hugly.

To the 6th Article.—Mr. Samuell Hervy deposed that, in his time of being at Dacca,[1] there was abatements made, and the Delolls (*dallāl*), or broakers that brought in the goods in Mr. John Smithes time and whilst this Deponent was second there,[2] did tell this Deponent that they alwayes did make abatements, and that they had made abatements in Mr. Smithes time; and it is but very reasonable that abatements should be made, for that the musters they receive by is but one peice, and it is not possible that all the Cloth received in should bee of equall goodness with the muster, and therefore, as they come out worse, abatements are made.

Doe you know that Mr. Smith made any abatements?

Samuell Hervy, the Deponent, answered that he did not know whether Mr. John Smith made any abatements or noe, but as the broakers told him.

Mr. Clavell produced the Dacca bookes of Mr. Smithes writeing, upon examination of which it did not appeare that abatements were made, whereupon Mr. John Smith produced the first drafft of his bookes, agreeing in date and summe with the others, by which it appeared that abatements were Gennerally made, It being a neglect not to enter the Contracts in the fair bookes, as he ought to have done. WALTER CLAVELL, SAMUELL HERVY. *Cassambazar, the 20th October*, 1676.

The Examinations and Depositions before mentioned were taken in the presence of STREYNSHAM MASTER; MATHIAS VINCENT; JOSEPH HALL; EDWARD READE; JOHN MARSHALL; JOHN SMITH; EDWARD LITTLETON.

[1] *Viz.*, from March, 1673, until June or September, 1676. He finished the De Soito business at Dacca at the end of June, as will be shown later on, and was at Hugli to meet Master on the 12th September, 1676.

[2] Hervy was second at Dacca from March, 1673, until the death of Elwes in December, 1675, when he acted as chief.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October the 20th.—This day came newes from Hugly that the Heer de Haese,[1] the Directore for the Dutch, dyed there the 16th instant at night, the same time that Major Puckle deceased here.

WALTER CLAVELLS CHARGE AGAINST JOHN SMITH (*continued*).

Saturday 21, Forenoone.—The Councell continued to take the Examinations of Mr. Walter Clavells charge against Mr. John Smith.

Walter Clavell, Edward Reade, and Samuell Hervy were all sworne together.

To the 7th Article.—Mr. Walter Clavell brought severall summs, *vizt.*, 8500: Rupees, May 12th, 1670, 5000: Rupees, March 20th, 5000: Rupees, Ditto 30th, taken up at rupees 1: 6: ann. per Cent. per mensem. And Rupees 29000: taken up in bookes 1671-2, *vizt.*, Rupees 10000: of Narrarshaw [Nārāyan Shāh], January 30th, 1671; Rupees 7000: of Dukurnshaw [Devkarm Shāh], February 12th, 1671-2; Rupees 12000: of Ditto Dukurnshaw, Aprill the 1st, 1672; Rupees 29000: at 1: Rupee 6: ann. per Cent. per mensem. And there is charged for Interest of the said summes Rupees 1621.

For the Rupees 8500: Mr. John Smith produced Mr. Shem Bridges etc. order,[2] dated the 13th Aprill, 1670. For the Rupees 10000: said Mr. John Smith produced a letter,[2] signed by Walter Clavell, Gabriell Townsend and Edward Reade, dated the 17th Aprill, in the[se] words, *vizt.*, 'Wee desire you to use your utmost industry to recover in that money, as well to secure that debt, as to ease our Masters of the Charge of Interest, which wee perceive is groweing on them by your late takeing up Rupees 5000: there, and intending to take up or draw on us Rupees 5000: more. Instead whereof, we doe now order you to draw on Cassambazar when you shall have

[1] As a rule Master styles the Dutch Chiefs 'Sigr.'

[2] This order and letter do not exist. The letter of the 17th April was probably written in 1671, after Clavell had succeeded Bridges as chief.

occassion of more money, if before that time they shall not have remitted unto you the summe of Rupees 5000: wee have now enordered.'

For the Rupees 29000:, said Mr. Smith produced Mr. Walter Clavel[ls] etc. letter, dated January the 12th, 1671-2,[1] in these words, *vizt.*, 'The goods wee shall order you to provide this year will be two thousand peeces Hummums [*hammām*], 10,000 to 15,000 fine Cossaes [*khāṣṣa*]. For the enabling [you] to performe it, besides the Rupees three thousand you have drawne, the five thousand now ordered, and the lead and Broad Cloth Remaineing with you and now sent, wee have ordered Mr. Vincent to send an ingott or two of Gold, if they have any, that is not sent to the Tanksall [*ṭakśāl, ṭankṣāl*, the mint]. If they should faile you, wee shall not hence in few dayes. Ryalls of eight wee had a very small proportion this yeare sent out, and what came, wee have binn forced to put off part of the vast quantityes of broad cloth to joyne with it. What shall be wanting to compleat your Investments you may take up at Interest, untill from Hugly wee shall bee able to send you money or remitt you Bills.'

To the 8th Article.—Samuell Hervy deposed that when he was at Dacca, between the moneths of March and June [1673], Mr. John Smith being then there, that Kisno Mongull [Kishn Mangal], his Vackeell [*vakīl*], came to the Factory and acknowledged his bill for Rupees 8531: 4: annaes, which is charged to Kisno Mongulls accompt in the Dacca bookes, Journall 1672-3. And some time afterward, Jerome [Jāirām], who is Gomosta [*gumāshtah*] or Factor for the Dutch, and Unckle to Kisno Mongull, who were partners and lived together (though Kisno Mongulls name is used for the English Gomosta, because Jerome durst not appeare to be servant both to English and Dutch), the said Jeromes Vackeel [Jāirām's *vakīl*] came to Mr. Smith at the Factory, and seemed to Contend with him about goods delivered to Kisno Mongulls Vackeele, and Mr. John Smith did speake to the Occoone [*akhūn*, interpreter] in English, What doth this Dog meane? Doth he thinke wee are like the Dutch to undoe one another when one

[1] This letter does not exist.

Cheife goes and another comes? or words to that effect, and then bid the Occoone tell the Vackeell if he was not contented he should bring his goods againe, and afterwards told this Deponent what pas't, and added that, if he was to stay at Dacca, he would have binn hanged before he would have done any such thing.

And this Deponent afterwards goeing to Handiall,[1] about three dayes Journey from Dacca, where Jerome and Kisno Mongull lived, to receive his remaines, and this Deponent haveing received some, and the said Kisno and Jerome being very backwards in delivery of the rest, and being urged and pressed to it, they told this Deponent they had a very hard bargaine of Mr. Smith in severall goods they had received from him, as Chank [*sankh*, conch-shell], Lead and Tuttenag. And some Tutenag they brought and threw down before this Deponent, and this Deponent did then take the perticulers from the said Jerome and Kisno Mongull, which is as followeth, *vizt.*,

Chank 10000: at 18: Rupees for 100:	Rup: 1800:
Lead 30: maunds at 13: Rupees per md.	Rup: 390:
Tutenag foule 57: mds. at 49 Rup: - - -	2793:

And when this Deponent objected to them that this was not the full debt of 8000: and odd rupees, they replyed that the rest was former remaines. An accompt of which business this Deponent then advised in a letter to Mr. John Smith, but never received any answer thereto.

And this Deponent, turning to the Parcell in the Dacca Journall, folio 9:, February the 15th, 1672-3, where Kisno Mongull [Kishn Mangal] is made Dr. to nine severall parcells as remaynes in their hands, turned over to the said Kisno to provide 1500: peeces of Hummums at 5: rupees 11: annaes

[1] This place, which appears as Hundriall in *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i., seems to be identical with the Hurryal of Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, placed about eighty miles north-west of Dacca. It appears in the *Indian Atlas* (Sheet 120) as Hureeal (Hariyāl) in the Pabna district, and in Thornton's *Gazetteer of India* and Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal* as Hurreal and Handial, but is not to be found either in Constable's *Hand Atlas* or in the revised edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

a peice. This Deponent says Jaddo [Jādu], Kisno [Kishn] and Muddun [Madan], the three persons first named in the Journall Parcell, were inhabitants of Dacca, and he hath often spoaken with them there, and askeing them how Kisno Mongull of Handiall came to make good their remaines, the said three persons very much wondered that he should aske them such a question, and sayd they always complyed with their contract, and paid their own remaynes. Whereupon this Deponent turned to the said folio 9: and read to them what remaynes are charged to Kisno Mongulls account, who laughed at it, as a framed story, telling this Deponent that some of those persons they did not know, others they did, but that none received putton [H. *paṭṭan*] or imprest money for Dacca cloth, that is Cossaes [*khāṣṣa*], Jellolsyes,[1] Tangeebs [P. *tanzīb*, fine muslin], Adatyes, and Mullmulls [*malmal*], the yeare before but themselves. And this Deponent sayth that Hummums are provided in and about Handiall, and are commonly called Handiall cloth. And this Deponent further saith that Kisno Mongulls debt upon his bill was rupees 8531: 4: annaes, and in the Dacca bookes his debt was rupees 8531: 8: annaes, and the 4: annaes difference was allowed to this Deponent by Mr. John Smith in account between them. WALTER CLAVELL, SAMUELL HERVY. *Cassambazar, 21st October*, 1676.

The Examinations and Depositions before mentioned were taken in the presence of STREYNSHAM MASTER [and the rest of the Council].

[1] The word 'Jellolsye' does not appear among the list of piece-goods in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*. The duplicate copy of this portion of the Diary has Icollies (? a copyist's error for Jallies, *jālī*). Other forms are Jelolsies, Jelosies, and Jelossies, the latter of which occurs as late as the beginning of the last century in Hardy's *Register of Ships*, p. 142. The various mentions of 'flowered Jelolsyes' in the *O.C.* collection, 1672-76, seem to indicate that the material was of a fine texture. The word appears to be some derivative from *jāl*, netting, unless the original be taken to be *jalālshāhī*, so named after some native merchant of those days. This view is suggested by a passage in a letter from Persia (*O.C.*, No. 2224) on the 25th September, 1651, in which there occurs the remark, 'Jelollshahees and Allejaes' are 'unrequested at Spahan.'

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October 22.—The Indian Doctor,[1] who was sent for to cure Major Puckle (he haveing formerly cured Mr. March of the like Distemper), came this day from Hugly, where he sayd there was great stopp of business by reason Melleckzindæ [Malik Zindī], the Governour, had killed a boy, whose freinds prosecuted him.[2]

WALTER CLAVELL'S CHARGE AGAINST JOHN SMITH (*continued*).

October 23th, Munday Forenoone and afternoone.—The Councell continued to take the Examinations of Mr. Walter Clavells Charge against Mr. John Smith.

Mr. Clavell, Mr. Reade, and Mr. Hervy were all sworne together.

To the 9th Article.—Mr. Samuell Hervy, being asked what he could say to it, Deposed that when this Deponent was at Handiall [Hariyāl], demanding the debt or remaynes of Kisno Mongulls [Kishn Mangal] (as before mentioned) Rogeram [Rājārām], liveing alsoe at Handiall, who was then indebted to the Company rupees 672: 3: ann:, The said Rogeram being Brother to Jerome [Jāirām] formerly mentioned, and unckle to the said Kisno, This Deponent at the same time demanded Rogerams debt, who oweing, besides the said debt of the Companyes, a Considerable summe, *vizt.*, Rupees 1143: 3: ann: assigned over by Mr. John Smith to the widdow Pitts[3] [and] Rupees 3401: due to John Smith his perticuler accompt. This Deponent not being able at that time to recover any money or goods proportionable to his whole debt of rupees 5200: and upward, demanding of him in like manner as he had done before of his brother and Nephew, Jerome [Jāirām] and Kisno [Kishn], why

[1] This was probably the native doctor at Hugli, called 'Nilcunt' and 'Neelchund' (Nīlkanth or Nīl Chand), who attended Haselwood in his last illness (*O.C.*, No. 3441), and to whom Edwards applied for 'some remedy for ringworme' in 1670 (*O.C.*, No. 3466).

[2] I have found no other allusion to this event.

[3] Mrs. Pitts was twice a widow, having married first Gabriel Boughton, and secondly William Pitts. See *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii., p. 188.

he also was so backward in makeing good his remaynes, Who replyed in like manner as the others had done, that he had had a hard bargaine of Mr. Smith of goods lately bought of him, the Perticulers of which this Deponent then wrote down from his owne relation by word of mouth, not lookeing in his booke, which is as followeth, *vizt.*

Pepper 80: mds. at 19: rupees per maund -	1520:
Lead 50: mds. at 14: rupees per maund - -	700:
Tuttenag foule 20: mds. at 54: rup: - -	1080:
Tinn 25: mds. at 34: rupees per maund - -	850:
Copper 5: mds. at 50: rupees per maund - -	250:
Chanck 10000: at 18: rupees per 100: - -	1800:
Rupees	6200:

of which summe Rogeram said he had paid in ready money 900: rupees or thereabouts, soe the remaynder came out to neare the three summes, The amount of the debt aforementioned.

Doe you know the rupees 672: 3: annaes due to the Company was any part of the said goods ?

Samuell Hervy, the Deponent, answered that he knowes there was rupees 672: 3: annaes assigned to the Company, and Rupees 1143: 3: annaes assigned to Pitts,[1] and rupees 3401: Mr. Smithes perticuler debt; and the said Rogeram told him the said debts were contracted by goods bought as aforesaid. And this Deponent farther sayth, that after this Deponent came to Dacca, Mr. John Smith sent severall Peons for Rogeram [Rājārām] from Handiall [Hariyāl], and the said Rogeram being come to Dacca, he there gave severall bills assigned, as before mentioned, *vizt.*,

One bill for rupees 3401: for accompt of John Smith; One bill for rupees 701: of which assigned for the Companyes accompt; One bill for rupees 1143: 3: annaes for accompt of

[1] William Pitts was at Balasor in 1650 and 1654, and at Madras in 1655. Ten years later he was at Hugli with Elwes. In 1673 there is an allusion to 'Mr. Pitts' lead' at Dacca, and in October, 1674, he is referred to as 'William Pitts deceased.' See Wilson, *Early Annals*, vol. i., p. 25, n.; *O.C.*, Nos. 2358, 2457, 3259; *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.

widdow Pitts; Rupees 672: 3: annaes;[1] and Rupees 28: 13: annaes for John Smithes accompt which this Deponent made good to him.

And this Deponent further saith that Mr. John Smith remained upward of three monethes in Dacca after Mr. Elwes and this Deponents arrivall there [*i.e.*, in March, 1673], dureing which time he had all freindly usage and assistance from Mr. Elwes and this Deponent, and Mr. John Smith left noe goods behind him in Dacca, but what he might have carried away with him if he had pleased, for there was noe stop or hindrance to him in his business. And what debts Mr. John Smith left behind him in Dacca, which he ever acquainted this Deponent with, have benn recovered and made good to his accompt by this Deponent, soe that Mr. John Smith is a looser but rupees 16: 5: annaes by all the debts he left at Dacca that this Deponent knowes off.

To the 10th Article.—Mr. Samuell Hervy deposed that when Mr. Elwes and this Deponent received the Companyes remaynes from Mr. John Smith at Dacca, that there was maunds 328: 1: seer of lead all marked with the Companyes marke in one parcell together, of which parcell the said Smith sayd 20: mds. were his owne proper goods, and 308: mds. 1: seer the Companyes, and this Deponent gave receipts for it accordingly, and afterward sold the said 20: mds. and allowed it to the said John Smith in accompt.

Doe you know whether any part of the said parcell of lead had binn brought to Dacca by Merchants who bought of the Company in Hugly and Ballasore and had Dusticks [*dastak*] to conveigh it to Dacca?

Samuell Hervy, the Deponent, answered in the negative that he never asked and John Smith never told him any such thing.

To the 11th Article.—Mr. Walter Clavell produced a letter directed to himselfe etc. Factors, from John Smith and Tho: Jones in Dacca, dated January the third, 1671,[2] wherein is advised as followeth, *vizt.*, 'Tulluck Chund [Tilok Chand] haveing paid

[1] This amount seems to have been transposed by the copyist. It should, apparently, follow 'Companyes accompt' in the previous line.

[2] This letter does not exist.

most part of what formerly indebted, have adventured to trust him with 50: mds. more lead, he paying rupees 300: at delivery of the lead.' And it appeares that, after the delivery of the said lead, which by the Dacca bookes is maunds 57: 21½ seer,

the said Tulluck Chund remayned Dr. Rupees	730:	1:½
and in Dacca bookes 1671-2 there's made sold to the sayd Tulluck Chund Sandall wood, Quicksilver and Lead to the amount of - - - - - -	3705:	0:
And in Dacca bookes 1672 there's made sold to the said Tulluck Chund Quicksilver to the amount of - - -	2480:	10:
Soe Tulluck Chunds Debt is - Rupees	6915:	11:½

Which was left by Mr. John Smith to Mr. Robert Elwes and Mr. Samuell Hervy to recover of him.

And Mr. Walter Clavell produced another letter to Mr. John Smith[1] from Mr. John Smith, dated in Dacca, May the 3rd, 1671, which the said Smith now owned to be his owne hand writeing, adviseing as followeth :—'The Lead that I sold proved a bad bargaine to the Merchants that bought it, soe wee are like to loose about 700: rupees of the money, at which T.J. [Thomas Jones] told me he would see the Company should not bare the whole loss, least they put it upon him, but our 200: mds. should bare its proportion. I told him that you produced his letter that acknowledged the receipt of all our money, whereupon I payd you, and if soe it would all fall upon him; or if not, I thought wee were all as able to beare our proportions as he his, but since have gott some part of the money, and are likely to gett the rest.'

Alsoe Mr. Clavell produced an account, taken by Mr. Robert Elwes, which Mr. Smith now sayd he beleived to be the hand writeing of the said Elwes, of severall goods sold by Mr. John Smith to Tulluck Chund [Tilok Chand] and Company, and

[1] An error for 'March.' The name is given correctly in the duplicate of this portion of the Diary.

moneyes received of him by Mr. Smith. And Samuell Hervy deposed that, when he was in Dacca, he saw the said Elwes write the said account, sometimes Tulluck Chund and sometimes Bunna [Bannā], his brother, and sometimes both of them bringing their bookes and reading or dictating the account to the said Elwes out of them. Which accompt is now agreed by the Councell to bee sent home to the Honourable Company, and the same followeth:

Tulluck Chunds account[1] *taken by Mr. Robert Elwes in Dacca.*

In Dacca, 1669, or in the yeare of the Jentues 26 [=*St.* 1726], goods sold by Mr. John Smith to Tulluck Chund [Tilok Chand] and Company, *vizt.*

Mangue Moneth [*Māgh*, February].

Quicksilver,	Mds. 1: 3⅜ at	3:Rs. 12As.	per seer	177:	3:
Virmillion,	Mds. 1: 3⅜ at	4:Rs. 12As.	per seer	206:	0½
Ditto,	Mds. 0: 21⅞ at	4:Rs. 12As.	per seer	106:	14:
Quicksilver,	Mds. 0: 21: at	3:Rs. 12As.	per seer	94:	8:
Pepper,	Mds. 34: 7½: at	31¼Rs.	per Md.	1068:	6:
This moneth noe money payd.				1652:	15½

Whoggon month [*Phāgun*, March].

Noe Goods sold. But Cash paid by him or received by Mr. Smith (345, 445),[2] - - - Rup: 790

Chite moneth [*Chait*, April].

Noe goods sold. Noe money payd this moneth.

Bysague month [*Baisākh*, May].

Noe goods sold but Lead Mds. 300: at 13: rs. per md. 3900:

But Cash payd on Ditto Lead (588, 25, 200, 44, 12), Rupees 869

Geete moneth [*Jeṭh*, June].

Noe goods sold. Noe money paid.

[1] This 'account' is not in the duplicate copy of the case of Clavell *v.* Smith in *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i.

[2] The figures in brackets, which make up the total sum of rupees paid, are given in columns in the original.

Sauwon moneth [*Sāwan*, August].
Goods sold, *vizt.*
Cinamond, Mds. 1: $8\frac{13}{16}$: seer, at 3Rs. 14As. per seer 189: $2\frac{1}{2}$
Coffee, 1: md. at 62: per maund - - - 62:
Nuttmeggs, 1: md. $8\frac{1}{2}$ seer at 5Rs. 14As. - - 284: 15:
Noe money received by one account, which is falce, for by his account given Samuell Hervy, he maketh payd in Bysange [*Baisākh*, May] - 869:
in Sauwon [*Sāwan*, August] (4, 35)[1] - - - 39:
The 39 rupees is brought into Baddow moneth [*Bhādoṇ*, Sept.].

Baldoe or Baddoo moneth [*Bhādoṇ*, September], sold, *vizt.*
Quicksilver, 2: md. 4: seer at 3: rup. 12 ann. per seer - - - - - - - - Rup: 315:
[anno] 1670 or the Jentue account 27: [= *St.* 1727]
Cash paid this moneth, *vizt.* (300, 190, 41, 302, 288, 35, Beanna [*bai'āna*, pop: *bayāna*, earnest-money], 3) - - - - - - - Rup: 1159:

Assin or Quar moneth [*Aswin* or *Kuār*, October], sold, *vizt.*
Vermillion, mds. 5: $32\frac{1}{4}$ seer at 4Rs. 12ann. Rup: 930:
Cash payd this moneth (93, 50, 2) - - Rup: 145:

Cantick [*Kātik*, November]. Noe goods sold.
Cash payd this moneth (62: 12, 788, 187) Rup: 1037: 12:

Oggon moneth [*Phāgun*, March]. Noe goods sold.
Cash payd this moneth (93: 12, 28, 5:2, 400) Rupees 526: 14:

Poose moneth [*Pūs*, January]. Noe goods sold.
Cash payd this moneth (300, 62: 12) - Rupees 362: 12:

Nague moneth [*Māgh*, February], 1670, or the Jentues yeare 27 [= *St.* 1727].
Virmillion, 2 mds. at 3: rup. 12: ann - - Rup: 300:
Cash payd by him this moneth (300, 800, 15: 11), Rup: 1115: 11:

[1] The figures in brackets, which make up the total sum of rupees paid, are given in columns in the original.

Phoggon moneth [*Phāgun*, March], or the Jentues yeare 28 [= *St.* 1728].

Pepper, mds, 230: 27: seere at rup. 19: 12 ann.	4556:	
Tuttenagg, 40: 21½ at 48: - - - -	1945:	13:
Tuttenagg fine, mds. 11: 13½ at 53: per md. -	612:	15:
Quicksilver, 8: at 3: 12: per seer - - -	1200:	
Sandallwood, 19 mds. 12: at 27¼ per md. -	525:	15:
Allome, mds. 1½ at 13: per md. - - -	19:	8:
Copper, mds. 22: 13$\frac{3}{16}$: at 60 rupees - -	1343:	10:
Lead, mds. 91: 5¾: at 12: rupees - - -	1096:	6:
Quicksilver, 4 mds. at 3: per seer - - -	600:	
Quicksilver, mds. 14: 26¾: at 3rs. 13 ann. per seer	2236:	15½
	14137:	2½

Cash payd by him this moneth (1000, 800, 550, 450, 400, 500, 200, 200, 200, 110, 90, 83, 17, 25, 10, 11, 7)[1] - - - - - Rupees 4653:

Sawme [*Sāwan*, August] moneth, 1671 or 1672, the Jentue yeare 28 [= *St.* 1728].

Pepper, mds. 276: 13 seer at 25 per md. - -	6908:	
Tuttenagg, mds. 9: 32¼ at 54 per md. - -	529:	10:
Tinn, mds. 74: 4: at 42: rupees per md. - -	3112:	
Copper, mds. 80: 27 seer at 54 rupees per md. -	4356:	7:
Sword blades, 25: at 5: rupees each - - -	125:	
Sword blades, long, at 4: rupees - - -	8:	
	15039:	1:

Cash payd by him this moneth (Beanna [*bayāna*], 1, Cash, 2000, 500, 1000, 600, 124, 400, 400, 926, 900) - - - - - Rupees 6851:

Cheet [*Chait*, April] moneth, 1671 or 72, the Jentues yeare 28 [= *St.* 1728].

Jambee[2] Copper, 200 mds. at 46 rup. per md. Rup: 9200:

Cash payd by him this moneth (9200, Beanna [*bayāna*], 1, Cash, 2800, 1000, 1000, 1000, 1000, 1000, 1778, 2000) - - - - - 20779:

[1] The figures in brackets, which make up the total sum of rupees paid, are given in columns in the original.

[2] Jambi, on the east of Sumatra, where an English factory was established in 1615. See Foster, *Journal of John Jourdain* (Hak. Soc.), p. 333, n.

Assand moneth [*Aswin*, October].

Goods sold, *vizt.*	
Quicksilver, mds. 5: at 3 rup. 13 ann. per seer -	700:
Cloth for a Bramny[1] or Cloake - - - -	34: 11:
Noe money paid this moneth.	784: 11:

Cheete moneth [*Chait*, April], the foregoing yeare [1671].

Lead, 200 mds. at 13 rupees - - -	Rup: 2500:
Noe money payd.	

This account was written by Mr. Robert Elwes in Dacca with his owne hand. Taken by him from Tulluck Chund and Buna [Tilok Chand and Bannā] his brother. SAMUELL HERVY.

Wee, the subscribers, doe beleive this account to be Mr. Robert Elwes his handwriting, being well acquainted therewith. WALTER CLAVELL; EDWARD READE; JOHN MARSHALL.
October the 23th, 1676.

Mr. Clavell produced a letter to himself from Mr. John Smith, dated in Dacca, February 8th, 1672-3, adviseing as followeth, *vizt.*, 'I was in hopes you would not have soe much surprised me as to call me hence without the least notice to have prepared myself; but my greatest trouble in it is that I sold and delivered goods of yours, and shall not have time to gett in the money, tho the time they were sold for is expired; yett the goods you know were sold at a falling markett, and the merchant [? Tilok Chand] that bought them I know lost above 20 per Cent., which was considerable, and brought him backwards. Yett I was resolved, had I resided here, if he payd not the money in two yeares from the time the goods were delivered, I would then make good the money to you for what goods I delivered of yours, and doe now offer the same, soe that if afterwards it succeeds not according to your expectation, or as they should, I hope you will not blame me, haveing made this fair offer, hope you will please to order those that reside here not to deale to

[1] Bramny is a corruption of H., *bārānī*. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Brandy Coortee, has no quotation with the form 'bramny,' and his earliest instance of 'baranni' is in 1754. 'Brandy-coat' was the ordinary term for a greatcoat in Madras about 1870-80, to my knowledge.

rough with the merchant, least spoile both him and the debt, shall add no more save to desire your answer to this.'

Alsoe Mr. Clavell produced the Coppy of his letter to Mr. Smith, dated in Ballasore, February 21: 1672 [1673], in answer to the foregoeing, as followeth, *vizt.*, 'Had you wrote me the quantity, quallity and amount of the goods, and the persons names to whome sold, I could then, 'tis possible, have knowne how to have given you answer to [your] proposition, but however I shall not be forward to sell the Companyes imployments for any advantage of mine; therefore give me but an honest account of the goods in your hands; that is all I expect from you, and less then that I shall not. What goods I from time to time have sent you have not binn upon my single account, but others with me. Some of them will, without question, render you thankes for your fair Dealing, as well as I have cause to doe. I have formerly desired you to deliver up my remayneing goods to Mr. Elwes and Hervy and hope you have or will comply with my desires.'

Samuell Hervy Deposed that after Mr. Elwes and this Deponent came to Dacca [in March, 1673], he, this Deponent, saw Tulluck Chund [Tilok Chand] (who is since deceased) pay Mr. John Smith a summe of money, which, to the best of his (this Deponents) remembrance, was said to be rupees 1500: And this Deponent farther saith that after the payment of the said money, the said Tulluck Chunds brother and partner, by name Bunna [Bannā], wrote a bill, made payable to Mr. Elwes, for Rupees 11670: 4: ann., which bill, when Mr. Smith delivered to Mr. Elways and this Deponent, he declared that of the said summe, rup. 6915: 11½ ann. was for the account of the Honourable Company, and Rupees 4754: 8½ ann: was for account of Mr. Walter Clavell.

What part of this Debt aforesaid hath binn received of Tulluck Chund or Bunna since Mr. John Smith left Dacca?

Samuell Hervy, Deponent, answered that what money was recovered of that Debt since Mr. John Smith left Dacca [in June, 1673] was all received some monthes before Mr. Robert Elwes dyed [on the 4th December, 1675], and not one farthing since; and there was received, at severall times, to the amount of

rupees 2000:, which summe was made good to Mr. Clavells accompt, deducting or debiting Mr. Clavell 200: rupees for the Charges of recovering the 2000: rupees.

Mr. Walter Clavell being asked the like question, deposed and sayd, this being a question against himselfe, he might excuse answering thereto, as Mr. Smith had done in the same case of Tulluck Chunds [Tilok Chand] debt; Yett, for the cleareing of anything relateing to the Honourable Companyes service, he doth answer that Mr. Robert Elwes hath made good to this Deponent the summe of 1800: rupees, recovered of the said Tulluck Chund, and farther declareth that upon a faire stateing of the account of all the dealings that the said Smith hath had with the said Tulluck Chund for the Honourable Company, for himselfe, and others with him, he is and alwayes hath binn willing to bare his equall share of the whole debt, and to make good an equall proportion of what he hath received.

Doe you know whether Tulluck Chund owed Mr. John Smith any money more then the rupees 11670: 4: annaes assigned by Mr. Smith to the Honourable Company and Mr. Clavell?

Samuell Hervy, Deponent, answered that he knew of no more. Mr. Smith never told him of any more, nor did Tulluck Chund or Bunna [Bannā], his brother, ever owne to owe any English man more then the said rupees 11670: 4: annaes since their giveing of the bill for the said summe.

Doe you know whether Mr. Smith had any other dealings with Tulluck Chund or Bunna more then for goods sold them for the Honourable Companyes account and Mr. Clavells?

Samuell Hervy, Deponent, answered that he knew not of any goods sold or delivered by Mr. Smith to Tulluck Chund or Bunna, but when they gave Mr. Robert Elwes their accounts out of their bookes, This Deponent often heard them say that that was the accompt of their dealings with Mr. Smith.

Mr. John Smith produced a letter, directed to himselfe etc. Factors from Walter Clavell, Gabriell Townesend and Edward Reade, dated Aprill the 17th, 1671, adviseing as followeth, *vizt.*, 'Wee take notice the merchant [Tilok Chand] who bought the lead of Mr. Jones mett with some trouble in Dacca, and hath not yett payd for the lead he bought. Wee desire you to use your

uttmost industry to recover in that money, as well to secure that debt as to ease our Masters of the Charge of Interest.'

Alsoe Mr. John Smith produced an accompt, drawne up by himselfe, betweene Tulluck Chund and Walter Clavell, wherein Tulluck Chund was made Debtor for the following goods:—

TULLUCK CHUND, *DEBTOR*

July 17th, 1672.	Rup:	ann:
Pepper 180: mds. 6: seer at 25: rupees per md. - - - - - - -	4503:	12: –
Copper 40: mds. at 50 rupees per maund	2000:	00: –
Tynn mds. 26: 4¾ seer at 42 rupees per maund - - - - - - -	1097:	00: ½
Rupees	7600:	12: ½

PER CONTRA

March, 1672.	Rup:	ann:
By John Smith at Sundry payments -	2846:	4: –
By Ballance as per note appeares - -	4574:	8: ½
Cassambazar, October the 23d: 1676.	7600:	12: ½

WALTER CLAVELL.
SAMUELL HERVY.

The Examinations and Depositions before mentioned were taken in the Presence of STREYNSHAM MASTER [and the rest of the Council].

October the 24th. Thuesday (*sic*) *Forenoone and afternoone.*—The Councill continued the Examinations of a Charge exhibited by Walter Clavell against John Smith.

Walter Clavell, Edward Reade and Samuell Hervy were all sworne together.

To the 12th Article.—Mr. Walter Clavell deposed that Mr. Shem Bridges, whilst he was Cheife, before he went for England anno 1670, being dissatisfied with Mr. John Smithes management of the Honourable Companyes affaires in Dacca, had designed to remove him thence, and afterwards this Deponent, being alsoe dissatisfied when he had heard of his takeing 600:

rupees out of the first investment, being at Cassambazar, Consulted with Mr. Vincent, Mr. Townesend and Mr. Marshall, and agreed to send James Price to assist in the Durbarr, and privately to informe himselfe and advise this Deponent of the manner of the management of the Honourable Companyes business, but Mr. John Smith returned him againe to Hugly with a Surpaw [*saropā*] from the Nabob, without any order from this Deponent or advice thereof untill about the time he was returned. And this Deponent farther saith that John Vickars being sent by this Deponent to Dacca and privately ordered to informe himselfe of the Companyes business, and to give this Deponent an accompt thereof, The said John Vickars returned from Dacca againe in few monethes and proceeded to England,[1] and this Deponent could never gett any accompt from him of the manner of manadgment of the Companyes business there. And further, that Mr. Smith, heareing that Mr. Samuel Hervy was intended to be sent to Dacca, said Smith wrote a letter to this Deponent desireing the said Hervy might not be sent, but a Blew coate Boy.[2]

To the 13th Article.—Mr. Walter Clavell Deposed that Jerome Melleek [Jāirām Malik], to whome the 2000: mds of lead was sold by Consultation, did acquaint this Deponent that Mr. John Smith had 400: mds. of the said parcell of lead; that the said Jerome Melleek first shewed this Deponent his Bookes wherein Mr. Smithes accompt was charged with 400: mds. Lead, and afterward produced to this Deponent a bill under John Smithes owne hand for 1258: rupees or thereabouts, as this Deponent best remembers, which summe the said Jerome Meleeck sayd was oweing to him by the said Smith upon accompt of the said 400: mds. of Lead. And this Deponent further sayeth that, in discourse with the said John Smith, he hath acknowledged to this Deponent that the 1200: rupees which he owed to Jerome Melleeck was for lead.

[1] John Vickers 'for some time officiated as second at Dacca,' but 'wanting his health,' requested permission to return to England at the end of 1672 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.). He died on the passage home (*O.C.*, No. 3996).

[2] The 'Blew-coate Boy' was probably Thomas Bromley, 'entertained as apprentice' in November, 1670, and sent to Bengal (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fols. 72, 75).

Did Jerome Melleek tell you that Mr. John Smith used any force or compulsion towards him for the said lead?

Walter Clavell, the Deponent, answered that hee doth not remember that the said Jerome Melleek did say or tell him that Mr. Smith used any force or compulsion towards him.

Mr. Edward Reade being asked, deposed that he being in Hugly in the yeare 1674 to take charge of the Honourable Companyes business there, and perticulerly to demand the money of Jerome Melleek, as it became due, for the 2000: mds. lead sold him, and towards the latter payments, this Deponent pressing him hard for the money, he told this Deponent that Mr. John Smith had part of that bargaine of lead with him, and produced a bill under Mr. Smithes owne hand for 1200: rupees and somewhat more, which he urged this Deponent to take in part of payment, but this Deponent refused it.

To the 14th Article.—Mr. Walter Clavell Deposed that in the yeare 1674, Mr. Gabriell Townsend intending to goe for England,[1] This Deponent being at Ballasore, sent for Mr. John Smith from Hugly (where this Deponent had admitted him to reside upon his, John Smithes, owne occasions),[2] to come to Ballasore to be assistant in sorting and packing the Honourable Companyes goods for England.[3] The said John Smith did come accordingly to Ballasore, and did there sort and packe severall goods which went home upon the ships *Phœnix* and *Lancaster*, and was designed to have sorted and packed the Ballasore cloth, which was sent upon the Pinck *Advice*[4] to the Fort, but the said John Smith deserted that imployment, con-

[1] Townsend sailed for England in December, 1674. He had served the Company 'about fourteen years in Bengal' (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.).

[2] Smith arrived at Hugli on the 18th August. The next day he wrote to Edwards, 'I cannot assure you of my long stay, coming on my owne business' (*O.C.*, No. 3986).

[3] On the 17th October, 1674, Clavell wrote from Balasor to Hugli, 'It will be needful that Mr. John Smith takes his passage of the first of the Company's sloops that comes this way to be assisting here, and wee order him so to doe' (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.). Smith left Hugli on the 29th October, 1674 (*O.C.*, No. 4026).

[4] The ships *Phœnix*, *Lancaster*, and *Advice*, under Captains J. Wildey, R. Goodlad, and W. Gaich, reached Balasor in August, September, and October, 1674, and were despatched in the following December. Their long stay was owing to a disastrous fire which occurred at Balasor almost immediately after their arrival.

trary to this Deponents order, and without his knowledge, and went to the Coast [*i.e.*, Fort St. George] that yeare, 1674. And this Deponent further saith that after John Smithes returne from the Coast to Ballasore, he went from thence to Hugly without this Deponents knowledge, and stay'd at Hugly and the places adjacent about two monethes upon his owne occassions, and then returned againe to Ballasore. And this Deponent further saith that in the yeare 1675, the said John Smith did againe goe from Ballasore to the Coast without this Deponents leave.

When John Smith went to the Coast in December 1674 and returned in Aprill following, 1675, did he shew you an order from the Agent and Councell to settle him Cheife at Dacca?

Walter Clavell, the Deponent, answered that hee received a letter from the Agent and Councell of that import to settle John Smith Cheife at Dacca; but this Deponent and the rest of the Councell did not comply with that order, by reason that the said Smith had behaved himselfe soe ill in that trust and imployment that they thought they should betray the Honourable Companyes interest to settle him there againe, nor, according to the course of succession and Seniority was it held right, there being then five persons before him, who might lay claime to that imployment, *vizt.*, Mr. Elwes, then Cheife of Dacca, Mr. Reade, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Bugden, and Mr. Bullivant.[1]

To the 15th Article.—Samuell Hervy, Deponent, answered that whereas there was left remayning upon the ballance of the Dacca bookes closed by John Smith, March the 15th, 1672-3, the following goods and debts, *vizt.*,

	Rup:	Ann:
Scarlett [European broadcloth] - - -	4:	0:
Tulsey [Tulsī], a debt of - - - -	10:	12:
Collay Ray [Kāllū Rāi], a debt of - -	39:	2:
Succadeve [Sukhā Dev], a debt of - -	36:	2:

The said Deponent saith that Mr. Robert Elwes and this Deponent being at Dacca to receive the remaynes according to

[1] Elwes and Marshall ranked above Smith, and Reade had been made a member of Council at Hugli, and thus superseded him, but Bugden and Bullivant were, according to the list of the year 1673 (*O.C.*, No. 3765), both below Smith as regarded service.

the said Smithes bookes, there was noe Scarlett delivered to them. That for Tulseys debt they had noe noate and he denyed the debt; and for the debt of Colla Ray and Succadeve they had noe noate, nor could they ever find the persons which this Deponent saith was advised in a letter to Mr. Walter Clavell etc., dated the 29th July, 1673, which letter was now produced, signed by Robert Elwes and Samuell Hervy. And this Deponent further saith, whereas there is remayneing on Ballance of the said bookes, closed by John Smith in Dacca, March the 15th, 1672-3, a debt of one Harkisson [Harkishn] for rupees 1500: for lead charged to said Harkissons accompt as sold by John Smith, February the 15th, 1672 [1673] at three monethes, The said Harkisson in discourse divers times told this Deponent that the said debt was the ballance or rest of accompts with Mr. John Smith for tynn and other goods. But, at the said Harkissons delivery of his bills for 1500: rupees, whilst Mr. John Smith was at Dacca, he sayd the summe was for lead, though afterwards he often tymes told this Deponent that it was the ballance of accompts as aforesaid. For further proofes of this Article, Mr. Walter Clavell refereth to the examinations and Depositions upon the 8th and 9th Articles in the business of Kisna Mongull and Rogeram [Rājārām].[1]

To the 16th Article.—Walter Clavell, Deponent, answered that the Companyes Occoone [*akhūn*] at Hugly did acquaint him that there was one Bowanny [Bhawānī], a servant of Mr. John Smithes, who had payd custome as an Englishmans servant, about Denia Colle [Dhāniakhālī] within a dayes Journey of Hugly, and the said Occoone did afterwards gett the note signed by the officers of the customes, which attested that an Englishmans servant had payd custome, which sayd note this Deponent received of the Occoone and kept some monethes by him, but at present is mislayd.

Did you know that the said note did attest that an Englishman's servant had payd Custome?

Walter Clavell, Deponent, answered that the Occoone (who is the Companyes servant) is a person who is intrusted and Imployed in Composeing, writeing and Interpreting all letters

[1] In *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i., this name is given as 'Rodger Ram.'

and writeings in the Persian Language,[1] did read this paper to the Deponent and interpreted it That Bowanny [Bhawānī] had payd Custome as an Englishmans servant; and the said Occoone did tell this Deponent that the said Bowanny was Mr. Smithes servant; But this Deponent doth not remember how much custome was paid, nor for what goods.

Edward Reade, Deponent, answered that hee, being Resident at Hugly, and haveing notice of some goods of Mr. John Smithes stoped comeing from Denia Colle [Dhāniakhālī] to Hugly, this Deponent wrote a letter to have them cleared, but Bowanny, Mr. Smithes man, was come away with the goods before the Governours answer came, and this Deponent, asking how he gott them cleared, said Bowanny told him that he was forced to pay some Juncan [*changam*, customs] or Custome to Cleare them.

To the 17th Article.—Nothing more sayd to it then what is in the Charge and answer. WALTER CLAVELL. EDWARD READE. SAMUELL HERVY. *Casambazar, 24th October*, 1676.

Mr. Master, in looking over the Dacca bookes, found some entryes wherewith he was dissatisfied, which are as followeth, *vizt.*,

1st. Journall, folio 5, Aprill primo 1672, Cash taken up at Interest of Dukurne Shaw [Devkarṇ Shāh], Rupees 12000:

Which money is not delivered out to broakers to provide goods untill the 30th day of said moneth and then 10,000: is payd out.

2dly. Ditto Journall, folio 5, February 1st, payd out to broakers to provide goods - - - 13000:

Ditto folio, February, 12th, paid out to provide goods - 10000:

Ditto Journall, folio 6, Aprill 30th, 1672, paid out for goods - - - - - - - 10000:

And in the following Journall in folio 5: 6: and 7: there is not the same goods received of the merchants for which the money above mentioned was said to be delivered out, but other sorts of goods.

3dly. Journall, folio 5, August the 29th, 1672, theres 500

[1] *Akhūn*—lit., in Persian, a teacher, instructor

peeces of Hummums [*ḥammām*] received of Kisno Mongull [Kishn Mangal] entred at 5: rupees 11: annaes per peece, the full price contracted for without any abatement.

4*thly*. And much of the aforesaid money was received back and assigned over to Kisno Mongull after it had stood a long time upon the Merchants accompts as lyeing in their hands. To which Perticulers Mr. Master desired Mr. Smithes answer.

To which Mr. John Smith answered, 1*st*. That the 12,000: rupees taken up at Interest Aprill the first, and 10,000 rupees not paid out till the 30th day of the said moneth was occasioned by the troubles at Dacca Caused by the Governor at Hugly [Malik Kāsim].

2*dly*. That the said troubles lasting untill June after the money was given out, he was forced to take of those merchants, who had not provided according to contract, such goods as he could gett of them that were proper for Europe.

3*dly*. That Kisno Mongulls goods were very good, and therefore hee made no abatements upon them.

4*thly*. That the troubles before mentioned were the occassion of soe great remaynes, and therefore at his comeing away he assigned them over to Kisno Mongull, by reason he was an able man and provided good goods.

The Examinations and Depositions before mentioned were taken in presence of STREYNSHAM MASTER [and the rest of the Council].

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October 25th, Wednesday.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and the rest of the Council].

Mr. Samuell Puckle haveing made his request to the Councell that his fathers and his owne Sallary might be paid him, The Councell thought fitt to grant it, and accordingly ordered Mr. Matt: Vincent to pay him as followeth, *vizt*., For Mr. Wm. Puckles deceased, his sallary from Xber [December] 10: to October the 16th, is 10: mos. 6: dayes at 300: *li*. per annum, halfe to be payd in India, amounts to *li*. 127: 10s: at 2s: 3d. the Rupee is - - - - - - 1333:⅓:[1]

[1] The amount should be 1,133⅓. It is correctly given in the duplicate of this part of the Diary (*Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i.).

For Mr. Samuell Puckle his Sallary due the 10th of December next at 10 *li.* per annum - - - - - 88:8/9:

Takeing his receipt for the same.

Raganaut [Raghunāth] and Bissussa [Biseśar] of Hugly haveing brought musters of fine mullmulls [*malmal*] and Cossaes [*khāṣṣa*], which were now veiwed by the Councell, and findeing the Cossaes to be a thick sort of Cloth, not such as the Honourable Company desire, they thought not fitt to treat for them; but the Mullmulls being a good thinn sort, it is left to Mr. Clavell and Mr. Reade to agree for them and report their proceedings therein to the Councell.

Letters to Ballasore and Hugly were Read and approved off.

Mr. John Smith representing to the Councell that in May last there being 20: Bales of the Honourable Companyes broad Cloth laden on Purgowes[1] at Ballasore, which Purgowes, by reason of the foule weather could not gett on board the Vessell in the Road to put the broad Cloth on board, hee thereupon, with the advice of Mr. John Marshall and Mr. Edmond Bugden who were present, procured a boate to send to the Vessell, that shee might come to Leeward and take in the said broad Cloth and the Honourable Companyes servants to come on her to Hugly, which boate, in performeing the same, was cast away, for which Mr. Smith has since paid 40: rupees. This relation being confirmed by Mr. Marshall, The Councell thought fitt and doe order 40: rupees to be paid Mr. Smith on the Honourable Companyes accompt, and alsoe the usuall freight of 3: rupees per bale for the 20: bales of broad cloth brought up in his Vessell the *Ava*,[2] The Honourable Companyes Sloopes at that time, by stress of weather, being forced into Ganges.

October 25.—The Bannian Merchants [Hindu traders] of this Towne informed us that they had received advices from Agra and Delly [Delhi] that the Great Mogull had sett a duty or custome upon all silver and gold that should be sold by one Hindue Merchant to another, by which means he will inforce

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 317.

[2] Elsewhere this vessel is called the *Ava Merchant*.

the coyneing of all treasure in his mints, and very much prejudice trade.[1]

October 26, *Thursday Forenoone and Afternoone.*—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

THE CHARGE OF WALTER CLAVELL AGAINST JOHN SMITH.

The Council's Decision.

Mr. John Smith haveing moved the Councell to give their result and opinions upon the examinations and Depositions taken upon the Charge exhibited against him by Mr. Walter Clavell, before they proceed upon other business, after some debate, the Councell agreed thereto and desired Mr. Smith to withdraw, which accordingly he did.

The Councell then haveing debated over the examinations and depositions taken upon Mr. Walter Clavell's charge against Mr. John Smith, did find that, according to the evidence thereon, Mr. John Smith hath binn unfaithfull in his trust and Imployment in the Honourable Companyes service, more particularly as it appeares to them in the proofes upon the Third, Fourth, Eighth, Ninth, Eleaventh, and Fifteenth Articles.

Mr. Joseph Hall agreed only to the three per Cent. upon the fourth Article, and to the Eleaventh Article.

And to the fourteenth Article all the Councell agreed it was an unfaithfull action, but how far the Agent and Councell have acquitted him of it, is left to them and the Honourable Company, as is the whole charge.

Mr. Smith was then sent for, and the proceedings of the Councell in his absence were read to him.

THE CHARGE OF MATTHIAS VINCENT AGAINST JOSEPH HALL.

Mr. Joseph Hall delivered into the Councell his answer to Mr. Mathias Vincents charge against him, which was read, and

[1] I can find no confirmation of this report. It was, perhaps, a prelude to the reimposition of the hated *jazia*, or poll-tax, by Aurangzēb.

the Charge and answer both ordered to be entred in the Consultation booke.[1] The Councell thought fitt to proceed to take the proofes of Mr. Mathias Vincents said Charge. The wittnesses Mr. Vincent will produce to each Article as they fall under Examination.

The forme of Oath agreed upon.

You shall true answer make to all such questions as shall be put to you, touching a Charge exhibited the 20th day of this moneth by Mathias Vincent against Joseph Hall, in behalfe of the Honourable East India Company, wherein you shall declare the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, soe help you God and the contents of this booke.

Which Oath the Councell are of opinion is not repugnant to the lawes of England, and is to be administred by Mr. Master, Cheife, according to his Majestyes Charter to the Honourable Company and their Commission and Instructions to him.

It being moved by some of the Councell that Mr. Hall might be ordered to withdraw whilst the wittnesses were examined to his charge, as was practised in the case of Mr. Clavell, Mr. Reade and Mr. Vincent, but Mr. Master not being satisfied that it was agreeable to the lawes and Customes of England to examine wittnesses and require the defendant to withdraw, put it to Mr. Hall whether he would willingly submitt himselfe thereto, as Mr. Vincent had done in the case of Rugo Podaur. To which Mr. Hall replyed, as Mr. Smith did, that if he was ordered he would withdraw, otherwise not.

Whereupon Mr. Master, willing to avoid any inconveniences that might occur to the Honourable Company or himselfe thereby, thought it not fitt to put it to the question whether he should be ordered to withdraw. Upon which Mr. Clavell and Mr. Reade declared their resentments that they had not the same priviledge the Law and Custome of England allows them soe well as others, and desired it might be entred.

[1] See *infra* for a copy of the Charge.

Cassambazar, October 20th, 1676.

THE CHARGE OF MATHIAS VINCENT AGAINST MR. JOSEPH HALL.

1st. That the said Joseph Hall, in the time of Mr. Bridges Chiefe ship [1669-70], did charge the Honourable Company with an extravagant and unreasonable accompt of his owne expences, etc.,[1] and refused to proceed to Pattana when chosen thereto by Consultation,[2] and to Hugly afterwards when ordered by the Cheifes and Councell,[3] and to Cassambazar, anno 1670, (when ordered by the Honourable Companyes letter second of this Factory)[4] untill he had traded the whole moonsoone at

[1] Hall was turned out of the factory at Balasor on the 12th May, 1669, because he refused to obey the Council's orders. His expulsion was disapproved of by the Agent at Fort St. George, and his reinstatement ordered in October, 1669. Hall claimed full allowances and pay during the time he was out of service (*O.C.*, No. 3356). Bridges retorted that Hall's expenses had been incurred by his wilful disobedience of orders (*O.C.*, No. 3357), but that 'diet money,' etc., should be allowed him on receipt of an account of his disbursements (*O.C.*, No. 3359). Hall claimed Rs. 482½, which was considered 'unreasonable,' and the Council declined to pay more than his salary, with 'diet, house rent, servants wages,' etc., at the usual rates (*O.C.*, No. 3360).

[2] Hall was appointed third at Patna, at a Consultation at Balasor, on the 6th April, 1669 (*O.C.*, No. 3259). He refused to accept the post, alleging that by so doing he would be serving under his inferiors in station (*O.C.*, No. 3261). On the 8th December, 1669, he was again ordered to Patna, and was directed to start on the 15th, but again declined to obey (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. i.).

[3] Hall, having refused to go to Patna, was sharply reprimanded by Bridges and the Council on the 27th April, 1669. However, as he had 'alleadged the craziness of' his 'body and age to have rendred' him 'insufficient to undertake soe long a journey as to Pattana at this season of the year,' he was 'respited at present' and ordered to Hugli to 'dispeed and receive' the Company's goods (*O.C.*, No. 3268). On the 7th May, Hall received full instructions for his procedure at Hugli, but, 'being unwilling to proceed by watter as first designed,' he was allowed Rs. 50 towards the cost of his journey by land, and he was ordered to start within a week. He, however, would only consent to go to Hugli on his own terms—*viz.*, that he might return to Balasor 'for his own concerns' on the arrival of the 'Europe ships' in November (*O.C.*, No. 3276). This stipulation not being conceded, he refused to set out for Hugli, and was consequently turned out of the factory-house at Balasor. On the 28th May, 1670, Hall was ordered to leave Balasor and to be at Hugli by the 4th June (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. i.), but he sent 'frivolous excuses' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii.).

[4] The order was given at a Court held on the 29th October, 1669 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xlviii., fol. 286). On the 20th October, 1670, the Council at Hugli wrote to the Company that Hall had been advised of their orders, 'which he has not yet complied with' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii.).

Ballasore with the Europe ships,[1] it being six moneths before he comply[ed] with the Honourable Companyes said Orders.

2d. That he brought great Scandall upon the Honourable Companyes servants and English nation by defrauding a Portuguez at Ballasore, who charges him with cheating him in exchanging a parcell of Pearle comitted to his trust.[2]

3d. That he hath kept the Honourable Companyes Generall bookes in such a manner,[3] and soe framed accompts to render persons out of favour with the Company, as that they may seeme to have much money remay[n]eing in their hands, *Vizt.*,

(1st). Hee would not give Samuell Hervy his due Creditt in the Companyes bookes, though desired soe to doe.

(2dly). Hee gave not the Chiefe [Walter Clavell] Creditt, according to the Cash bookes, though he added his posting marketts[4] to them.

(3dly). Hee hath omitted to Creditt the Chiefe Rupees one thousand he long since Supplyed Dacca Factory with.

(4thly). Hee never reconciled the Subordinate Factoryes accompts with those of the head Factory, by which meanes there is great differences ariseing between our accompts.

4th. That he denyed protection (when left to act at Ballasore) to Daniell Roberts, an English seaman[5] cast away in the

[1] Bridges, commenting on Hall's unfitness for a seat in the Council, described him, on the 12th May, 1669, as 'a person that runs up and downe the towne more like a pedlar than a Marchant . . . proffering his knives, scissers and other trumpery at every shop in the Bazar' (*O.C.*, No. 3276).

[2] There is no reference to this transaction in any of the contemporary records existing.

[3] Writing to Fort St. George from Balasor in March, 1673, Clavell complained that Hall had left the books in 'no very good condition,' with 'so many erasings and blots in them that they are many places Illegible' (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.). A year later Clavell wrote from Hugli (31st March, 1674) that they had 'cleared the accompts,' and hoped that orders had been given to Hall 'that by his meanes they bee not againe put in confusion' (*ibid.*).

[4] The duplicate of this portion of the Diary has 'marks.'

[5] There is no confirmation of this charge among the contemporary records. Daniel Roberts is first mentioned in October, 1672, and is alluded to as 'Roberts an Englishman' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., p. 118). In February, 1673, he was engaged by Clavell as a pilot for the Hugli River. He married the widow of Robert Cole, the dyer, and was still at Hugli in 1679 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv., and *Kasimbazar*, vol. i.). His name appears again in vol. ii.

Samaritan,[1] by which meanes the Governour of Ballasore and other officers of the said Towne forced about 800 rupees Value from him.

5th. That he, after a most barbarous manner, caused Mr. Nurse, then appointed to keep a diary at Ballasore, when he was on his Cott quiettly reading, to be seized on by Peons who bound him and tore almost all his clothes off, and afterward, as Mr. Nurse affirmed, beat him with a Caine himselfe, and being bloody, and without a hat or other Clothes, thrust him into the street out of the Honourable Companyes Factory, not premitting him to returne againe to his Lodgeing.[2] And afterward, feareing what the issue of this might be, insinuated into Mr. Nurse maliciously, telling him he had order from Mr. Clavell for soe doeing as he did to him, when it is well knowne the Quarrell betwixt them was for words of difference uttered one to another some time before.[3]

[1] The *Samaritan* was despatched from England in September, 1658, and arrived at Fort St. George in July, 1659 (*O.C.*, Nos. 2782 and 2789). She appears to have been wrecked later, for the Council at Fort St. George wrote to the Company on the 11th January, 1661, that they were 'commanded from Surat' to send 'such of the *Samaritans* men as were saved out of her' to help man the *Muscatt Castle* (*O.C.*, No. 2865).

[2] Nurse's own account of this assault is as follows: 'Mr. Walter Clavell last yeare [1671-72], upon some difference with the Moores at Hughly upon stoping our goods, repaired thither to rectifie the abuses, leaves at his departure according unto Agent and Councell Order, Mr. Joseph Hall Chiefe at Ballasore untill his returne. Mr. Hall, presently after the Chiefs Departure, tooke upon him (Spanish fashion) your servants to abuse according to the terms of a private Commission left him. It was designed in Councell here that Mr. Edward Reade should sort your Cloth and I keepe your Dyary of all transactions of buying and selling, according to your strickt Injunctions to us. Mr. Reade civilly in my heareing demanded this imployment but was uncivilly deneyed it by Mr. Hall. I, as wel I might, went aloft to demaund mine and an exact insight into your affayres, which without I could not handsomely proceede, but his reply was to mee much worse then to Mr. Reade (and the least offender). [He] told mee, with many scullillous provocations, that I should have no insight into any the transactions, and if I prated or contested (which I had reason to say something in my defence) hee would send for some 20 peons to binde and to beate mee, which hee and they did to some purpose. They tooke mee reading upon a Cott, and conveighed mee, bound hand and foote, out off your Factory, and turned mee out of your Service all bloody, as I have the Clothes and markes yet to shew. This was on the 19th day of June, 1672, and have ever since lived upon my owne Account, and am dayly threatened to bee sent home' (*O.C.*, No. 3710).

[3] Hall had accused Nurse of 'debauchery,' and there had been a violent quarrel between them on the 17th June, two days before the assault recorded (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., p. 125).

6th. That he, anno 1673, in the time of the last warrs with Holland, supplyed the Dutch with Saltpeter and Wheat for their Garrissons of Mallacca and Batavia, and furnished them with a Vessell for transport of both.[1]

7th. That in November, 1674, or thereabouts, he Suborned Ambrose Copleston, Carpenter of the *Phœnix*, by carrying him to his owne apartment in Ballasore and makeing him drunck, to attest a falsehood in the matter of burneing Ballasore Factory, which the said Copleston repented off, confessed of his owne accord, recanted and beged pardon for.[2]

8th. That he hath falcely and maliciously accused Mr. Reade,

(1st). With sorting the Honourable Companyes goods unduely, which appeares by his owne examination on Oath, first taken in Ballasore and afterwards in Hugly.

(2ndly). That he intended to rob the Factory in the yeare 1672, when he was left to assist him in Ballasore.[3]

(3dly). That Mr. Reade would not give him assistance, when at the same time he had denyed to take the said Reades assistance in the Honourable Companyes business.[4]

(4thly). That he informed the Governour of Ballasore that said Reade was none of the Honourable Companyes servant but a freeman, by which meanes he was put to charges and Trouble to cleare his business with the Governour there.

[1] In December, 1672, Hall was ordered to go to Fort St. George to answer various charges against him. He returned to Hugli from Masulipatam in a 'sloope of his owne' in July, 1673. A naval action between the English and Dutch took place off Masulipatam in August, 1673, but there is no record extant of Hall's movements during this period (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.); *O.C.*, Nos. 3834-3836).

[2] The fire here alluded to occurred on the 28th November, 1674, and was caused by Captain Wildey's 'watchman setting fire to his Bancksaul' (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.).

[3] Hall accused Reade of plotting, in June, 1672, with the Dutch, English, and Portuguese inhabitants at Hugli, to rob the Company's factory, but Reade was able to prove an *alibi* (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., p. 118). On the 17th December, 1672, Clavell wrote to Fort St. George that Hall's charge against Reade had been examined and found to be without foundation, also that Hall 'could have no other aime in this then by a malicious and false accusation to undermine Mr. Reade' (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.).

[4] Reade, however, 'protested' (28th June, 1672) against Hall for 'transacting the Company's business Singly' at Hugli, and allowing him no share in it (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., p. 118).

9*th*. That he, the said Joseph Hall, did in the yeare 1675 imediatly leave Hugly, upon advice of the Cheifes arrivall there to have delivered and examined the remaynes of that Factory to him, and to have examined the said Halls Charge against mee [Vincent] in the business of overrating raw silk and Taffatyes.

10*th*. That he, in the same yeare, did seize the Honourable Companyes Packett and perticuler letters in Ballasore, and detained them from Mr. Bugden, etc., who were appointed to act there in the Companyes affaires, which occassioned great disturbance, and created Scruples in the Commanders about delivery of the Honourable Companyes estate out of their shipps.

11*th*. That he, the first day of November in the same yeare, returned to Hugly without leave from the Cheife, etc., and there remayned solely upon his owne occassions,[1] and then abused and beate the Companyes Occoone [*akhūn*] for not attending his perticuler business at the Durbar, and not comeing at that Instant when he called him, whereas the said Occoone was at that time imployed by Mr. Byam [? Bugden] on some concerne of the Honourable Companyes.

12*th*. That he laded soe much private trade in the moneth of January last at Hugly on the Honourable Companyes sloope *Ganges*, that it hindred her dispatch from Ballasore to the Coast, the quantity being soe great that the Honourable Companyes Servants there were necessitated to waite till boates could be provided to unlade that [sloop] (which at that time of the yeare soe many vessells goeing out is not easely done), ere any of the Companyes goods designed from that place to the Fort after the English shipes Could be taken in. And it is more then probable that the hast he was in to have those his goods to Ballasore occassioned the quick dispatch of the *Ganges* from Hugly, where they had notice of more goods intended hence, by which meanes there was last yeare left behind to the amount of between 4: and 5000 *li*. Sterling, the which goods

[1] There is no record of Hall's movements in 1675 after the 12th September, when he wrote to Fort St. George from Balasor that it was reported Clavell intended to 'force him per last Ship for England' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii.).

arrived in Hugly in a day and a halfe after said Sloopes departure, and might otherwise have got to the Coast and have gone for England with the rest that yeare.[1]

13*th*. That he lately hath demanded of the Honourable Company, on account of wages and other pretences (which is evident, had he binn anywhere Cheife and had had the Honourable Companyes Cash in his hands he would have paid himselfe), the summe of rupees 2326: 10⅔ ann., whereas upon the true stateing of that accompt, there appeared not 500: rupees due to him.[2]

14*th*. That he sent away the bookes of this Factory without my knowledge in November 1671 to Ballasore,[3] when I was first enordered hither to act as Cheife untill another should be appointed, by which meanes I knew not the account of Cash, and he had oppertunity and did make use of it, carrying hence to Ballasore about rupees 4000: of the Honourable Companyes money,[4] which he repaid at leisure, and part of it in 300: peices of Taffatyes at 7½ rupees per peice, which were 50: per Cent. to deare,[5] for which he hath hitherto made noe satisfaction.

15*th*. That he did maliciously and falcely accuse me of murder and of cheating and wronging the Honourable Company off great summes of money, my familey of Poysoning, Theevery, etc., all which was done out [of] malice against mee,

[1] There are no Bengal records extant for the early part of 1676, so that no proof of this charge is available.

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 406, where the amount claimed is given as Rs. 2326 10¾ ann.

[3] On the 4th November, 1671, Hall wrote from Kasimbazar to Clavell protesting against Vincent's appointment as head of Kasimbazar Factory, and sending the 'books Journal and Ledger from 11th September 1670 to 30 [September] 1671.' On the 12th November he wrote that he had sent those books 'to avoyd Contest with him [Vincent] because he would have me to charge to profitt and Loss the Quicksilver &ca. comodities and make good soe much to Mr. Marches accompt' (*O.C.*, No. 3592).

[4] On the 14th March, 1672, Vincent wrote to Clavell that there were 'Rupees 3000 wanting in Halls cash' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., p. 123).

[5] On the 26th February, 1672, Clavell wrote to Vincent that he had demanded the sum due to the Company from Hall, who had replied that there was more than the sum claimed due to him 'on account of Chests etc. and emoluments' as second of Kasimbazar Factory, but that 'at last he had agreed to pay half in Cash and half in fine taffaties' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii.).

and for his perticuler Interest, and not out of Zeale for the Honourable Companyes service.[1]

16*th*. That after Mr. Marches death [in August, 1671] he, the said Hall, impris[oned] Rugo Podaur, [Raghu the *poddār*] who was sent on the Rajamaule voyage,[2] anno 1671, Chaubuckt [flogged with a *chābuk*, whip] his relations, forced from him or them the Ballance of that accompt, after he had made it up with them, and yett maliciously charged Mr. March with rupees 884: or thereabouts, which appeares not that he was any wayes Chargeable with, and denyed that he had ever taken any such accompt untill it was proved under his owne hand.

17*th*. That he tooke Mr. Marches wages to himselfe for the yeare that he dyed, which he, the said Hall, is possessed with to this day, whereas he ought to have lett it stand on Mr. Marches Creditt in the Bookes.

18*th*. That he received rupees 100:, money of Mr. Marches, deceased, from a merchant of this Towne [Kasimbazar], which he still detaynes and never brought to his creditt in the bookes.

19*th*. That he Charged Mr. March in Bookes Letter L., page 26, with gold mohurs[3] 1115: about two monethes after the said Marches decease, which, by Comparing those bookes with the said Halls narrative, he is noe wayes chargeable with, and he charges severall goods to Mr. Marches debt which were afterwards found in the warehouse.

20*th*. That, whereas he hath charged Mr. March with overrating the Honourable Companyes Taffatyes, it appeares by

[1] On the 12th November, 1671, Hall wrote from Kasimbazar to Clavell desiring he might come to Balasor: 'Seeing you have Sent one [Vincent] hether whose Actions will not Admitt of the light, being works of Darkness.' In the same letter he declared that Vincent had cheated the Company by allowing the goods brought in by the weavers to be priced by natives (*O.C.*, No. 3592). In his letter to the Company of the same date, Hall accused Vincent of 'a right downe grand cheate,' of 'fraudulent actions of long standing in a couple of Toakens to his wife and Children,' and of a 'Cheate on Raw Silke' (*O.C.*, No. 3599). In Hall's 'Narrative,' sent to the Company in 1673, he charged Vincent with coming to Kasimbazar 'with a numerous family of fringeys or Portugalls [*farangī*, Indian-born Portuguese], a theiving people,' and with securing the Company's books and burning all the old ones. The charge of murder refers to the death of Raghu, the *poddār*, for which Hall held Vincent answerable.

[2] *I.e.*, to Rājmahāl with the Company's bullion.

[3] The gold *mohar* was worth at this period about Rs. 14.

Oath that he instigated Mr. March to have done soe, and yett Mr. March would not consent to it.

21*st*. That the said Hall hath forsworne himselfe and is guilty of notorious falcityes:—

(1st). In the matter of buying Cossaes at Ballasore in the yeare 1675.

(2ndly). In the business concerning the weight of raw silk in this place.[1]

(3rdly). In the examinations upon his narrative about Matt: Vincents acting nothing at Cassambazar whilst the said Mr. Hall remayned there, more then rateing the Taffatyes and secureing the weavers bookes, whereas it appeares by the Gennerall bookes sent home that Mathias Vincent did likewise make a Considerable Investment, which was part got in and sent home that yeare.

(4thly). In the matters of Mr. Reade as before, and in severall other perticulers that relate to his narrative, and other informations concerning the Podaur and Goepaully [Gopāl Bhāi], and 6000: rupees pretended to be demanded of them, and upon oath he declares his informations came from natives, whose names, places of aboade, or persons he knowes not nor ever did.

22*d*. That he hath sollicited Mr. March and me to take the Honourable Companyes treasure here in partnership with him, the said Hall, at a certaine price to ourselves, whereby wee might make a perticuler benifitt of it.

23*d*. That after Mr. Marches deceased (*sic*) and before Mathias Vincent comeing up hither [Aug. - Oct., 1671], he asked Goepaully, the then Taffaty weigher, as he himselfe reported to severall of the Factory, for one or two thousand rupees, saying he understood and had heard that he had a great deale of money, which Goepaully denying to have any, said Joseph Hall told him he had a way to cast a figure and find out his money by the starrs and writeing, told him he perceived he had a 1000: rupees hidden in a pot under his cott; and alsoe that he

[1] In his letter to the Company of the 12th November, 1671 (*O.C.*, No. 3599), Hall stated that, after March and Vincent had gone to Balasor, he examined the Kasimbazar books and found a 'Cheate on Raw Silke'—*viz.*, that the weight, as received from the merchants, was not that which was entered to the Company, who were losers to the extent of 4 in every 72 *tolās*.

had a beame hung in a string on equall Ballance which, if he carryed over any hid treasure, one end of it would over ballance and direct to it; which Mr. Hall did only to terrefye the said Goepaully and to force him to part with his money to him.

24*th.* That whereas he hath charged Mr. March and myselfe with takeing Rupees 2: 13: annaes per 100: rupees, I shall make it appeare he, [the] said Hall, tooke such a like summe himselfe, and to Countenance his owne practice would have charged it upon others.

25*th.* That he hath Contemned the authority granted by his Majesty to the Honourable Company in his Royall Charter by often refuseing to take a lawfull Oath when required thereunto,[1] and that in a case where he himselfe was accuser and wittness in their behalfe.

26*th.* That he has Constantly, ever since his arrivall in Bengala, binn a Contemner of the Honourable Companyes Cheifes,[2] slighting their persons, and a great Incendiary, aggravating small differences amonge their servants,[3] endeavouring by clandestine meanes to animate and Creat factions and partyes to their disquiete, and the Honourable Companyes disreputation, and to the great prejudice of their affaires.

By which it appeares, though much more may be truely alleadged against him, though notwithstanding Mr. Hall hath binn upwards of seaven yeares in Bengala [since March, 1669] and that dureing that time he hath not binn actually in any trust or imployment but 32 monethes or thereabouts,[4] yett in that little time he hath fully manifested his unfaithfullness, inability and Turbulency, for one part of which the Honourable Company thought fitt formerly to order him to be sent for England,[5] and I hope you will find it very fitting to put that order in execution, when you see how much of this charge will

[1] The duplicate copy of this portion of the Diary has 'soe to doe.'

[2] Hall had defied the orders of Bridges in 1669-70, and those of Clavell subsequently.

[3] Hall consistently espoused the cause of those at variance with authority—*e.g.*, Stiles, Broadnax, and Smith.

[4] Hall was second at Kasimbazar October, 1670, to October, 1671, acting Chief at Balasor April to October, 1672, and again in 1674.

[5] By a letter dated 18th December, 1671 (*Letter Book*, vol. iv., p. 495).

be made out against him. *To Streynsham Master, Esq: etc. Councell In Cassambazar, per* MATHIAS VINCENT.

Mr. Joseph Halls answer to Mr. Vincents charge, delivered in Consultation att Cassambazar, October the 26th, 1676.

Cassambazar, the 24th October, 1676.—Joseph Halls answer to a Scandalous and Malicious paper called a Charge, Conteyning 26 Articles, exhibited against him by Mr. Mathias Vincent, bearing date the 20th Currant.

1st Article.—I answer that in the time of Mr. Bridges Cheifship I did not charge the Company with an extravagant and unreasonable accompt, but a just and reasonable accompt as most judged, except such freinds as my present accuser is; and it was not more unreasonable for me to have it because I disburst the money myselfe, when others had theirs imediately paid by the Company; and since Agent Foxcraft and Councell ordered the payment[1] and the Honourable Company not disapproveing of it, one might thinke my accuser might otherwayes imploy himselfe then to stirr up this after soe many yeares past, unless Judged them weake orders that contradicted his will, as I heard he Did by Sir Wm. Langhorne and Councells.

And you need not wonder if I refused to goe Third to Pattana, comeing out of Councell at the Fort,[2] that being more to serve their owne ends (and send me as far as they could out of the way) then to serve the Company or to comply with the Companyes orders. And when the Company ordered me Second of Cassambazar, I deny that I refused to goe when I had the Cheifes order,[3] and had I gone with[out] the Cheifes order that might have binn matter of charge against me, As it was when I proceed[ed] to Hugly upon the Agent and Councells order, without the Cheifes order in writeing, though he promised to send one after me, as indeed soe he did, but it was to Mr.

[1] George Foxcroft, or Foxcraft, was Agent at Fort St. George 1665-70. From 1665-68 he was imprisoned by Sir Edward Winter, whom he superseded. There is no record of Foxcroft's orders for the reimbursement of Hall's expenses.

[2] When Hall was elected factor, in 1667, he was appointed 'one of the Councell at the Coast and Bay' (*Court Minutes*, vol. xlviii., fol. 67).

[3] See *ante*, note on p. 451. Hall delayed his departure from Hugli to Kasimbazar till 30th December, 1670.

Reade not to deliver the Honourable Companyes remaynes to mee.

2d. Article.—I deny to have brought great Scandall upon the Honourable Companyes servants and English Nation by defrauding a Portuguez at Ballasore, or that ever he charged me with Cheating him in exchanging a parcell of Pearle committed to my trust. And all the ground for this malicious charge is as followeth:—About the time of my first arrivall at Ballasore [March, 1669] when Mr Blacke[1] was Cheife, about eight yeares past, Mr. William Bagnold,[2] with myselfe, desireing to excuse a drinking bout at the Factory, absented ourselves by being at a Portuguez house, who shewed us a parcell of Pearle, rateing the same, and then tooke an accompt thereof, and desireing us to take them, informeing ourselves of the prizes, which wee did; and finding them much overrated, and the Character of this Portuguez to be a Rogue who had binn Condemned to dye at Goa, and had binn hanged there, as his Effigies was, if he had not made escape, Mr. Bagnold and myselfe Returned forthwith to his house with the parcell, saying it was too deer for us, and desireing him to take the accompt thereof, which he did, and remayned satisfied without the least exceptions or mention of any being changed, which I am ready to make oath of, and that they were not changed, being in our Custody till returned, Neither had wee any to change them with; and conceive the occasion of this aspertion, that happened long after, was Mr. Bridges giveing this Portuguez licence, or permitting his building a house on the Honourable Companyes ground neare their Factory. And about three yeares after, when I was in Mr. Clavells absence Cheife in Ballasore,[3] Mr. Reade and said Portuguez being great freinds, and Mr. Reade haveing a warehouse for private trade at this Portuguezes house, who did assume the boldness to make use of more of the Honourable

[1] *I.e.*, William Blake, who was head of affairs in the Bay, 1663-69.

[2] William Bagnall, or Bagnold, was elected factor in 1667, and served the Company at Hugli from April, 1669, until his death at the end of the year 1672 (*Letter Book*, vol. v.; *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.).

[3] On the 2nd May, 1672, Thomas Pace wrote from Balasor to his friend Edwards (*O.C.*, No. 3636): 'Reason is not now permitted to be Argued Since Mr. Hall has been Endued with power to Command, that, together with his Age, Authorize Affronts, of whose nature Ile acquaint you.'

Companyes ground, which I forbiding, yett he sett men to worke thereon, was forced to hinder them, as haveing noe order for his soe doeing. And after this happened, I heard that Mr. Reade should report the forementioned Slander of the Portuguez, though, in soe many yeares after, never to my face did in the least mention any such thing by him, allthough now charged by Mr. Vincent for changing the Pearle, which is as falce as maliciously done by him, for want of otherwayes to vent his Spleen.

And I would faine know what this Article Concerneth the Company, if it had binn true, that my accuser should trouble Esquire Master with it, who comes to enquire into differences between the Company and their servants as to matters of fraud only. Herein he shews his boyling malice cannot keep within its bounds, and would I make reflection, I might Sufficiently make this Article fly in my accusers face, which I now forbare.

3*d*.—I deny to have framed accompts in the Companyes Generall Bookes to render any out of favour with the Company, and scorne to frame any unjust accompts for the favour of any of their servants,[1] otherwise it is possible I might be better esteemed of by my accusers then now I am. I charged Samuell Hervy, by the Cheifes orders to doe, as I shewed Hervy under Mr. Clavells owne hand, and I gave the Cheife Creditt according to his Cash accompt, which may be found entred seven or eight monethes together in those bookes I kept, not haveing received them sooner. And if I did not Creditt the Cheife for 1000: rupees, long since sent to Dacca, it was because I had not order for soe doeing, nor did I know of such a summe. But I suppose the business my accuser is offended at is that, when I kept the bookes, I discovered 1000: rupees which he had mistaken in one Invoyce to the Companyes wrong [prejudice].

[1] Throughout the time that Hall kept the Company's accounts at Balasor and Hugli, 1672-74, there were constant complaints of his methods. Writing to the Court on the 28th December, 1674, Clavell and his colleagues imputed to Hall the 'rudeness' of the journal and ledger sent to England. They stated that they had petitioned the Agent at Fort St. George to allow the books to be kept by a more capable person. They accused Hall of false entries, of crediting himself with unreasonable allowances, and of refusing to make up the invoices of the 'Europe' ships (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.).

Upon examination of their accompts I found it, and acquainted the Cheife, who advised them of the same, and I brought it to the Companyes Creditt, finding a large Cash could not discerne soe small a mistake.

4*th.*—When I was left in Ballasore to act, I did not deny protection to any English, but if Daniell Roberts served the Moores and was abused by them without acquainting me or desireing the Honourable Companyes Protection, I doe not thinke I was obliged to inquire after him whether he was in trouble or not, nor doe I know of any money he spent, or that the Governor or any of his Officers meddled with him.

5*th.*—I did not most barbarously use Mr. Nurse, but what I did is upon register, and approved by the Cheife and Councell, with orders not to lett him enter the Factory againe,[1] but for Mr. [Clavells] abuseing him, in throwing him downe stairs as is said, and for Mr. Vincents abuseing him at Cassambazar in the like nature without cause, [know] noe reason any of them can give for it.

6*th.*—I did not supply the Dutch Garrisons in tyme of warrs or otherwise, but if Mr. Vincent means by my dealing with Mury,[2] a Scotchman and private merchant, I confesse, after his Vessell was oversett, I sold a small one to him, and Mr. Clavell, by a Black, bought his Cargo of Copper, etc. I neither supplyed him with saltpeter, nor doe I know that he bought above 8: or 10: mds. of Peter, and what he bought was of Hurry Churne [Hari Charan, the Company's broker at Hugli], sayd to be Mr. Clavells.

7*th.*—It's Scandalous and malicious to say I suborned Ambrose Copleston, or made him drunk, to attest a falcehood in the matters of burning Ballasore Factory, but it is not unlikely that, after he went aboard, [he] might by my accusers be freighted into a falce repentance and signe a contrary paper for quiettness sake.

8*th.*—I accused Mr. Reade with nothing but what is true, and

[1] There is no record of the Council's approval of Hall's assault on Nurse, but Nurse's conduct was deemed reprehensible, and Hall was ordered to forbid his 'coming to the Factory if he shall continue in theis Disorderly courses' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., p. 118).

[2] I have found no other reference to this individual.

which is already proved many wayes,[1] but that I, or any person by my direction, informed the Governor anything concerning Mr. Reade, as a freeman or otherwise, to his prejudice, is not true but maliciously forged.

9th.—Mr. Clavell never ordered me to stay at Hugly that hee might examine the Charge against Mr. Vincent, but writ to Mr. Reade that I came about my owne business; therefore I looke on this as false.

10th.—That I received the Honourable Companyes Packett in the yeare 1675 in Ballasore is true; and if you will but consider my Quallity, and the Agent and Councells order for my being Cheife in Mr. Clavells absence, I hope you will thinke it but reasonable I should take the Packett, notwithstanding Mr. Bugdens being there.

11th.—Mr. Vincent Certainly would thinke it hard to be kept from the Companyes business, as well as Lodging and dyett, notwithstanding the Agents and Councells order for his Settlement, and yett not have leave to doe his owne business, which case was mine. What I did to the Occoone [*akhūn*] was for putting a stop to the Companyes business, because Ludram [Lodh Rām] must not be trusted with a large quantity of the Companyes goods, besides what he already owed.

12th.—In January last, when [I] left Hugly, the *Ganges* was rideing before the Factory, and I did not medle or concerne myself with the dispatch of her, nor had I anything aboard of her then for myselfe or any other person. But Mr. Clavell, etc. ordered that she should not (as I remember) stay for the Cassambazar goods, or otherwise longer then the 4th or 5th of January, and Mr. Vincent not strictly observeing to send the Honourable Companyes goods within the limited time of the Sloopes stay, notwithstanding the Cheifes order for the same, I suppose was the cause they were left behind. Therefore it were well the sadle were layd upon the right horse, and if dammaged (*sic*) happened to the Company thereby, lett them make it good that were the cause of it. Mr. Vincent, in Cassam-

[1] In Hall's 'Narrative' of charges, sent to the Company in 1673, he accused Reade of cheating the Company and of private trade (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., pp. 142-152).

bazar Register, layes the fault on Mr. Reade, and the discovery of the trueth would be much to the satisfaction of the Honourable Company.

13*th.*—What I gave into the Councell in accompt as due to me from the Honourable Company, being rupees 2326:10:$\frac{2}{3}$, had any unconcerned or indifferent person binn Cheife, I should not, I am confident, have binn abated soe many annaes as now I am rupees, but I cannot much wonder that it is Clipped so neare, falling into such hands, though I am certaine it was more to serve their owne private ends, as to secureing soe much of their owne debts and haveing their will on mee, then any frugallity they intended in expence of the Companyes money. And when I kept the bookes [1672 and 1674], and twice Cheife in Mr. Clavells absence, never was the person that charged one anna more then my due and just right.

Mr. Vincent, by makeing a recharge of sundry perticulers unjustly to my accompt, part of which is since acknowledged, and Mr. Clavell, to ease his owne debt with Hury Churne [Hari Charan], charged me with 9: monethes dyett money, as paid said Hurry Churne for my accompt after he was insolvent, and without my consent or approvall. Alsoe, when I went to Hugly, in pursueance of the Agent and Councells orders to act there in the Companyes affaires in Mr. Clavells absence, They kept me out of their imploy and deprived me of six monethes dyett money, besides great part of my disbursements at the Coast,[1] though they sent me there, and afterwards made out nothing against me. All which considered, it was a wonder anything was left me, but it seemes the loss is not thought sufficient, but now it must help to fill up their Charge against me, besides in that accompt not made me good, one yeares sallary, which charged, and by them left out.

14*th.*—Answered in my fifth Paragraph in the paper given into the Councell of date the 10: of August, 1676,[2] adviseing that, in mine of the 12: November, 1671, to Mr. Clavell,[3] was to

[1] Hall was sent to Madras in December, 1672, and returned to Bengal on the 30th July, 1673 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.).

[2] This 'paper,' delivered when Puckle was head of the Council, does not exist.

[3] There is no letter of this date from Hall to Clavell among the Records for 1671.

acquaint him of my delivery of a pair of Cassambazar bookes delivered Mr. Vincent to send him, and they being ready some time before, soe could not imagine why he sent them not to Mr. Clavell, unless by pretending blame to me that they were not ready, which foreseeing, was part of my reason in sending the 4th Currant one pair of bookes, as alsoe to avoyd Contest with him, because would have me charge to profit and loss the Quicksilver and other Comodityes, and make good soe much to Mr. Marches accompt. I told him I would not doe our Masters soe much wrong. He replyed he would make me doe it, which was the Cheife cause of my sending the first paire of bookes to Mr. Clavell without his knowledge.

Alsoe, since my last, is returned the man that went to see the Quicksilver, by which was gained about nine annaes each seer more then I charged to Mr. Marches accompt. As to the money long since cleared, and for the Taffatyes, gave the true and full relation to the Honourable Company as being noe wayes prejudiced by me and submitted to their determination.[1]

15*th.*—As to this Article, I have, both upon oath and by way of answer to papers, spoaken at large, and leave the Honourable Company to judge of the truth, as alsoe my *Z*eale for their service.

16*th.*—After Rugo Podaur's arrivall from Rajmaul I did keep him on the doore,[2] but never Chabuckt him, and did take some accompt from him in loose papers, and advised Mr. March by my letter to Ballasore[3] and gott what money I could from him, which brought to the Companyes accompt, but falling short of what Rajamaull voyage was debitted with, and Mr. March acting privately in that affaire, I could not doe less then charge him with what wanted to ballance that accompt. It's true I chauckt[4] one of his Relations for delivering out to weavers without my order about 1000: rupees, by which they gott 50: rupees,

[1] On the 12th November, 1671, Hall wrote a long statement of his grievances to the Company. He accused March and Vincent of grossly overrating silk goods, and of keeping him in ignorance of the prices charged (*O.C.*, No. 3599).

[2] *I.e.*, under surveillance at the entrance to the factory.

[3] March left Kasimbazar for Balasor on the 29th July, 1671, according to Hall's 'Narrative.'

[4] 'Did chaubuck' [whip] in the duplicate copy.

which if I had not taken Notice off, they might for that gaine have distributed the Companyes Cash, not regarding how it could come in againe, or what wee should receive for it. My paper of the 27th July, 1676:[1] delivered in Councell, The first Paragraph saith, voyage to Rajamaule falling short rupees 884:5: annaes of the principall Mr. March sayd he sent thither, and I not knowing where to recover it, could doe noe less then discharge it by Mr. March. And when it appeared that Mr. March sent soe much, it might be recovered of the person whome intrusted, till when the Company are wronged, and when that is done Mr. March may have Creditt for 884: rupees 5: annaes againe.

17*th.*—I have often answered this, that at the close of the bookes, its customary in more places in Bengala then Cassambazar, to Creditt all persons for their wages, but Mr. March not being here did not receive it, which I intended to bring to his accompt in the next bookes, but not staying to begin another paire, it slipped out of my memory.

18*th.*—I deny to have received 100: rupees for Mr. Marches or otherwise which I did [not] bring to his accompt, and am confident, had such a thing really binn, Mr. Vincent would not have suffered it to remayne with me soe long, but it is a thing I am alltogether a stranger to, therefore shall speake noe more to it till further proofe or explanation is made.

19*th.*—Though I Debit Mr. March for 1115: gold Mohurs, since I Creditted him for it in the same folio in an entry of 1215 Mohurs, where lyes the wrong? And if those that afterwards found goods in the warehouse that were charge[d] to accompt, did Creditt him for the same, he hath no wrong, but had [I] not, before they were found, charged them to him, the Honourable Company might have binn loosers thereby.

20*th.*—This Article hath binn spoaken to at large upon Oath,[2] and will, noe question, be decided by the Company when they have seen the examinations and weavers bookes, which Mr. Vincent saith are sent home to Mr. Marches perticuler Freinds, in which, if soe, he hath shewed his fidelity to the Company,

[1] This 'paper' does not exist.
[2] Before Major Puckle in the previous August.

and if not soe, then he sheweth his feares of further discoveryes by concealing them.

21*st.*—It's a Notorious falcety of my accuser and his confederates who Contrived the Charge to say I have forsworne myselfe (expressions which modest person[s] would scorne to have used) as to the buying Cossaes in Ballasore. The weight of raw silk in Cassambazar, and Mr. Vincents acting there, haveing binn allready examined by Major William Puckle to be sent to the Honourable Company for their understanding and determinating the same, Mr. Vincent would now by a foule mouthed and scandalous charge against me cloke these frauds and wrongs done the Company, and in Contempt of them and their orders abuse those who appeare in their behalfe.

22*nd.*—I never Sollicited Mr. March or Mr. Vincent to take the Companyes treasure for our perticuler benifitt, and Mr. Vincent had formerly declared that I would never come neare him nor concerning (*sic*) myself in the Companyes business after his arrivall in Cassambazar, but now, to make up his charge, would prove there was great intimacy between us; and soe they use most things any wayes as may best serve their turnes.

23*rd.*—I never did anything as I am charged in this Article, such practyces rather belong to those in this Factory that are better acquainted with the starrs then I am; therefore shall not answer further to such a Ridiculous story.

24*th.*—Whereas I charged Mr. March and Mr. Vincent with takeing rupees 2:13: annaes, I did once make Oath of it, and have since offered to make affidavitt of the same, and afterwards be examined upon Oath concerning it.[1] That I tooke any such summe lyes on Mr. Vincent to prove.

25*th.*—My answer to the 24th I looke on as sufficient answer to this, that being the Oath tendred.

26*th.*—I never was a Contemner of the Honourable Companyes Cheifes, or slighted their persons, though it hath binn my hard fortune to be very much slighted and contemned, and for noe reason as I know of then appearing in the Companyes behalfe, and therefore called Incendiary and aggravator of differences and Creator of factions, all which I abhor and dis-

[1] Hall, however, had refused to take the oath with regard to this charge.

wone (*sic*), never haveing practised any such thing, and only look upon the foregoing Articles to come from the overflowing of Mr. Vincents etc. spleen, which sheweth what he would doe if he had reall matter of charge to worke upon, these being all falcityes, and if they were true, not one quarter of them concerne the Companyes affaires, which I am and have binn faithfull in, for which my owne affaires have allwayes suffered, though that shall not discourage me from performing my duty to my Masters. JOSEPH HALL.

October 27th, Fryday Forenoone and Afternoone.—The Councell proceed[ed] to take the Depositions and Examinations upon Mr. Mathias Vincents Charge against Mr. Joseph Hall.

To the first Article.—Mr. Vincent produced an accompt given in by Mr. Hall to Mr. Shem Bridges and Councell Xber, 1670: part of which accompt was formerly given in October, 1669:[1] as appears in the Register of the Consultation booke, which accompt appears was thought unreasonable by the Cheife and Councell, the perticulers of which are as followeth:—

Accompt of severall sumes of money due to Joseph Hall, vizt.

	Rupees.
My ⅓ of 28: monethes sallary at 35 *li.* per annum from the 20th August, 1668,[2] to the 20th December, 1670: is [reckoning the rupee at 2s. 6d.] -	217: ⅔ [⅞]
My Dyett 19: monethes 8: dayes from the 12th of May[3] to the 20th December [1670], at 25: Rupees per moneth -	475:
For house rent at 5: rupees per moneth to the 7th Aprill [1670], then burnt -	55:
Carried forward -	747: ⅔ [10:]

[1] There is no copy of the earlier account. On the 29th October, 1669 (*O.C.*, No. 3360), Hall is said to have claimed Rs. 482½. Later, in a letter from Balasor to the Company, Hall's claim is stated as Rs. 273 for five months' 'extra expenses while out of employment' (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., p. 55).

[2] The date of the arrival at Fort St. George of the *Rainbow*, in which Hall was a passenger.

[3] *I.e.*, 12th May, 1669, when Hall was expelled from the factory at Balasor.

	Rupees.
Brought forward -	747: 10:
For two servants to looke to the house and dress Victualls - - - - -	55:
For Charges fitting the house and petty housoldstuff - - - - - -	15:
For a standing Cott - - - - -	10:
For Pallankeen furniture - - -	110:
For Cossids [*ḳāṣid*, a running messenger] with advices to the Fort - - -	45:
For Piscash [*peshkash*, offerings] given dureing my aboad in the Dutch Factory[1] - - - - - -	50:
For house rent in a house was forced to take at 10: rupees per moneth - -	80:
For recruit of petty housoldstuff and things burnt - - - - - -	100:
For 5: servants, the house standing remote	147: 8:
Rupees	1360: 2:

Mr. Hall Confesseth that he refused to goe to Pattana when chosen thereto by Consultation anno 1669, and for his reasons for soe doeing referreth to his answer to his Charge. And for Mr. Halls goeing to Hugly afterward the same yeare, it appeares by the Register of Consultation and letters that he was appointed and ordered thereto, and Mr. Hall acknowledged he did not goe.

Mr. Mathias Vincent being duely sworne, deposed That the Honourable Companyes order for Mr. Hall to be second at Cassambazar [dated 7th December, 1669] arrived at Ballasore the latter end of June upon the *Zant* frigott, and that Mr. Hall did not leave Ballasore untill the 30th day of December following, but the Deponent doth not know that Mr. Hall had any orders from the Cheife and Councell to proceed from Ballasore sooner.

To the 2d. Article.—This not being an abuse or injury done

[1] Probably from April, 1670, when Hall's house was burned, as stated above, until the following August.

to the Honourable Company it was not thought fitt to take any examinations upon Oath thereupon.[1]

To the 3d. Article.—(1st.) Samuell Hervy being duely sworne, deposed that in the yeare 1672, he did carry the Charges Generall bookes kept by him [at Balasor] to Mr. Hall to be entred in the Generall bookes, and after said bookes had layne some dayes by Mr. Hall, this Deponent, finding that Mr. Hall had not entred the Charges to this Deponents Creditt in the Generall bookes, as he desired, and Mr. Hall promised to doe, This Deponent being somewhat concerned, asked Mr. Hall the reason of it, to which Mr. Hall gave a slight answer, saying it was all one, it should bee entred in the next yeares bookes.

Did Mr. Hall tell you it was to late to enter them? Samuel Hervy, Deponent, answered that, at first, when he desired Mr. Hall, as he had debited him in the bookes, to give him Creditt for his Charges, Mr. Hall then bid him bring the accompt charges and he would doe it, and accordingly this Deponent did deliver his accompt of charges to Mr. Hall, who, though he had them some dayes, did not enter them to this Deponents Creditt, and afterwards sayd it was to late, though the bookes were not then closed, but Mr. Hall told him they were towards a Close, and that it was all one, he would doe it the next yeare.

(2dly.) Mr. Walter Clavell being duely sworne, deposed that the booke which he now produced was the same Cash booke that he delivered to Mr. Hall to enter into the Generall bookes, and that there was one sume in March, 1673-4, of rupees 3587: 8: annaes paid Ram Naraine [Rām Nārāyan] and Rogonaut [Raghunāth] which is marked X, as the other sumes are, but was not entred in the Generall bookes with the other summes, as appeared by the Journall under Mr. Halls hand writeing now produced.

(3dly and 4thly.) Upon Examination of the bookes of accompts now produced, it did appeare that the ballance of the subordinate Factoryes bookes were not entred and reconciled with the Gennerall bookes kept by Mr. Hall.

Did you order Mr. Hall to close the Gennerall bookes,

[1] See *infra* for the examination of this charge, *de bene esse*.

Letter Q. 1673-4 before the Pattana and Cassambazar bookes arrived?

Mr. Clavell, Deponent, answered that he doth not remember any such order given by him, but one pair of bookes, either Pattana or Cassambazar, This Deponent did send to Mr. Hall to enter in the Gennerall bookes, and Mr. Hall returned answer that the bookes were closed.

The 1000: Rupees which Mr. Hall in his answer sayes hee found in one Invoyce and brought it to the Companyes Creditt, Upon Examination of the Invoyce booke, was found to be only an error in the Casting up the sumes of the Chest of Taffatyes November the 23d, 1672.

To the 4th Article.—It was not thought fitt to take examinations upon Oath to this Article.

To the 5th Article.[1]—It was not thought fitt to take examinations upon Oath to this Article.

To the 6th Article.—Walter Clavell, Deponent, answered that in the yeare 1675 there came one Prunck (a Dutch skipper)[2] to this Deponent and shewed this Deponent some accompts depending between one Mury, a freeman of Batavia, and Mr. Joseph Hall, desiring this Deponent to conclude the difference between them. And in the said accompts this Deponent doth well remember there was Saltpeter, Wheat 500: or 800: Maunds, and a few Sannoes which were sent for Mr. Halls accompt by the said Mury from Ballasore to Mallaca and Batavia dureing the time of the late wars with the Dutch [in 1673]. And this Deponent further voluntary declareth that, neither himself, nor any other for him or by his order or licence did sell or furnish the said Mury with any wheat or Saltpeter.

Was that accompt which skipper Prunck shewed you under Mr. Halls hand?

Mr. Clavell, Deponent, answered that the accompt was in Dutch, not signed by Mr. Hall, but the said skipper told this Deponent that it was a coppy of the accompt he had from Mr. Hall.

Mr. Edward Reade, Deponent, answered that in the yeare

[1] See *infra* for the examination of these two charges, *de bene esse*.

[2] I have found no other reference to this individual.

1675, Mr. Hall being at Hugly,[1] shewed this Deponent an accompt under Mr. Halls owne hand writeing which he had stated between himselfe and Mury, an Inhabitant of Batavia, in which accompt was charged 800: Maunds of wheat, or thereabouts, as this Deponent best remembers, part of it for Mr. Halls accompt, for which he charged Cent. per Cent. to Mallaca, as being a promise of Muryes, and 50: per Cent. thereupon from Mallaca to his next port.

Doe you remember there was any Saltpeter charged in that accompt under Mr. Halls hand?

Edward Reade, Deponent, answered that he doth not remember there was any saltpeter Charged in that accompt.

The Vessell Mr. Hall in his answer confesseth to have sold to the said Mury.

To the 7th Article.—Edward Reade, Deponent, answered that in December, 1674, This Deponent, being on board the shipp *Phœnix* with Mr. Clavell, Mr. Vincent and severall others, Captain Wildy, the Commander, came to Mr. Clavell and told him there was a silly fellow in his ship who had played the foole in signeing a paper about the fire, and now was very sorry for it. Whereupon Ambrose Copleston, the Carpenter, came and confessed that Mr. Hall had made him drunck with punch and prevailed with him to signe a paper about the burning of the Factory at Ballasore, in which paper was more written then he knew to be true, and that he was sory he had put his hand to it and desired pardon and forgiveness.

Samuel Hervy, Deponent, answered that he was on board the *Phœnix* at the same time with Mr. Reade, Mr. Vincent, and Mr. Clavell, in the Round house with Captain Wildy, and that this Deponent did see Ambrose Copleston come into the Round house and, with teares in his eyes, confessed that Mr. Hall had made him drunck and caused him to put his hand to a paper, all the contents of which he could not remember, nor who or whether any had signed with him, hee being in drink; but soe much he remembred, that it was to lay the blame of the burn-

[1] By an order from Fort St. George of the 18th February, 1675, Hall was 'to be Cheife' at Balasor during the absence of Clavell at Hugli, and 'Cheife' at Hugli when Clavell was at Balasor (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. i.).

ing the Factory at Ballasore upon Mr. Clavell, and said that God knew he could not lay any such thing to Mr. Clavells Charge, and therefore desired Mr. Clavells forgiveness and that his recantation might be writen, which this Deponent did then write for him and he willingly and voluntary signed it, with teares in his eyes, in the presence of severall wittnesses.[1]

To the 8th Article.—(1st.) For sorting the Companyes Goods, it's referred to Mr. Halls accusation in his narrative, and said Halls Depositions to the 31th Article taken the 15th May [in Balasor] and in Hugly the 7th June, 1676:[2] which doe not seeme to agree, and to an attestation now produced by Mr. Reade, signed by Gabriell Townesend, dated the last December, 1672.[3]

(2dly.) Mr. Reade produced a letter to Mr. Clavell etc. in Hugly from Mr. Hall at Ballasore, dated June the 1st, 1672, which Mr. Hall now owned to be his hand writeing, adviseing as followeth, *vizt.*, 'In Ballasore wee have binn much allarumed by theives. Two one night got upon Hury Churns [Hari Charan's] wall, and 16: attending there, oppening the Doore all in armes. A little before Burmull [Pūran Mal] gave us and all the Towne notice to stand upon our Gaurd, 300: Rogues discovered towards Nellegree [Nīlgiri] hill, the said Governour carrying all out of his house and hideing (all)[4] what of treasure. Another night appeared severall men in armes behind our Factory, all in black coates and sashes [turbans]; and, within two nights, after were allarmed after 12: in the night by eight persons on the side of the Factory next the Million [melon] Garden, Cattwall [*koṭwāl*] and wattchmen cryeing out theives, our gaurd of Peons in the Factory runing out to help; and, on theire neare approach, some with their bowes goeing to shoot their arrowes, occasioned some of those eight to cry out, Mr. Reade is there,[5] but, supposeing it to be a lye, and goeing to lay hold of them to bring them to the Factory, found Mr. Reade with them, who were five Fringues [*farangī*, a Portuguese

[1] There is no other record of this incident, nor any further mention of Copleston.

[2] This refers to the examination of Hall's charge against Vincent by Puckle.

[3] This 'attestation' does not exist.

[4] The word 'all' is added from the duplicate copy.

[5] 'Heare' in the duplicate copy.

half-caste] and two Dutchmen. This the Cattwall and severall of our Peons hath often affirmed, but Mr. Reade, as I am informed, denyes it.'

Edward Reade voluntary deposed that he never had any Intention to Robb the Honourable Companyes Factory, and that he was not in that Company as is mentioned in said Letter, and never heard of any such thing or danger in Ballasore untill September or October [1672] following, when Mr. Clavell and others came from Hugly and acquainted him of what Mr. Hall had wrote, as aforesaid.

(3dly.) Edward Reade produced an attestation signed by Ralphe Harwar[1] the 15th August, 1672: that Mr. Hall told the said Reade he understood not he was the Companyes servant, and if he was, that he ought to reside at Metchlepatam[2] and not to concerne himselfe at Ballasore.

(4thly.) Edward Reade deposed that Burmull [Pūran Mal], The Governour of Ballasore, in the yeare 1672 puting a stop and hindrance to this Deponents business as he sent goods in and out of his house, This Deponent went to the Governour to know his reason for soe doeing, who told this Deponent that Mr. Hall had sent him word this Deponent was none of the Companyes servant but a freeman, and had traded that moonsoone for a lack of rupees; whereupon this Deponent was put to about 60: rupees charges to prevaile with the Governour to desist from troubling him farther untill he could have an account from Mr. Clavell of him. WALTER CLAVELL; MATT: VINCENT; EDWARD READE; SAMUELL HERVY. *October the 27th*, 1676.

The Examinations and Depositions aforesaid were taken in the presence of STREYNSHAM MASTER; JOSEPH HALL; JOHN MARSHALL; JOHN SMITH; EDWARD LITTLETON.

[1] Ralph Harwar, surgeon of the Company's ship *Dilligence*, arrived in India in 1668-69. He left his ship, and traded on his own account until 1672, when he petitioned to be again taken into the Company's service, and was appointed by Clavell as surgeon at Hugli (*O.C.*, No. 3710).

[2] Edward Reade went to India, under Sir Edward Winter's protection, in 1662. He remained at Fort St. George and Masulipatam until June, 1669, when, at his 'earnest request,' he was allowed to go to Bengal 'at his own charge.' In June, 1670, he was entertained in the Company's service.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October 27th.—This day wee received advices from Dacca that the Dutch had demanded 150,000: rupees of the Nabob, being the sume which they formerly gave him to excuse the imputation of a murder layd to their Charge, and the Nabob upon this Demand bid them be gon out of the Countrey.

THE CHARGE OF MATTHIAS VINCENT AGAINST JOSEPH HALL (*continued*).

October 28th, Saturday morning.—The Councell Continued to take the Examinations and Depositions upon Mr. Mathias Vincents Charge against Mr. Joseph Hall.

To the 9th Article.—Walter Clavell, being duely sworne, deposed that upon the receipt of the Agent and Councells letter and order for Mr. Hall to be alternate Cheife of Hugly and Ballasore with this Deponent,[1] which letter was now produced, upon Mr. Halls telling this Deponent that he would goe up to Hugly, This Deponent replyed to him againe that after he, this Deponent, had ended the merchants accompts at Ballasore, he would goe up to Hugly alsoe, and deliver over to him the charge of that Factory, and alsoe with said Hall examine the Charge against Mr. Vincent.[2] Whereupon Mr. Hall did goe to Hugly, but, upon hearing of this Deponents comeing thither, returned thence againe to Ballasore,[3] as is sett forth in Consultation booke the 23: and 24th of May last in page 33: 34: of this Consultation booke, to which Mr. Hall hath signed.[4] And this Deponent further saith that he went to Hugly with intention to observe the Agent and Councells orders by delivereing the charge of that Factory to Joseph Hall, and to examine the business against Mr. Vincent, But, Mr. Halls leaveing Hugly before this Deponents arrivall, he could not put it in Execution.

To the 10th Article.—Referred to a letter to Ballasore, dated

[1] This order is dated 18th February, 1675 (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. i.).

[2] *I.e.*, of tampering with a chest of taffaties sent to the Company in 1672.

[3] Hall arrived at Balasor in July, 1675, and said he had come by Clavell's orders (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii.).

[4] The Consultations for the first part of the year 1676 do not exist.

the 16: July, 1675, signed by Edmond Bugden and Thomas Pace, to Mr. Clavell etc. at Hugly, and to a Protest and answer which passed between Mr. Edmond Bugden and Captain Zachary Browne of the *Ann*.[1]

To the 11th Article.—Mr. Hall in his answer doth not deny the charge, and for Proof thereof its referred to the Consultation of the 23: and 24th May last, in page 33: and 34: before mentioned.

To the 12th Article.—It appeared upon examination that the silkes and Taffatyes left behind last yeare were dispatched from Cassambazar the last of December at night, and that the sloope *Ganges* went from Hugly the 5th January in the morneing, the said goods not being then arrived, as by the Register of Letters. Mr. Vincent produced a letter dated in Ballasore the 10th January, 1675 [1676], signed by Mr. Edmond Bugden, which Mr. Hall doth beleive to be the said Bugdens hand writeing, adviseing as followeth, *vizt.*, 'The Ketch *Ganges* arrived yesterday, and might have binn dispatched this day had not soe much of Mr. Halls long Pepper come on her, which must be tooke out before can take the Companyes goods, as skipper Lux[2] tells me.' And Mr. Hall saith that his goods were not Loaden at Hugly but out of [a] boat at Tanna [Thāna] after the *Ganges* dispatch from Hugly towards Ballasore.

Edward Reade, being duely sworne, deposed that he [was] at Ballasore when the said parcell of long peper was landed, and to his best remembrance the Quantity was between 30: or 40: Baggs, and they usually conteyne 2: mds. each Bagg.

To the 13th Article.—Mr. Halls accompt of Demands, and the same stated by Mr. Wm. Puckle, late deceased, in page 30: and

[1] This letter and the protest do not exist, but the protest of Hall against Bugden, dated 27th July, 1675, and an attestation of Hall and Smith regarding the delivery of the Company's packet, dated 1st August, 1675, are both extant. In the former Hall complained that Captain Zachary Browne refused to allow the Company's goods to be unloaded from his ship, because he did not know who was the recognised chief in Clavell's absence. The captain would not accept Hall's order, and Bugden refused to associate himself with Hall in the matter. In his 'attestation' Hall related that the Company's packet from the *Ann* was brought to his lodgings late in the evening of the 15th July, 1675; that Bugden came and demanded it of Hall, using foul language and assaulting Hall, who delivered the packet the next morning, in the presence of the Company's servants, 'to purchase his peace' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii.).

[2] William Lux, one of the Company's pilots employed in the Hugli River, was master of the *Ganges*.

31: of this booke[1] were reveiwed, and in page 36: Mr. Halls receipt for rupees 493: in full of his accompt as stated in Consultation, to which reference is had.

To the 14th Article.—Mathias Vincent, being duely sworne, deposed That Mr. Joseph Hall did send the Honourable Companyes bookes of accompts of this Factory of Cassambazar to Ballasore in or about the moneth of November, 1671, without this Deponents knowledge. And some dayes before when Mr. Hall paid this Deponent some moneys, as part of the Honourable Companyes, sayd Hall told this Deponent that the remainder he would pay when the bookes were ballanced, and he could certainely tell the summe, or words to that effect; but afterwards, by his sending away the bookes as aforesaid, this Deponent could not tell what to demand, and it appeared afterwards that Mr. Hall carryed away rupees 3501: of the Companyes money from this Factory to Ballasore. And Mathias Vincent, Deponent, further saith that Mr. Hall did deliver to this Deponent a foule paire of bookes[2] which were not ballanced; and being soe blotted and unmethodicall that he could make nothing of them, he returned them to Mr. Hall againe, who afterwards closed them, and sent them away as aforesaid, which, or a Coppy of them, were afterwards returned to this Deponent from Ballasore by Mr. Clavell, and not being duely Ballanced, were returned to said Clavell againe, and ballanced by Mr. Littleton; and this Deponent doth not know Mr. Hall left any other in this Factory.

Walter Clavell, Deponent, answered that about the moneth of February or March, 1671 [1672], This Deponent being in Ballasore, demanded of Mr. Hall the Companyes money, which he had paid short of the Cash in Cassambazar, Whereupon Mr. Hall offered to deliver a Chest of Taffatyes in part of payment, demanding 8: rupees per peece, but this Deponent and the rest of the Councell would [not] agree thereto, and thought it unreasonable that he should demand more then the Taffatyes cost in Cassambazar, where he had the money. But afterwards

[1] Apparently Puckle's Bengal Diary, which does not now exist. See *ante*, in the list of his papers on p. 408.

[2] *I.e.*, a first copy, defaced with corrections.

Mr. Hall, keeping the bookes that yeare, charged 150: peeces of Taffatyes at 7½ rupees per peece, as appeares in the bookes now produced under Mr. Halls owne hand, Journall O. folio 29:, whereas this Deponent afterwards understood that the said Taffatyes cost in Cassambazar but 4: to 6: rupees per peece, as he was informed by Anuntram [Anant Rām], a black, Mr. Halls servant, that said he bought them.

Edward Reade, Deponent, saith that he was present in Councell with Mr. Clavell when those passages were transacted, and confirme[s] the same, and alsoe further saith that three or four monethes afterwards he drew up a protest against Mr. Hall for his irregular actings in the Honourable Companyes affaires, and therein inserted this of his overateing the Taffatyes.[1]

The Honourable Companyes Letter to the Cheife and Councell of Hugly, dated in London the 13th [31st] October, 1673,[2] was produced, wherein they order as followeth, *vizt.*, 'Upon oppening and viewing of the Chest of Taffatyes No. H., by the *Barnardiston*, which are mentioned to bee bought by Mr. Joseph Hall with the Companyes ready money, wee find them to be very thinn Goods and about 50 per Cent. to deare of what they are rated, and if the said Taffatyes were really bought and charged by Mr. Hall to the Companyes accompt at those prizes, wee must exceedingly blame you for passing by things of that nature, which are and may be soe prejudiciall to us, in not charging the overrate to the accompt of Mr. Hall and adviseing the Agent and Councell thereof.'[3] WALTER CLAVELL; MATT: VINCENT; EDWARD READE. *October the 28th*, 1676.

The Examinations and Depositions before mentioned were taken in the presence of STRYNSHAM MASTER; JOSEPH HALL; JOHN MARSHALL; JOHN SMITH; EDWARD LITTLETON; SAMUELL HERVY.

[1] Reade's protest against Hall is mentioned in a letter from Balasor to Fort St. George of 28th June, 1672 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., p. 118).

[2] *Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 77 *et seq.*

[3] In their answer to this paragraph on the 28th December, 1674, Clavell and his colleagues exonerated themselves, saying that the chest of taffaties complained of was brought by Hall from Kasimbazar, and delivered by him as part payment of money owing to the Company. They stated that, on examination, the goods were found to be worse than the sample, and were thus labelled (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. iv.)

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October 28th.—This day I wrote a letter to the Honourable Company by way of Surratt overland, adviseing of the danger of their aff[a]ires in the Bay for want of a Phyrmand [*farmān*] from the King [Aurangzēb], Coppy of which letter will be entered after these examinations are over.[1]

THE CHARGE OF MATTHIAS VINCENT AGAINST JOSEPH HALL (*continued*).

October 30th, Munday forenoone and afternoone.—The Councel. Continued to take the Examinations and Depositions upon Mr. Mathias Vincents charge against Mr. Joseph Hall.

To the 15th Article.—Mr. Mathias Vincent refers to the Examinations taken upon Mr. Halls narrative about the overrating of Taffatyes and silk, and the weight of silk, and the Examinations taken upon the Podaurs business etc. since.

Mr. Samuel Puckle, Examinant, sayeth that he hath heard his father Major Puckle say that either Mr. Hall, or Mr. Smith, or both, had told him that, when he came to Cassambazar, it would be convenient to remove Mr. Vincents Family out of the Factory for feare of Poysoning, or words to that effect.

John Naylor, being duely sworne, Deposed that in the moneth of July last past, this Deponent being with Mr. Hall in his chamber in this Factory, and askeing Mr. Hall why he wrote against him to the Company, the said Mr. Hall replyed that he had never writ anything against this Deponent nor any inferiour person, but he had against Mr. Clavell and Mr. Vincent, and the reason he had wrote against Mr. Vincent was because he would not lett him have halfe share in the Packing of those goods that yeare he was here, or words to that effect. JOHN NAYLOR. *Cassambazar, the 30th October*, 1676.

To the 16th Article.—Referred to the Examinations of Bishna, the Son of Rugo Podaur [Raghu the *poddār*], Moraud and Narundas [Murād and Nārāyan Dās],[2] taken the 11th and 13th July last [before Major Puckle], which were now produced and

[1] See after the Consultation of 30th October.

[2] The duplicate copy adds the names 'Anuntram and Nemo Podar' [Anant Rām and Nem Chand, *poddār*].

read, by which it appeares that Mr. Hall did imprison Rugo Podaur and Chabuckt his relations, and Received 95: rupees as the Ballance of his accompt, and then sett him and them free. Alsoe referrence is had to the Consultation of the 28th July, Page 50, in this booke,[1] and to the answer to the 14th Paragraph of the Auditors paper No. 4: signed by Walter Clavell, Matt: Vincent and Edward Littleton, both now perused concerning the matter.

To the 17th Article.—The Cassambazar bookes kept by Mr. Hall, folio 25, September the 10th, 1671, being now produced, it appeared that John March was made Debtor to Cash for ⅓ of his wages, Rupees 89: 13:¼ annaes, which summe Mr. Hall haveing not since made good to his accompt, now desires it may be charged to his Debt and Mr. Marches Creditt in the Honourable Companyes bookes.

To the 18th Article.—Mr. Mathias Vincent produced an endorsement with a Receipt upon a Merchants bill in the Hindue Language, which endorsement and receipt Mr. Hall now acknowledge[s] to be his owne hand writeing and is in these words: 'Chittūlmull [Chītal Mal] confessed that he received of Mr. John March, sometime before he went to Ballasore, the summe of 500: rupees to deliver the like summe in Tessindia[2] to the order of Mr. March, there to buy sugar. The said Chittulmull farther declareth that he did write to his correspondent to pay the said summe, but by reason the letter miscarried, his Correspondent tooke a bill of exchange from Mr. Marches servant there, for what hee payd him, being 400: rupees, which said bill is now delivered back and 100: Rupees in liew of said rupees 500: the one Hundred received per Joseph Hall.'[3]

[1] *Viz.*, either Puckle's Bengal Diary or the Kasimbazar Consultation Book, neither of which exists.

[2] This place, which cannot now be identified, was apparently situated in the neighbourhood of Kasimbazar, and was noted for the excellence of its fine sugar. It has been traced for a hundred years as follows:

1674. Tissinda and (by copyist's error) Jessinghe. *O.C.*, Nos. 4041, 4043.
1683-84. Tissinda. Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. i., pp. 75, 164.
1684. Tissindy and Tissinda. British Museum, *Add. MS.* 34123, pp. 37-40.
1727. Trisinddi. Alexr. Hamilton, *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. ii., p. 4.
1766. Treasinda. Stevens, *Guide to East India Trade*, p. 119.

[3] The duplicate copy of Master's proceedings at Kasimbazar, to be found in *Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i., ends here, with the note, 'Examined per John Marshall, Abraham Rutton.'

To which Mr. Hall answered that he doth not remember anything of it.

To the 19th Article.[1]—The Cassambazar bookes kept by Mr. Hall, Letter L., were produced, and in Journall, folio 26, September 10th, 1671, Mr. John March was found charged with severall sumes to the amount of rupees 24356: 3½ annaes, and among the said sumes is gold Mohurs 1115: amount[ing] to Rupees 16725:,[2] and in the following parcell, in the same folio, John March is Creditted Rupees 22808, whereof 21725 rup: is said to be left by Mr. John March in Cash under the keeping of a Banian [*baniya*][3] when he went to Ballasore, being the 29th July, Joseph Hall then remayneing in Cassambazar, and had much trouble to recover said money, although by peice meale, and allowing what he paid out and disposed of for Mr. Marches use, as sayd the Banian. And the Cassambazar bookes, Letter M., Journall, folio 17, May the 1st, 1672, were alsoe produced, wherein there is lead 29: seer and Sandall wood 4: maunds 30: seer brought to Mr. John Marches Creditt, and found in the Factory.

Tis to be noted that Seerpore [Sherpūr] is the place where white silke is procured, and Tessindia is the place where white sugar is procured, and neither sugar in Seerpore nor silke in Tessindia.

To the 20th Article.—Mr. Mathias Vincent produced Mr. Rich: Edwards Depositions, taken the 28th August, in the following words, vizt., *Cassambazar, the 28th August*, 1676. 'Mr. Richard Edwards, aged twenty eight yeares or thereabouts, was this day duely sworne by the Cheife, then in Councell, to declare his knowledge of the matters charged on Mr. Joseph Hall by Mr. Mathias Vincent in a paper of this date delivered to Wm. Puckle in Councell, *vizt.*, That the said Joseph Hall did instigate, Councell or advise John March, then Cheife of Cassambazar [1669-1671], to overrate the Honourable Companyes goods that were to be sent to England upon accompt of extraordinary

[1] From this point up to the end of this day's proceedings there is a duplicate copy in *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. i.

[2] This is taking the gold *mohar* at Rs. 15, whereas, at that date (1676), it appears to have been usually reckoned at Rs. 14.

[3] One of Hall's accusations in his 'Narrative' was that when March went to Balasor, he 'left the Company's Cash in the Banyans hands.'

Charges. The said Richard Edwards deposeth and saith that he, this Deponent, hath serve[d] the Honourable Company about eight yeares and most part of that time in Cassambazar. That he was in Cassambazar upon the Companyes service all the time of Mr. John Marches Cheifship, except about three monethes, when he was sent by order to Ballasore. That he, this Deponent, was Resident in that Factory all the time Mr. Hall was second [October, 1670–October, 1671], except some few dayes which was in the yeare 1670-1 and 1671, and this Deponent saith that he never knew Mr. John March did overrate the Honourable Companyes goods, but as he hath heard of late by the information of Mr. Joseph Hall. But he deposeth and saith that he heard the said Joseph Hall discourse with the said Mr. March in [the] yeare 1670 or 1671 aforesaid, about the great charge said March was at about wine and other things he expended, which could not properly be charged to the accompt of the Company. In Consideration of which the said Mr. Hall advised the said Mr. March, in this Deponents hearing and presence, to charge somewhat upon each peece of Taffaty provided to be sent the Honourable Company, from two annaes to halfe a rupee as he remembers, but more certainly doth remember one quarter of a rupee on each peece mentioned by Mr. Joseph Hall as aforesaid. And this Deponent further saith that he heard the said Mr. Joseph Hall give the advice aforesaid to Mr. March at severall times, *vizt.*, in his chamber or other places in the Factory, which Councell Mr. March in this Deponents Presence and hearing did desdaine, saying Hee would doe noe such thing, or words to that purpose.' RICHARD EDWARDS.

Jurat Coram me die Predict: WALTER CLAVELL.

Examinant per WM. PUCKLE.

In Presentia MATT: VINCENT; JOHN SMITH; EDWARD LITTLETON.

To the 21th Article.—(1st.) Mr. Wm. Puckle, late deceased, his wast booke of examinations was produced, and therein, in the Examination of Joseph Hall, taken the 6th June, 1676, upon Mr. Smithes charge against Mr. Clavell, the 4th article, there is a marginall note entered with Mr. Puckles hand in these words,

vizt., '1st August, 1676, Mr. Hall desired to see this examination and desired that the words (last past) might be made anno 1674.'

Mr. Hall produced a Certificat signed by Mr. Jno: Smith, dated the 8th August, 1676, certifieing as followeth, *vizt.*, 'The said Mr. Joseph Hall did at the same time, when he was upon examination, declare that it was when the *Lancaster* and *Phoenix* were in Ballasore road, and when he, the said Mr. Hall, resided in the dwelling house of Mr. Valentine Nurse in Ballasore, which was in the latter end of the yeare 1674, which the examiner hath not exprest in the examination.'

(2dly.) Mr. Halls Depositions upon the 10th Article of his narrative, taken in Ballasore the 13th of May, 1676, And Mr. Richard Edwards Deposition, taken in Cassambazar the 31: July, 1676, were both produced, to which reference is had.

(3dly.) Mr. Joseph Halls Depositions to his Narrative, taken in Ballasore the 13th May, 1676, upon the 9th Article, Cassambazar bookes Letter M. 1671-2, and the answer to the Auditors paper No. 4, the 3d Paragraph, were all produced and examined, to which reference is had.

(4thly.) Referred to Mr. Halls Deposition upon the 13th Article of his narrative taken in Ballasore the 15th of May, and in Hugly the 7th June, 1676, and to the said Halls deposition taken in Ballasore the 13: May last to the 7th Article,[1] and to Mr. Halls Deposition taken the 29th September, 1676, in this booke,[2] all which were now produced and thereunto referrence is had.

To the 22th Article.—Mr. Walter Clavell, being duely sworne, Deposed that, in the yeare 1671, Mr. John March being at Ballasore after he came from Cassambazar [29th July, 1671], in discourse with this Deponent, did say that Mr. Joseph Hall had solicited him, the said March, to take the Honourable Companyes treasure at a sett rate upon their owne accompt, and what should be gained by it by sending it to Rajamaule [Rājmahāl] to be divided between them.

Mr. Mathias Vincent, being duely sworne, deposed that, after

[1] The papers referred to here were those in Puckle's custody. None of these are extant.

[2] Either the Kasimbazar Consultation Book or Puckle's Diary.

he arrived in Cassambazar in or about the monethes of October or November, 1671, this Deponent, haveing brought a parcell of the Honourable Companyes treasure up with him, and more was to follow, Mr. Joseph Hall came to this Deponent one day as this Deponent was in the Delawne [*dālān*] (or dineing roome) and did there speake to him to this effect, *Vizt.*, 'Why cannot wee take this treasure at a sett rate and send it to Rajamaull upon our owne accompt and divide the gaine thereof between us?' And this Deponent then answered Mr. Hall, the Company had already run the Risgoe [Port., *risco*, risk] thus farr and might now run it soe much further, and Reape the profitt of it themselves, or [words] to that effect.

To the 23d Article.—It is not thought fitt to take any Examination upon Oath.

To the 24th Article.—Mr. Walter Clavell produced an accompt in half a sheet of Paper, which Mr. Hall now acknowledged to be his owne hand writeing, the perticulers of which accompt are as followeth, *vizt.*,

	Rupees	ann:
Dustore [*dastūr*, commission] 250000 Rup: at 2 R: 13 an: Rup: 7031: 4 an: my ½ -	3515:	10:
My ½ of the profitt of packing 93: Chests of Taffatyes and 62: Bales silke in June last [1671] - - - - - - -	200:	0:
More 82: Chests and 45: Bales since Mr. Marches death, and at my charge to provide all for packing - - - -	795:	0:
13: monethes wages of Joseph Halls two servants - - - - - - -	65:	0:
Cassambazar Buttlers wages a moneth beforehand, payd by Joseph Hall - -	3:	0:
By what comeing to me by August disbursements, as appeared when Mr. Vincent made up the accompt with the Podaur [*poddār*] - - - - - -	131:	0:
Six Peons and a Cooke hyred at Cassambazar to come downe with Joseph Hall -	17:	8:
Rupees	4727:	2:

Which accompt Walter Clavell deposed was delivered to him, the Deponent, by Mr. Joseph Hall in the yeare 1671, upon this Deponents demanding the Companyes money which Mr. Hall had paid short in Cassambazar, according to the Ballance of his bookes of that Factory, Letter L. And Walter Clavell, Deponent, further saith that in discourse with Mr. Joseph Hall, This Deponent urgeing the unreasonableness of his demand in that accompt, said Mr. Hall did tell this Deponent that he had received the Dustore of 2r: 13an: per Cent. upon all the money that he had given out to the weavers, which by the bookes of accompts Letter L., Journall, folio 23: and 25: appeares to be Rupees 14054.

To the 25th Article.—The Consultation in this booke of the 16th and 20th of June last, Page 39: and 40:, of the 11th 12th and 13th of October,[1] page 124: 128: and 138:, were turned to, in all which it appeares, to which referrence is had. WALTER CLAVELL. MATT: VINCENT. *October the 30th*, 1676.

The following Examinations were taken *De bene esse*[2] upon Articles which were passed by before, as not immediatly relating to the abuses and Injuryes done the Honourable Company.

To the 2d Article.—Mr. Walter Clavell sayd that in the yeare 1672, Antonio Goes Valente,[3] a Portuguez who lived in Ballasore, hath told him that Mr. Hall did change a parcell of Pearle of his, returning the quantity in Number he had delivered, but much short in weight.

Mr. Edward Reade sayd that, in the yeare 1672, he being at Ballasore and in Company with Antonio Goes Valente, who was overseeing his servant cutting a Channell for conveighance of water from his house, there came some Peons from Mr. Hall to forbid him soe to doe, whereupon the said Antonio returned answer by Mr. Halls Peon that they should tell their master he was digging there to looke for the Pearle their Master had stolne from him.

To the 4th Article.—Mr. Edward Reade sayd that about the

[1] Only the last three of these Consultations exist.

[2] According to the present worth, without prejudice.

[3] I can find no other reference to this individual. The name is given as De Goes in the duplicate copy of this portion of the Diary.

beginning of the yeare 1672 he was in Ballasore, and Daniell Roberts being then come Pilott of a Moors shipp from Pegu and haveing landed some goods he had brought with him and put them in a house he had hired, The Governours Peons came to the said Roberts house and demanded the goods out, whereupon he came to this examinant and desired his assistance, and this Examinant did then send fo[r] Rogeram [Rājārām] the Governours Cheife servant, and enquired the reason of him for the Governours soe dealing with the said Roberts, who sayd that Mr. Hall had acquainted the Governour that Roberts was no Englishman but a Dutchman; and afterwards this Examinant could not prevaile but they carried all Roberts his goods from his house, and those which he had aboard of the ship to the Custome house and Roberts said he was dammaged 800: Rupees thereby, and told this examinant that he had applyed himself to Mr. Hall, but could gett noe releife.

To the 5th Article.—Mr. Edward Reade saith that, in the yeare 1672, he being at his owne house in Ballasore, Mr. Valentine Nurse came in without a hatt, bareheaded, his cloathes torne and bloody, complyning that Mr. Hall had Caused the Peons to bind him as he was reading upon his cott, and when bound, beat him with a Cane himselfe, and soe turned him out of the Factory into the street in that manner as this examinant hath sayd.

Mr. Valentine Nurse, Examinant, sayd that in the yeare 1672, he was reading upon his Cott before his door in the Companyes Factory in Ballasore when, by Mr. Halls order, the Peons bound him hand and foot and drew[1] him without the Factorey gate, and then Mr. Hall came, and with his owne hand, beat him and broak his head with a Cane, and then ordered the Peons to loose him, and thrust him away from the Factory and never afterwards suffered him to come there, untill Mr. Clavell came downe. And this examinant being asked the reason of the Difference between them which occasioned Mr. Hall soe to use him, sayd he could not tell the reason,[2] unless

[1] 'Threw' in the duplicate copy.

[2] Hall, in a letter to Clavell of the 18th June, 1672, stated that Nurse had threatened to kill him, and that he had expelled Nurse from the factory on

it were for this Examinants being a wittness to a protest that Mr. Reade drew against Mr. Hall, or for some words that passed between them about a Couple of small Lampes that burnt in this Examinants chamber; and this examinant further saith that Mr. Clavell did never beat him, but once the Peons in a Counter scuffle thrust him downe staires, and Mr. Vincent, upon some words between them, only gave him a push.

To the 23d Article.—Goepaulby [Gopāl Bhāi] was sent for, and being asked concerning the same, he said Mr. Hall, being in this Factory after Mr. March went away [29th July, 1671] and before Mr. Vincent came [October, 1671], did demand of this examinant rupees 2000:, and this examinant telling him he was poore and had not soe much money, Mr. Hall replyed he heard hee had money hid in a pott in the place where he slept, and that he had a stick with an iron at the end of it and when it came over any place where money was buried in the ground, it would turne round and strick [strike][1] itself into the ground over it.[2] To which this examinant sayd that he then replyed to Mr. Hall that hee had noe money, and whether his Father had hidden any hee could not tell, and if Mr. Hall would goe, he would goe along with him, and if Mr. Hall could find the money he should have it.

To the 26th Article.—Mr. Wm. Puckle in his Diary, the 24th May last, noteth that Mr. Hall gave the Cheife the Lye to his face, chargeing the whole Councell with illegall proceedings, which was now confirmed by Mr. Clavell and Mr. Marshall.

And Mr. Mathias Vincent, for further proof to this article, refers to Mr. Halls Narrative,[3] alsoe to Mr. Shem Bridges declaration against Mr. Hall in the Consultation booke, dated the 12th of May, 1669,[4] and to two letters of Mr. Halls in the

account of a violent personal attack made on him on the 17th June. Nurse denied the threat to take Hall's life, but confessed that he had said he would kick him (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., pp. 118-125).

[1] The duplicate copy has 'stick.'

[2] This is a reference to the use of the dowsing or divining rod.

[3] The 'Narrative' is full of accusations against Clavell.

[4] This 'declaration' (*O.C.*, No. 3276), which is a very violent denunciation of Hall, accuses him of 'malice, folly, and slander,' and of wanting to be put over the heads of those 'capable and experienced' when he 'knows not the A.B.C. of the Company's affairs.'

said booke, dated the 25th and 28th October, 1669,[1] and alsoe to two letters from Mr. Mainwairing to Mr. Bridges, dated the 24th March and the 11th Aprill, 1669 and 1670.[2]

And for the Conclusion of his charge, Mr. Vincent produced the Honourable Companyes letter, dated the 18th December, 1671,[3] in these words, *vizt.*, 'Wee take notice of what you write concerning the disobedience, mutyny and appealing to the Moors Justice by Stiles,[4] Brodnox,[5] and Hall, which manner of proceedings are soe distructive to ours and all other civill governments, that we cannot but much resent the same, and hope that before these come to your hands what wee writ to our Agent and Councell last yeare is putt in execution, namely to returne all such of our servants for England who were guilty of those or the like disorders, especially soe many of the prementioned as may yett be liveing, being wee resolve not to have our authority and power given them to be opposed or disputed by any of our Factors or Servants, according to our former orders, but if there be any such, lett them be returned for England, or at least lett them by you be returned to the Fort, with Certificat of their misdemeanours, under the hands of the Major part of the Councell upon the place (all of them being summoned), that they may be there proceeded against by our Agent and Councell according to their offences.'

The Examinations and Depositions before goeing were taken in the presence off STREYNSHAM MASTER; JOSEPH HALL; EDWARD READE; JOHN MARSHALL; JOHN SMITH; EDWARD LITTLETON; SAMUELL HERVY.

[1] Only the answers to these two letters (*O.C.*, Nos. 3359, 3360) exist. They show that Hall had defied the orders of his superiors, and had behaved in a most insolent manner towards the Council, who declined to answer any more of his communications.

[2] These letters do not exist.

[3] *Letter Book*, vol. iv., p. 505.

[4] This was Thomas Stiles, elected factor 1st November, 1661 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv., fol. 211). He died 29th June, 1670, at Hugli (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii., p. 96).

[5] Roger Broadnax went to Fort St. George as 'cheife of thirty Soldiers' in 1665, was entertained factor 25th September, 1667, and went to Bengal in 1669, where he and his wife were in constant antagonism to the Council for the next two years. He died in India, *circ.* 1674.

THE DIARY (*continued*).

October 28th.—To the Honourable the Governour and Company of Merchants of London Tradeing to the East Indies.[1]

May it please your Honours, The 17th [7th] July last It pleased God to arrive the shipps *Loyall Eagle, Falcon, Surratt Merchant* and *Johanna* at Fort St. George, whereof Sir William Langhorne your Agent and Councell advised your Honours the 15th of said moneth *viâ* Surratt.[2] The 7th of August the shipp *Mary* arrived there [Fort St. George]. According to your orders, I proceeded upon the *Loyall Eagle* from thence to Metchlepatam, where I stayed neare a fortnight, and haveing put your affaires in that Factory into the best order I could, sailed forward to the Bay, where it pleased God to arrive [me] the 23: August with said shipps *Loyall Eagle, Falcon* and *Surratt Merchant.* The *Johanna* being sent before [on the 19th July], wee then found at anchor in Ballasore roade. After a small [stay] in Ballasore, I embarqued on your Honours Sloopes to Hugly, and from thence arrived in this place [Kasimbazar] the 23: of September, where your Generall Councell of the Bay was mett to put in Execution your Honours Commission to Mr. Wm. Puckle, which he had gone through with great prudence and Integrity,[3] whome it pleased God to take from us the 16th Instant after he had kept his Chamber about 12: dayes. I condole your loss of soe good and faithfull servant, and pray God wee may all bee prepared for our dissolutions.

At this time I shall not give your Honours a perticuler account of my Transactions in your affaires, referring that untill the dispatch of your ships, the present not allowing me leisure. And though this goes hence to Surratt and thence intended overland, a Conveighance which is uncertaine and tedious,[4] yett soe great is the Hazzard and perill of your whole trade in the Bay Bengala, that I chuse to adventure to send to you advice

[1] See *ante*, p. 480, for a note of the despatch of this letter.

[2] No copy of this letter exists among the *India Office Records*.

[3] His examinations, however, had led to no definite conclusions in the majority of the cases.

[4] The letter arrived safely, and reached England on the 13th July, 1677 (*Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 440).

thereof, where there is the least hopes it may attaine your notice, Rather [than] soe great and profitable a Commerce to the nation should be ruined without your Honours knowledge, that you may send timely orders to preserve it, and Confirme your Interest in this great and Rich Kingdome.

The affaire is this. The English have hitherto traded in Bengala custome free, and with a great deale of Honour and respect from the Princes and Governours of the Kingdome, But there doth not appeare that there ever was any Phyrmand [*farmān*], that is a Royall Command or Letters Patent, granted by the Great Mogull for this Priviledge, only a Nishan [*nishān*] or Letter from a Prince which is grounded upon a pretended Phyrmand (and this Nishan was from Sha Sujah[1] that was Prince in Bengàla and brother to the great Mogull Oranzeeb [Aurangzēb] that now is), and Purwannes [*parwāna*] or warrants from the Nabobs or Governours that have binn since.[2] And this business, being well known all this Kingdome through, hath of late yeares occasioned great lets [hindrances] and disturbances to your business, to your charge and damage, as your Honours have often binn acquainted. And about 18: monethes since, Mr. Job Charnock, your Cheife at Pattana, imploy'd an Indian Vackeel [*vakīl*] or Sollicitor[3] to apply to the court at Delli to take off the stopps and Impediments which the Nabobs of that Province did usually give to your saltpeter, and the Person he imployed being an Ingenious man, it seems had gone soe farr in the business that he had neare obtained a Phyrmand [*farmān*] or Husball Hookam [*ḥasbu'l-ḥukm*, royal decree] to confirme your whole trade in the Bay as it had binn used in former times. But the third and last time, when the King was about to confirme the order, a great Person standing by put in a word, That if the English had used to trade custome free, they had a Phyrmand for it, and if they

[1] Sultān Shujā'a, second son of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, was appointed Governor of Bengal by his father in 1639, and ruled that province until 1658. A copy of his *nishān* follows the Consultation of 4th November, 1676. See *infra*.

[2] See *infra*, after the Consultation of 4th November, 1676, for copies of these documents.

[3] This man was Muhammad Arīf. He is frequently mentioned by Marshall in his *Notes and Observations of East India* (*Harleian MS.* 4254).

had a Phyrmand allready, why need they have another, which dasht all the business, and the Vackeel afterwards dyeing, noe farther Progress hath binn made therein.[1]

Now you may please to understand the Dutch have a Phyrmand to trade according to their former custome,[2] upon which they pay 4: per Cent., which is paid on all their Traffick. Besides, there presents to the Governours are tenn tymes as much as ours, and the English haveing noe Phyrmand, and yett tradeing custome free, is great greife of heart to them, soe that upon all occassions they stirr up the coales to mischeife your affaires what lyes in their power; in soe much that a few monethes since, there being a Petition prefered to the Nabob at Dacca by the sonne of one De Soito,[3] a Portuguez, who pretends to have sent goods upon an Englisff ship to Persia anno 1651 [1652], of which he received no returnes or effects (and for which he hath binn up at the Mogulls Court and from thence brought the Kings Phyrmand [*farmān*] to have justice done him), I say this Petition was soe seconded by the Dutch there, and wittnesses suborned to say what was put in their mouthes (as is ordinary), that Shasta Chaun [Shāistah Khān], the Nabob, ordered in publicque Court that the money should be payd him. And upon Mr. Samuell Hervyes (your servant then Resident at Dacca) not consenting to pay it (for if that demand, which was 5300: rupees, had binn paid, there is others to the amount of 100000: rupees must have binn payd alsoe on the same pretence), The Nabob ordered him to prison, whereupon he was forced to take it off by underhand dealings, which cost you above 10000: rupees, and yett Shasta Chaun is not satisfied therewith. But since I came hither, by reason of [? that] the usuall present is not yet given, his Duan[4] threatens to bring that business on againe. And your servants at Dacca a few dayes since advised that the Nabob was in hourly expectation of the Kings answer to his letter about our Phyrmand,

[1] I have found no other account of these negotiations.

[2] A copy of this *farmān* follows the Consultation of 4th November, 1676. See *infra*.

[3] A full relation of the affair of De Soito is given after the Consultation of 25th November, 1676.

[4] The Nawāb's *dīwān*, or chief Minister, at this time was Rāī Nanḍā Lāl.

what he should doe to the English who had traded soe long without paying custome and had noe Phyrmand, which, should it be referred to him [Shāistah Khān] to inquire into and doe as hee thinkes fitt, as for the most part (I am told) all things are, hee being the Kings [maternal] Unckle, I dread to think of the evill may fall on your Honours affaires thereby; for this Person hath binn Nabob or Governour of Bengala 15: yeares,[1] and hath got soe great a treasure together as the like is seldome heard of now a dayes in the world, being computed by knowing Persons at 38: Currore [*karoṛ*] of rupees (each Currore is a million sterling at 2s. the rupee), so his treasure is above 40: millions sterling, and his income is dayly 2: Lack or 200,000: rupees, which is above 20,000 *li.* sterling, of which his expence is above the one halfe, and yett he is every day more covetous then other, soe that to relate to you the many wayes that are continually invented by his Duan (one of the craftiest men in the Kingdome) and his Governours to bring money into his Coffers would be as endless as admirable [astonishing], both for their witt and Cruelty. To instance in one perticuler. Bollchund [Bāl Chand] his Governour here [Kasimbazar], makes a year of 7:8: or 9: monethes, as the People are able, by their Cropps of corne, to pay or beare taxes.[2] And in case he should ever have such an order from the great Mogull [Aurangzēb], by all I can gather from your servants experienced in these parts, he would not only demand what custome he should think fitt for the future, which is certaine would not be less then what the Dutch pay, but alsoe the arrears for all your trade since this Kings Reigne, or at least since he hath binn Governour or Nabob. And if your servants should endeavour to buy it off with the greatest Zeale that can be for your service, yett he will not (tis beleived) be content with less then 2: or 300000: rupees or 20: or 30000 *li.* for the arrears, besides paying of customes for the future, which will not only be chargeable, but the loss of the English Creditt and reputation, and very trouble-

[1] Really, thirteen years. He succeeded Mīr Jumla, who died in March, 1663.

[2] There are many references in Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. i., to the exactions and tyranny of Bāl Chand, who harried the English until his death, on the 29th November, 1683.

some to your servants; and theres noe possibillity of standing it out, for, if they will not consent to pay willingly what he shall demand, he will sett watches and gaurds upon them, putt a stopp to all business and lett nothing goe out of the Country (and soe long as it is upon the land it is his when he pleases), soe that the damage you may suffer by the Stop of your business and want of returnes of stock will bee as great as the payment of his demands.

And you have noe Vackeel [*vakīl*] at Court to stafe off [stave off, delay] such an order,[1] nor is there any provission, order, or endeavour that way, for it cannot be done without some expence extraordinary. And in your Honours letter to the Bay this yeare you say Positive[ly] that they ought not to dispose of your mony but by your order, or an order from the Agent and Councell at the Fort.[2] And your Agent and Councell at the Fort will not vary one jot from your orders, for they send downe to the Bay one of your Honours letters to them, Confirming, recomending and referrin to the same, and they say plainly that they doe not thinke it safe for them to give one tittle of direction more to others then your Honours give to them, but in keeping close to that, they esteeme themselves safe, lett what will befall your business.[3] And your servants here are so affrighted with your Honours orders to demand the 13000: rupees of Mr. Vincent expended upon Rugo Podaurs business, and the prementioned order, that they account it more safe for them to lett your business run to the utmost danger, nay to ruine itselfe, that is to lett your estate be forced from them, rather then by their consent to part with [anything] to preserve your Interest, and they doe not spare to tell me that though they have engaged to serve the Company, yett not to suffer Imprisonment, Irons, beating, and it may bee murthered, under these Arbittary and Tyrannicall Governments (where it is ordinary to suborne wittnesses and make any lye a pretence to gett money), when money may excuse them such sufferings,

[1] James Price, who was acting as the Company's *vakīl* at Dacca, does not appear to have been recognised as such until a later date.

[2] See paragraph 11 of the Company's letter to Hugli, *ante*, p. 311.

[3] There is no other record of these remarks attributed to the authorities at ort St. George.

they useing their endeavours to come off as cheap as they can.

By what hath binn sayd, I presume your Honours will be heartely sensible of the great hazzard and perill your business is in in Bengala, which, to my apprehention, is upon the brinck or borders of ruine and destruction, and makes me to tremble to think on't. I pray God it may not fall whilst I am here, or whilst I have the honour to serve you, which to prevent I know of noe other remedy then a speedy and express order from your Honours to gett a Phyrmand from the great Mogull to trade according to former custome, which your servants here tell mee may be procured with the expence of 20: or 30000 rupees, that is two or 3000 *li.* and, in my opinion, if it should cost you 5: or 6000 *li.*, yett twill be well worth the expence, for your trade will beare it, and the reputation thereof is of much advantage to your affaires, the prosperity of which it is my duty to endeavour, and therefore I have by these represented the condition thereof, and beseech the Lord to direct you to that which may be for his honour and the Nations Interest, and to give a happy issue to all your affaires as becometh Your Servant,

STREYNSHAM MASTER.

October 31*st*, *Tuesday afternoone.*—Att a Consultation,[1] Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and the whole Council].

John Naylor, silk dyer, servant to the Honourable Company in the Factory, haveing presented his Petition to the Councell, and therein sett forth that he came out of England in December, 1670, and contracted to serve the Honourable Company four yeares at 50 *li.* per annum,[2] whereof thirty pound to be paid in India and twenty pounds upon his desire in England, which tearme of yeares more being expired, and he being since married and hath his family here with him, doth now request that his whole sallary of 50 *li.* per annum may be paid him in the Country for soe long as he hath served more then his Contracted time of

[1] From this point to the 4th November there is a duplicate copy of the Consultations held under Master's supervision, as well as of the list of the Company's servants (given after 4th November), in *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. i.

[2] John Naylor was entertained as a silk-dyer at a Court of Committees, 18th November, 1670 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii., fol. 72).

four yeares; which the Councell haveing taken into Consideration, did think fitt, and appoint that the said John Naylor, for his future incouragement in the Honourable Companyes service, be paid 50 *li.* per annum in this Factory, begining from Michelmas last past, and to continue soe long as he shall behave himselfe well in his imployment, or untill the Honourable Companyes farther pleasure.

Richard Moseley, Dyer, who came out a souldier for Fort St. George in the yeare 1669, and in 1671 came thence[1] to this Factory, where he hath since served the Honourable Company as Dyer at souldiers pay, haveing put in his petition to the Councell, setting forth the same, and desired to be considered and encouraged with some addition to his sallary, according to his industry and ability, The Councell thought fitt and doe order that the said Richard Moseley his wages be advanced from 114: rupees to 180: Rupees per annum, beginning from Michelmas last past, soe long as he behaves himselfe well in his imployment and dureing the Honourable Companyes pleasure.

And whereas the [said] Richard Moseley hath sett forth in his Petition that there was a summe of 1885 *li.* 1: 3d: due to his wife, the widdow of Gabriell Boughton,[2] from the Honourable Company, which was sent by Henry Cherry to Persia, anno 1655 [1652], and, upon his decease,[3] seized upon by the Companyes servants, whereof but 1550: rupees hath binn paid, and the remayneing summe he desires Consideration for, The Councell sent [for] the said Moseley and advised him to give noe disturbance to the Honourable Companyes affaires in these parts by the Nabob or Governours, least the Councell should take some rigorous course with him, but to draw up the state of that case and his demands to be sent home to the Honour-

[1] Moseley, 'who came out a soldier and is alsoe a dyer,' was permitted, on Naylor's recommendation, to go to Bengal in August, 1671. His appointment as a dyer was approved by the Company on the 15th March, 1672 (*Letter Book*, vol. iv., p. 539).

[2] The widow of Gabriel Boughton, a native woman, married, secondly, William Pitts. There is no record of her third marriage with Moseley.

[3] The date 1655 is wrong. Cherry died in Gombroon in 1653. Details of his ill-fated voyage in the *Mayflower* from Balasor to Persia are given with the De Soito papers, to be found after the Consultation of the 25th November, 1676.

able Company, and the Councell would recommend it to their Consideration.[1]

Anthony Smith, Dyer, who came out a souldier to the Fort anno 1672, and hath served the Honourable Company in this Factory as a Dyer two yeares, and being a sober man and industrious in his profession, The Councell thought fitt for his encouragement to advance his wages from 133½ Rupees tc 160: rupees per annum, to beginn from Michaelmas last past, and to continue soe long as he shall well behave himselfe, and dureing the Honourable Companyes pleasure.[2]

Michaell Loveny, a silk weaver, who came out a souldier to Fort St. George anno 1672 and hath served the Honourable Company 16: monethes in this Factory in the profession and trade of a weaver,[3] and hath hitherto binn allowed but souldiers pay, haveing put in his Petition to the Councell, setting forth the same, and desireing for his incouragement his wages might be advanced, Mr. Vincent and the rest of the Factory haveing represented to the Councell that he is a very able and expert man in his profession, and hath binn industrious and forward to improve the manufacture of the Taffatyes, which may in time be of great advantage to the Honourable Companyes whole Investment in that Commodity, The Councell did thereupon think fitt and ordered that the said Michael Loveney his wages be advanced from fifteen pound to twenty five pounds per annum from Michaelmas last past, soe long as he shall behave himselfe well in his imployment and dureing the Honourable Companyes pleasure.

Peter Farrill, silke weaver, and Daniell Singer, Throwster,

[1] Moseley paid no attention to this admonition. On the refusal of a demand for Rs. 17,000 in March, 1677, he carried complaints of the English to Malik Zindī, governor o Hugli, and was the cause of a serious quarrel between the English and the governor. Moseley himself, after being imprisoned by both parties, was finally handed over to the English.

[2] In May, 1677, Anthony Smith was imprisoned for throwing a ladleful of boiling liquor over Michael Loveney during a quarrel in the dye-house. Smith died at Hugli on the 2nd May, 1678 (*Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i.).

[3] Michael Loveney (or Lovely) was sent to Bengal in the *Advice* Pink in February, 1675, 'for service in Cassumbazar' (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. i.). In May, 1677, Loveney was injured in a quarrel with Smith, as stated above. He died of dysentery on the 10th July, 1677 (*Factory Records, Kasimbazar*, vol. i.).

being more then are found to be needfull at present in this Factory of those professions, and the former past his labour, and the latter not expert in his trade, The Councell thought fitt to order their returne to Fort St. George by the Europe shipps this yeare.[1]

There being a parcell of throwne silk[2] in this Factory which was prepared for black Taffatyes, but being the first tryall, is course and ill throwne and soe not fitt for that worke, Therefore it is thought fitt that it be sent for England this yeare, and that other finer and more fitt bee provided for that use.

Mr. Vincent and the rest of the Factory haveing represented to the Councell that the place where the weavers loomes and Throwster Mill stand, being a low thatcht place, is very subject to fyre, which, if it should happen, would not only be a great loss to the Company but alsoe require eight monethes time to recruit and fitt againe, Which the Councell haveing duely weighed and debated, it was Resolved to be for the Honourable Companyes interest to build a brick roome for those conveniencys within the Factory, which was proposed might amount to about 15: or 1600: rupees, and Mr. Vincent was ordered to goe forward with the said building and to finish it with speed, useing all frugallity therein.

The Accompts of the Factorys of Hugly and Ballasore haveing for some yeares past binn comprehended in one paire of bookes, intermixt the one with the other, which hath severall times binn considered and discoursed among the Councell, they at this time undertooke to debate and regulate the same. And, upon the whole, they did find great inconveniencyes to accrew by keeping the said two Factorys accompts in one pair of bookes, which occasioned the keeping of two accompts of Cash and double accompts for each sort of Europe goods, as Broadcloth Hugly, Broadcloth Ballasore, Lead Hugly, Lead Ballasore,

[1] Farrill had been sent to Kasimbazar from Fort St. George with Loveney in February, 1675. Writing to Bengal on the 12th December, 1677, the Court expressed their disapproval that 'Peter Farrell and Daniel Singer, two debauched persons not in the service, should be continued in the Factory,' and ordered them to be sent to Fort St. George or to England (*Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 520). They must therefore have evaded Master's orders for their return.

[2] Silk consisting of two singles twisted together to form a rope.

silver Hugly, and silver Ballasore, and soe for other good[s]; but all the accompts of charges of profitt and loss of both places are entered together in single accompts, besides the bookeeper often put behind by staying till the accompts came from one place when he was [at] the other, soe that few entryes were made regular according to their due date and time. All which considered, the Councell thought fitt to order (for preventing of the like inconveniencyes in the future) that the accompts of the said two Factoryes be kept apart and in distinct bookes, Hugly bookes to qt. [contain] the affaires and transactions of that factory, and a paire of bookes at Ballasore to containe the affaires and transactions there. And it is thought fitt that the Bookes of accompts be soe kept from the 30th of June last past, when the last Bookes of Hugly and Ballasore Joyntly were by Mr. Master ordered to be closed, as were alsoe the bookes of this factory of Cassambazar lately Closed by said orders to the 30th day of June last, as they doe at the Fort and Metchlepatam.

November 1st, Wednesday Forenoone.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

A Letter to Rajamaull [Rājmahāl] about stoppage of the Companyes business there by the Powsdar [*faujdār*] was read and approved off.[1]

Mr. Clavell and Mr. Reade reported to the Councell their proceedings with Rogonaut [Raghunāth] and Bissussa [Biseśar] in Contracting for a parcell of Mullmulls [*malmal*] which was referred to them, *vizt.*,

For 100: peeces of 42: Covads [a cubit or ell] long and 2: Covads broad at 8¼ Rupees per peece.

For 200: peeces of 32: Covads long and 2: Covads broad at 8: Rupees per peece.

For 300: peeces of 32: Covads long and 2: Covads broad at 6: Rupees per peece.

For 300: peeces of 32: Covads long and 2: Covads broad at 5:¾ Rupees per peece.

For 400: peeces of 32: Covads long and 2: Covads broad at 5: Rupees per peece.

[1] See the copy at the end of this Consultation.

And the same Persons did offer to procure 900: in a thousand peeces of an ordinary sort of Mullmuls, 32: Covads long and two Covads broad, at 4: Rupees per peece, which is esteemed somewhat to deare; but they not comeing to a lower price at present, it is left to them to bring in the parcell at Hugly, and the price to be then made according as the goods shall rise. The Persons requireing 300: Rupees at present upon the bargaine, The Councell thought fitt and accordingly ordered the said summe to be paid them out of the Cash of this Factory, for which they are to give their respective obligations. Musters [patterns] of all which prementioned goods were now looked over and approved, and labells of the dementions and prizes annexed to them. And Santapore[1] (being the place where these goods are provided) lyeing in the way between this place and Hugly, they [the merchants] were minded to gett what quantity they can in readiness against the boates goe hence, that they [the boats] may take them in in their way to Hugly.

The Councell haveing taken into Consideration and debate which of the two places, Hugly or Ballasore, might be most proper and convenient for the residence of the Cheife and Councell in the Bay, Did resolve and conclude that Hugly was the most fitting place, notwithstanding the Europe shipps doe unloade and take in their ladeing in Ballasore roade, Hugly being the Key or scale [centre of trade] of Bengala, where all goods pass in and out, to and from all parts, and being neare the Center of the Companyes business, is more commodious for receiveing of advices from and issueing of orders to all subordinate Factoryes.

Therefore, it is thought convenient that the Cheife and Councell of the Bay doe reside at Hugly, and, upon the Dispatch of the Europe ships,[2] the Cheife, with the Councell or some of them (as shall be thought convenient), doe yearly goe downe to Ballasore, soe well to expedite the dispatch of the ships, as to make inspection into the affaires of Ballasore Factory. And the Councell did likewise Conclude that it was

[1] Sāntipur, in the Nadiā district, on the Hugli River.

[2] The shipping for Europe was usually despatched in November and December.

requisite a like inspection should be yearly made into the affaires in the Factory at Cassambazar, the Honourable Companyes principall concernes of sales and Investments in the Bay lyeing in those two places, and the expence of such Vissitation will be very small, by reason of the Conveniency of travelling in these Countryes by land or water.

And Ballasore being now become a distinct Factory, 'twas concluded by the Councell that the orders for the disposall of the Cargoes, both in unloading and ladeing the ships, should be issued by the Cheife and Councell of the Bay resideing at Hugly, to whome they are consigned; and it was thought convenient that they every yeare send downe a person, either one of the Councell, or at least one of the Degree of a Factor, to remayne aboard of the ships to dispose of the Cargoes according to orders, and to quicken the Dispatch of the sloopes and the Vessells that Carry the Goods to and from Hugly, and to land no more at Ballasore then needfull for that Factory.

Letter from the Council at Kasimbazar to Richard Edwards at Rājmahāl, dated Cassumbazar, November 1st, 1676. O.C., No. 4230.

Mr. Richard Edwards. Yours of the 25th October wee have received, and take notice of the troubles you meet in Rajamall, particularly the unkind usage of the Fouzdar [*faujdār*], who if hee [will] not give a Dustick [*dastak*, pass] for the Pattana boat except hee [see] the Originall Phirwanna [*parwāna*], shee must lie there till wee [can] send and have it from Dacca where now it is: in the mean time if the Droga [*dāroghā*, superintendent] of the Mint and your Endeavours have not prevailed for clearing of said Boat, you must still try all good wayes of effecting at, but wee hope ere this Mr. Knipe will bee onward thence on his way to Pattana. If you make essaies both of the Gold and Silver ere you goe over to Maulda it will bee much better, because then it will all come out of the Mint much at the same time, [not] suddenly one after the other: soe that by that means the Honble. Company will not only bee in Cash here, to pay all what lately taken up at Intrest, but also to give out for their Silk Investment, wherein there will bee a good opportunity of putting off a quantity of Mohurs which will nev[er s]ell soe well in the Bazar as when given out to the Merchants.

Wee are in a day or two sending to Dacca, and shall take care to have the Fouzdar's Vaqueel spoaken to and admonished to write to his Master that he forbare henceforward to hinder and stop our business

at, and our boates passing by Rajamall to and from Pattana. Wee call not elce to mind, soe remaine, Your very loving Friends, STREYNSHAM MASTER, &c.

November 1:, *Wednesday Afternoone.* — Att a Consultation, Present : — STREYNSHAM MASTER, ESQ: [and Council as before].

The Councell proceeded to make choice of a person to take charge of the Factory at Ballasore as Cheife, and haveing respect to the late settlement made in Ballasore the 11: Aprill last,[1] and to make as little alterations therein as possible might bee, with regard to the Honourable Companyes Interest, Mr. Edward Reade and Mr. John Marshall were in nomination, and they being withdrawne, upon the question, it was voted for Mr. John Marshall, still reserveing to Mr. Reade his right of precedency, as appointed in the Honourable Companyes letter of 23d December, 1672.[2]

And to Supply the Second-ship of Cassambazar, vacant by Mr. Marshalls remove, it was thought fitt that Mr. Edward Littleton, formerly appointed third, bee now Second of Cassambazar, and Mr. Richard Edwards, formerly appointed fourth, be now third.

And out of those persons (by the aforesaid settlement) appointed to Hugly and Ballasore, Tis thought fitt that John Billingsley (reserving to Richard Edwards and George Peacock[3] their Right of Seniority and precedency)[4] be second, and Henry Carpenter third, at Ballasore, and Samuell Anthony and George Perrin, writers, now at Ballasore, to remaine there. All the other[s] before appointed to both places,[5] are now to reside in Hugly.

[1] This 'settlement' was made by Major Puckle. The list of the Company's servants in Bengal, as arranged by him, is to be found in *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii., p. 49.

[2] The letter referred to is dated 13th December, 1672 (*Letter Book*, vol. v., p. 26).

[3] George Peacock was entertained by the Company as a 'writer for the Coast and Bay' on the 22nd November, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi., fol. 67).

[4] Edwards had been fourth at Kasimbazar and Peacock third at Patna.

[5] These were W. Clavell, E. Reade, E. Bugden, S. Hervey, J. Byam, G. Knipe, S. Smith (deceased), R. Trenchfield, C. Oxinden, J. Peachey, J. Thredder, and A. Rutton.

I am not satisfied but that the Cheifeship of Ballasore belongs to me, according to the Right of succession in the letter above mentioned. EDWARD READE.

November 2d, Thursday forenoone and afternoone.—Att a Consultation, Present:—STREYNSHAM MASTER, Esq: [and Council as before].

THE CHARGE OF MATTHIAS VINCENT AGAINST JOSEPH HALL (*concluded*).

The Councell upon debate did agree that it was requisit for them to give their result or oppinions upon the Evidences to the charge against Mr. Joseph Hall, The following clause in the Honourable Companyes Generall letter to the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George, dated the 24th December, 1675, directing them thereunto, *vizt.*, 'As to Mr. Hall, wee doe not find sufficient cause in any of the informations given against him to discharge him from our service, and therefore, if you find him fitt for our imployment and faithfull in discharge of his trust, lett him be continued and preferred, as his turne comes, according to our rules.'[1]

Mr. Hall upon desire withdrew.

The Councell then,[2] haveing Considered and debated over the examinations and Depositions taken upon Mr. Mathias Vincents charge against Mr. Joseph Hall, did find that, according to the Evidence therein, Mr. Hall hath binn unfaithfull in Discharge of his trust in the Honourable Companyes service, more perticulerly as appeares to them in the Proofs upon the following articles, *vizt.*, The 6th: the 13th: the 14th: the 15th: the 16th: the 17th: the 20th: the 21th: the 24th: and 25th:

Mr. John Smith is not satisfied upon the 6th: the 13th: and the 21th: articles.

The Councell then takeing into Consideration the weight of the Evidence upon which they have declared Mr. Hall unfaithfull in his trust, and that if, after this, any charge or trust should be committed to him by them, untill orders or directions from the

[1] This is paragraph 37 of the Company's General Letter. See *ante*, p. 252.

[2] The duplicate copy in *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. i., has 'thereupon.'

Agent and Councell at Fort St. George, they might render themselves responsible for any damage that may accrew to the Honourable Companyes affaires thereby, Did therefore think fitt, for the safety of the Honourable Companyes affaires and their owne security, that no charge or trust in the Honourable Companyes affaires be hence forth committed to Mr. Joseph Hall, nor that he be admitted to sett in Councell untill farther orders or directions from the Agent and Councell of Fort St. George, after the whole proceedings in this affaire, The Charge, his answer, and the proofes have binn presented to them for their satisfaction.

And the Councell did farther thinke fitt that the Cheifeship of Dacca, to which Mr. Hall was appointed,[1] doe remayne vacant, and that Mr. Hall doe receive the same allowance of Dyet etc. as he hath formerly done on the Honourable Companyes account, untill receipt of orders or directions from the Agent and Councell hereupon as aforesaid; and Mr. Samuell Hervy, who hath binn three yeares at Dacca, first, second to Mr. Elwes [in January, 1673], and, after his decease [4th December, 1675], by order continued in the management of the business of that Factory, was appointed to be second at Dacca, to reside there and observe such orders as shall from tyme to time be sent to him.

THE CHARGE OF WALTER CLAVELL AGAINST JOHN SMITH (*concluded*).

It being moved that the result and oppinion of the Councell upon the evidence of the charge against Mr. John Smith might be taken into Consideration: The Councell agreed thereto.

Mr. Smith upon desire withdrew.

The Councell then haveing taken into Consideration and debated the weight of the evidence upon the charge against Mr. John Smith, upon which they have declared him unfaithfull in his trust and imployment in the Honourable Companyes service the 26th October last, as appeares in that Consultation,

[1] The appointment was made by Major Puckle in his 'Settlement' of the Company's servants in Bengal, 11th April, 1676.

and if hereafter any charge or trust shall be committed unto him untill orders or directions from the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George, The Councell are not satisfied that they discharge their trust to the Honourable Company and may alsoe make themselves responsible for what Dammage may accrew thereby. Did therefore thinke fitt that the said Mr. John Smith have noe charge or trust committed to him in the Honourable Companyes affaires, nor that he be admitted to Councell untill farther orders or directions from the Agent and Councell of Fort St. George, The Charge, his answer, and the Proofes, being sent to them for their satisfaction; and, in the meane tyme, that the secondship of Pattana, to which Mr. Smith was appointed,[1] is to remayne vacant, and that he be allowed for his Dyett etc. as formerly on the Honourable Companyes accompt.

And the Councell doe hambly submitt their proceedings in these affaires to the Judgements and Decission of the Agent and Councell at Fort St. George, in whome alone the Honourable Company have invested the power of suspending any of the Councell in their service.[2]

Mr. Hall and Mr. Smith were then sent for, and the proceedings of the Councell in their absence read to them, upon which they desired to know whether they might not goe upon their owne business from Port to Port. Which the Councell haveing Considered, acquainted them that it was not reasonable that the Company should allow them wages and Dyett to goe from Port to Port upon their owne business, but untill the Agent and Councells pleasure be known, they ought to remayne in the head Factory, which is Hugly, and if they desire to goe

[1] In the 'Settlement' of the Company's servants by Puckle (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xxviii.), Smith is entered as second at Dacca. This, however, appears to be a copyist's error for Patna. Puckle would hardly be likely to place Smith as second in a factory where he had formerly resided as chief.

[2] On the receipt of the decision *re* Hall and Smith, the Agent and Council at Fort St. George wrote to Bengal, on the 5th February, 1677 (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. xviii.), 'As to your result against intrusting Joseph Hall and John Smith, considering the Authority vested in Mr. Master then assisting and the regularity of his proceedings, [it] remaines for the Honble Company to determine.'

to Ballasore in order to their goeing to Fort St. George, they would admitt it; but when they are either in Hugly or Ballasore they must be conformable to the orders of the Factory, and not goe from one place to another without acquainting the Cheife of either Factory therewith.[1]

[1] From this date Joseph Hall and John Smith ceased to be members of Council and their names disappear from the signatures to the proceedings. In December, 1678, Smith obtained leave to ship his 'necessaries' on the *Williamson* at Balasor, and announced his intention of 'going to the Fort according to the Honble. Companys orders.' Instead of sailing in the *Williamson*, he 'rann away in a small vessell' bound to Achin, and was murdered on the voyage, as related in vol. ii. (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. ii.).

END OF VOL. I.

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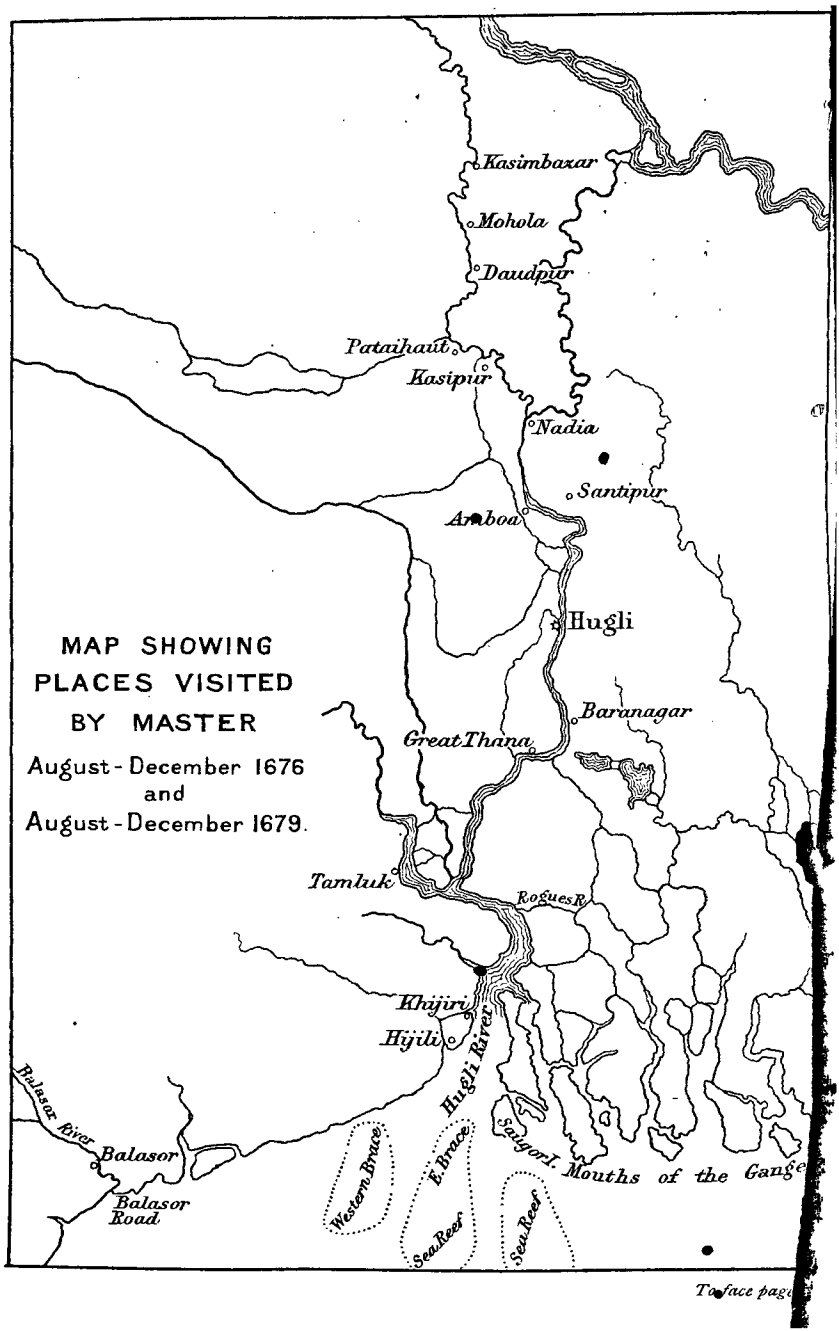
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